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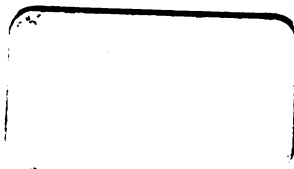
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WITH
NOTES AND QUERIES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY MRS. MARTHA J. LAMB

VOL. XXV.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1891

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AMERICAN HISTORY

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JOSEPH GILLOTT'S STEEL PENS

THE MOST PERFECT OF PENS.

THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

Vol. XXV.

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J. Ericsson

1865.

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

JANUARY, 1891

No. 1

JOHN ERICSSON THE BUILDER OF THE MONITOR

1803-1889

IN his late message, referring to the relations of our country with the several nations of Europe, President Harrison said: "The restoration of the remains of John Ericsson to Sweden afforded a gratifying occasion to honor the memory of the great inventor, to whose genius our country owes so much, and to bear witness to the unbroken friendship which has existed between the land which bore him and our own, which claimed him as a citizen."

This paragraph is a forcible reminder of the impressive ceremonial witnessed in the streets and harbor of New York city, on Saturday the 23d of August, 1890. It had been intimated to this government, as is well known, that the government of Sweden would regard it as a graceful act if the remains of Captain John Ericsson should be conveyed to his native country upon a United States man-of-war; and arrangements having been completed, the *Baltimore* was assigned to the service. The day selected for the departure was fair; the First and Second avenues were bathed in a flood of summer sunlight as the casket of the great inventor was brought from the vault of the little Marble cemetery and placed upon draped pedestals near the main gate. Across it lay the old banner of the *Monitor*, which together with the Swedish flag was encircled by a laurel wreath. The Swedish singing societies, two hundred strong, gathered about the bier and sang the sweet, sonorous battle prayer of Sweden, which constituted the only service. At its close the casket was placed in the hearse drawn by four splendid black horses, and the solemn procession moved through Second avenue to St. Mark's place, through Astor place to Broadway, thence to the Battery.

An immense multitude of people were massed along the line of march, thronging the windows and roofs of the buildings, as well as the sidewalks, the colors of Sweden and our own red, white, and blue everywhere displayed at half-mast, and a reverent silence one of the striking features of the imposing scene. The procession was an hour and a half in passing

any given point. Nine carriages followed the hearse, the first occupied by Secretary Tracy of the navy and Admiral Worden, the second by the mayor of New York city and the mayor of Brooklyn. One carriage which preceded the platoon of police bore a model of the old *Monitor*. The strains of the Swedish national hymn, heard in the distance, announced to the waiting crowds at the Battery the approach of the funeral *cortège*, and the remains of Sweden's honored son were presently transferred to the tug *Nina*, and placed upon a catafalque. The *Nina* steamed down the bay to the *Baltimore* with barely enough headway to be steered, attended by the *Catalpa*, having on board such distinguished guests as could not find room on the *Nina*, while upon either side of them and maintaining the same relative rate of speed, were the boats, thirty-two in all, of the war-ships in the harbor. The water was literally covered with a flotilla of steamers, yachts, tugs, and other sea craft. The colors of the squadron were at half-mast, and minute-guns were fired from the monitor *Nantucket* during the passage to the ship. In committing the illustrious dead to the care of the commander of the *Baltimore*, Mr. George H. Robinson said: "We send him back crowned with honor, proud of the life of fifty years he devoted to this nation, and with gratitude for his gifts to us." Captain Schley responded with much feeling, expressing the pride and pleasure with which the officers and men of the vessel regarded their assignment to the sacred duty. As the *Baltimore* proceeded to sea every vessel mastheaded her colors as she passed, displayed the Swedish ensign, and fired a salute of twenty-one guns.

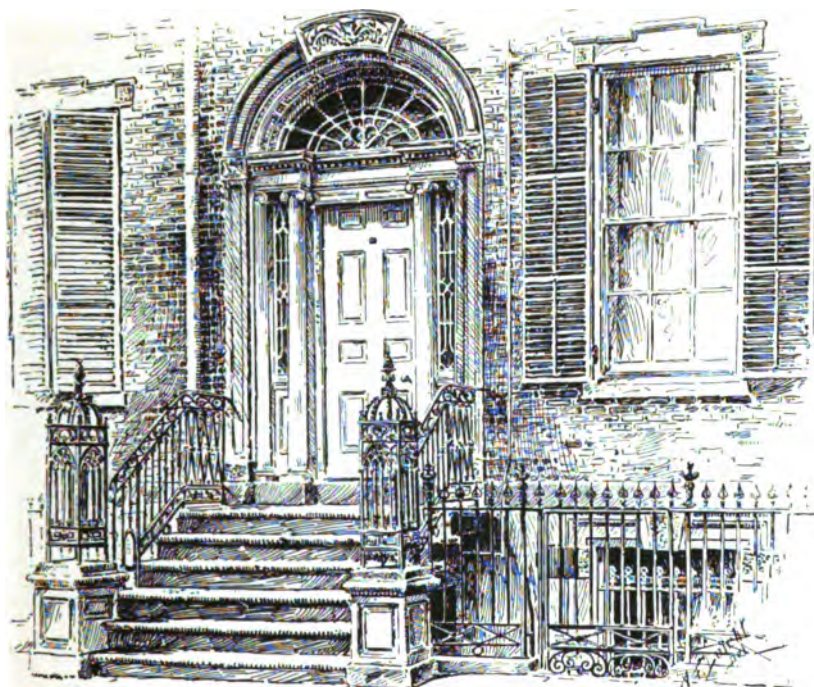
The heart of our republic was in the homage paid to the memory of John Ericsson. What man in American history ever received a higher tribute?

Our readers need no introduction to the distinguished engineer who in the moment of gravest peril gave to the United States navy the *Monitor*, and in her gave to all the navies of the globe the germ of the modern battle-ship; but there are many facts in connection with his lineage, education, experiences, and character, replete with interest and instruction, which should be better known to the general public. William C. Church has demonstrated in his *Life of John Ericsson* that genius does not spring into existence at call. Ericsson was prepared for the emergency, had become through untiring study and practice a master of his profession to its minutest details, and knew what was necessary to be done and exactly how to do it.* He was apparently the only man in

* Life of John Ericsson. By William Conant Church. Vols. I. and II. 8vo, pp. 303, 357-Illustrated. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1890.

America at the time, and doubtless the only man living, who could have built the fighting machine which stopped the Merrimac's destructive career.*

"John Ericsson," says his accomplished biographer, "lived for his work, and he had no wish that anything beyond a record of that should survive him." His industry was marvelous, even to the end of his long and useful career, and his achievements so varied and of such magnitude that it is difficult to grasp them as a whole or designate which has had



HOME OF JOHN ERICSSON IN BEACH STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

the most wide-spread influence. He enjoyed dwelling upon the fact in his later life that he was in good working condition for three hundred and sixty-five days in the year. He resided for a quarter of a century in Beach street, New York city, the southern boundary of St. John's park. This house was purchased in 1864, and an observatory built upon

* Our readers will remember a graphic description of the building of the *Monitor*, which appeared in the January number, 1885, of this magazine. Also a letter from C. S. Bushnell, in the February number, 1885, containing supplementary information on the same theme ; and a letter from Ericsson himself on the origin of the name *Monitor*. ♦

the roof for solar experiments. Mr. Church tells us in his interesting volumes that this home "was one of a row of comfortable residences standing on full city lots, and having an air of dignity and old time elegance, recalling the days when the City Hall park was a centre of fashion. The noble trees were in full view from Ericsson's front windows. The marble steps, the carved door-casings and fan-lights, the massive mahogany fittings of the interior, all bespoke the state of earlier occupants.* The forces of steam and iron, which its new owner had spent his life developing, were fast transforming that quarter of the town, but this little oasis of a park still remained as a memorial of better days. Commerce now pressed in from all sides and soon the park grounds were in demand for a freight depot; railroad cars and tracks displaced the stately trees; bare walls succeeded to pleasant verdure; the rattle of carts and the screech of locomotives followed the singing of birds and the chatter of squirrels.

To oblige a friend, Ericsson joined in the transfer of the park rights to the Hudson River Railway Company; but if he lost this bit of sentiment out of his life he gratified a deeper feeling by succoring starving Swedes with the money he thus received. The neighborhood henceforth deteriorated rapidly in character, and a tenement population displaced the more quiet residents. . . . The room used by Ericsson when at work was large and pleasant, occupying the entire front of twenty-five feet, the partition of the hall bedroom having been cut away to form an alcove. Here stood the table covered by the inclined drawing-board upon which the master's hand had wrought such marvels. . . . His parlor and dining-room, with their heavy chandeliers and mantel mirrors, had a certain air of old-fashioned dignity, but the handsomely finished and exquisitely polished specimens of his solar apparatus occupied every corner of the parlor and gave it the appearance of an alcove in the patent office. An oil portrait belonging to a friend, a bust of Mr. E. W. Stoughton, an elaborately engraved and framed copy of the resolutions passed by the legislature of the state of New York on the occasion of the *Monitor* fight, and a portrait of Gustavus V. Fox, were the only specimens of artistic adornment displayed about the house. Ericsson never found time for the cultivation of a taste for art, and there was a noteworthy absence in his house of everything appealing to æsthetic sentiment; but the pins in the cushion on his bedroom bureau were always arranged by himself so that they should be in exact mathematical rows."

* A picture of St. John's park when it was considered the most eligible place of residence in New York city was published by this magazine in March, 1890, Vol. XXIII., p. 183.

John Ericsson's birth-place in Sweden is marked by a large granite monument erected in 1867. His father was a mining proprietor and his mother an energetic, intellectual, and high-spirited woman. His brother Nils, one year older than himself, was trained as an engineer, became chief of the construction of the system of government railways in Sweden, was created a baron, and retired in 1862 with a pension larger than any before bestowed upon a Swedish subject. His sister Caroline, born in 1800, was a girl of unusual beauty. As a boy John was the wonder of the neighborhood. The machinery at the mines was to him an endless source



HEADQUARTERS GÖTA CANAL COMPANY.

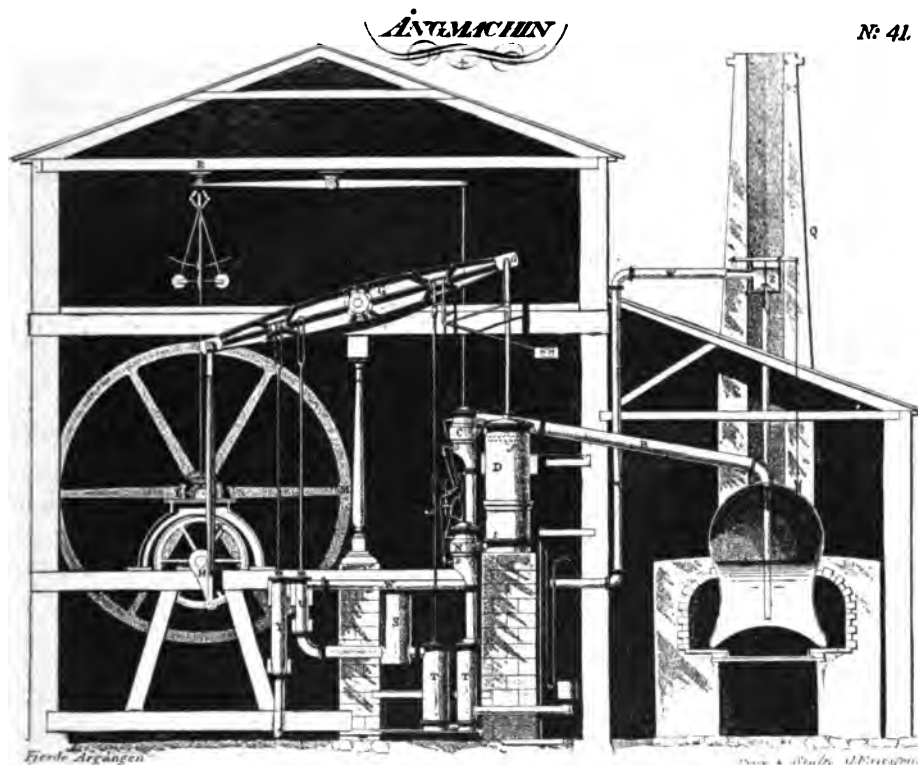
of curiosity and delight. He was constantly trying to make models even before he had learned to read. He had from his own plans constructed a miniature saw-mill prior to his tenth birthday, and made numerous drawings of a complicated character. The graphic account of his youth and early manhood which Mr. Church presents is full of suggestion and instruction. The boy was too much occupied with his contrivances to join in the pastimes of other children. His opportunities were unusually stimulating. The project of the Göta canal company, one of the most formidable undertakings of its kind, was revived when he was about ten years old, his father being appointed one of its engineers, holding

place next to that of the chief of the work. This opened a new world of ideas, and the little fellow undertook all manner of schemes. He was independent of outside assistance. Steel tweezers borrowed from his mother's dressing-case and ground to a point furnished him with a drawing pen, and his compasses were made of birch-wood with needles inserted at the end of the legs. Later on he robbed his mother's sable cloak of the hairs required for two small brushes, in order to complete his drawings in appropriate colors. The clever lad attracted the notice of some of the greatest mechanical draughtsmen in Sweden, who made him drawings to serve as models, and taught him many of the principles of the art. Finally the celebrated engineer Count Platen becoming interested, appointed him a cadet in the corps of mechanical engineers, and such was his progress in sketching profiles, maps, and drawings for the archives of the canal company, that in 1816, at the age of thirteen, he was made assistant leveller at the station of Riddarhagen. The next year he was employed to set out the work for six hundred operatives, though he was yet too small to reach the eye-piece of his leveling instrument without the aid of a stool carried by an attendant. Thus it will be seen that he was identified almost from his cradle with great engineering works. His father died in 1818, and in 1820, when seventeen, he entered the Swedish army as an ensign and was rapidly promoted to a lieutenancy.

The skill of young Ericsson in topographical drawing was so marked that he was soon summoned to the royal palace to draw maps to illustrate the campaigns of the marshal of the empire. He also passed with distinction a competitive examination for an appointment on the survey of northern Sweden. This new employment was exacting, and the pay determined by the amount of work accomplished. Mr. Church says: "The young surveyor from the Göta canal was so indefatigable in his industry and so rapid in execution, that he performed double duty and was carried on the pay-roll as two persons in order to avoid criticism and charges of favoritism. The results of his labors were maps of fifty square miles of territory, still preserved in the archives of Stockholm."

In the meantime John Ericsson worked at odd moments and at night in preparing a work for publication, containing the sketches and mechanical drawings he had accumulated during his service under Count Platen, with a full description of the machinery and methods used in canal work, the locks, and the various appliances for transportation. Having selected the drawings he decided to execute his own engravings. Obtaining leave of absence he went to Stockholm and applied to one of the best engravers for permission to inspect his tools; and, says Mr. Church, "was laughed at

for his simplicity in supposing that he was to be thus permitted to learn the mysteries of the craft. Nothing daunted he hastened to his room and began with energy to devise a *machine* for engraving. This he was presently able to show in triumph to the disobliging craftsman. Back to his station he went with his new machine and commenced work upon the sixty-five plates of copper carried with him. Within a year he had completed eighteen plates, averaging in size fifteen by twenty inches. One of these



SECOND ENGRAVING MADE BY JOHN ERICSSON IN 1821, AGED EIGHTEEN.

plates, the second one completed, was reproduced in a Swedish illustrated magazine and is given here. In acknowledging the receipt of a copy of this, Ericsson said: 'I remember very well the surprise of certain engravers at the sharp white edges of the pump rods against the dark ground. The plan of rubbing these parts with a fine varnish before the plates were prepared for the aquafortis, which suggested itself to the beginner, enabled him to surpass the work of experienced artists.'"

The volume was never finished. Major Pentz who was to translate it

into German to give it foreign currency completed only the preface. Ericsson found that the swift changes in the applications of machinery and the use of new methods were rendering the knowledge acquired at Göta out of date. Thus he abandoned the undertaking. As Major Pentz had advanced some money to purchase the copper-plates the engravings were assigned to him in payment. These incidents in connection with the undertaking serve to illustrate the originality and ingenuity of young Ericsson, whose capacity for absorbing knowledge wherever he could find it was extraordinary.

At the age of twenty-one John Ericsson "is described as a handsome, dashing youth, with a cluster of thick, brown glossy curls encircling his white massive forehead. His mouth was delicate but firm, nose straight, eyes light blue, clear and bright, with a slight expression of sadness, his complexion brilliant with the freshness and glow of healthy youth. The broad shoulders carried most splendidly the proud, erect head. He presented, in short, the very picture of vigorous manhood. A portrait of him at this age, painted upon ivory for his mother by an English artist named Way, has been preserved and is reproduced here." *

Fifteen years later he was in New York, and is thus described by Samuel Risley: "Captain Ericsson all his life was careful of his personal appearance; at the time I refer to (1839) he was exceptional in dress, not dandified, but more in keeping with the present morning call attire than an ordinary day habit. A close-fitting black frock surtout coat, well open at the front, with rolling-collar, showing velvet vest and a good display of shirt front; a fine gold chain hung about his neck, looped at the first button-hole of the vest and attached to a watch carried in the fob of the vest. Usually light-colored, well-fitting trousers, light-colored kid gloves, and a beaver hat completed the dress. To this add a well-built military figure, about five feet ten and one-half inches in height and well set-up, with broad shoulders and rather large hands and feet; the head well placed and supported by a military stock round the neck. Expressive features, blue eyes, and brown curly hair, fair complexion. His head was of medium size, his mouth well cut, upper lip a little drawn, the jaws large and firm set, conveying an expression of firmness

* Through the courtesy of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, we are permitted to place this early portrait before our readers. Our frontispiece is from an admirable portrait later in life, in possession of Mr. Church; also the very excellent portrait of Nils Ericsson. We are further indebted to the publishers for the specimens of Ericsson's drawings, his "Home in Beach Street," the "Headquarters Göta Canal Company," the "Novelty with a Train of Engines and Coaches in 1829," and the "Battle of the Monitor."

and individual character. Up to the summer of 1842 I was in constant attendance upon the captain, being a sort of factotum to him in preparing his models. At that time he boarded at the Astor House where I first met his wife. His manner with strangers was courteous and extremely taking. He invariably made friends of high and low alike.



JOHN ERICSSON AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-ONE.

With those in immediate contact in carrying out his work he was very popular."

Mr. Church devotes three chapters to a delightfully condensed account of Ericsson's career in England, whither he went in 1826 to exhibit his flame engine. He quickly formed a partnership with John Braithwaite, a working engineer, and in his new field of activity produced invention after invention in such rapid succession that the truth reads like a fairy-tale. An instrument for taking sea-soundings, a hydrostatic weighing-machine,

his improvements in the steam-engine—dispensing with huge smoke-stacks, economizing fuel, using compressed air and the artificial draught—and in surface condensation, were the work of this period, during which he also invented the steam fire-engine, which excited great interest in London. The famous battle of the locomotives in 1829 brought the young man of twenty-six before the English public in a manner never to be forgotten. At that date Stephenson himself dared not say very much about the speed of the locomotive. Had he ventured to predict that it would reach twenty miles an hour on the railway he would have been laughed out of court. He cautiously expressed his faith in the possibility of running it ten miles an hour, and multitudes regarded the experiment with consternation. There was great prejudice then existing in England against railroads. It was a mode of conveyance that would bring noble and peasant to a common level, and fashion clung tenaciously to its earlier inconveniences, which had at least the merit of being exclusive.

But in spite of the baleful prophecies concerning the locomotive engine, the officials of the projected railroad between Liverpool and Manchester, where the cars were expected to be drawn by horses, offered a premium of £500 for the best locomotive capable of drawing a gross weight of twenty tons at the rate of ten miles an hour. The conditions required a run of seventy miles. Five months were allowed for building the engines. Ericsson heard of the project only seven weeks before the appointed time of trial, and at once determined to compete. He hastily built the "Novelty," assisted by Braithwaite, and when the exhibition came off his was practically the only locomotive which disputed for the supremacy with Stephenson's "Rocket." But a portion of the railroad had yet been finished; thus the competing locomotives were compelled to cover their distance by making twenty trips back and forth over one and three-quarter miles of track. The excitement was intense. The *London Times* next morning said: "The 'Novelty' was the lightest and most elegant carriage on the road yesterday, and the velocity with which it moved surprised and amazed every beholder. It shot along the line at the amazing rate of thirty miles an hour! It seemed, indeed, to fly, presenting one of the most sublime spectacles of human ingenuity and human daring the world ever beheld."

Ericsson had really built a much faster locomotive than Stephenson's "Rocket;" and although it had been constructed with such celerity that it broke down before the final point was reached, and he thereby lost the prize, yet the superiority of the principle involved in it was universally recognized. John Bourn said: "To most men the production of such an



VIEW OF THE NOVELTY WITH A TRAIN OF ENGINE AND COACHES IN 1829.

[From pen-and-ink drawing by C. B. Vignoles.]

engine would have constituted an adequate claim to celebrity. In the case of Ericsson, it is only a single star of the brilliant galaxy with which his shield is spangled." "We may imagine," writes Mr. Church, "the excitement following the announcement in the *Times* concerning the performance of the 'Novelty,' for to this engine England's great daily devoted chief attention. Railroad shares leaped at once to a premium, and excited groups gathered on 'change to discuss the wonderful event. The pessimists were silenced, and the art of modern railway travel inaugurated. A grand banquet was given in Liverpool to the directors and officers of the railway and to the competing locomotive builders. Toasts and speeches followed; and if Ericsson did not carry home with him the £500 offered as a prize, he at least made himself known to all England as one of the rising men of his profession.

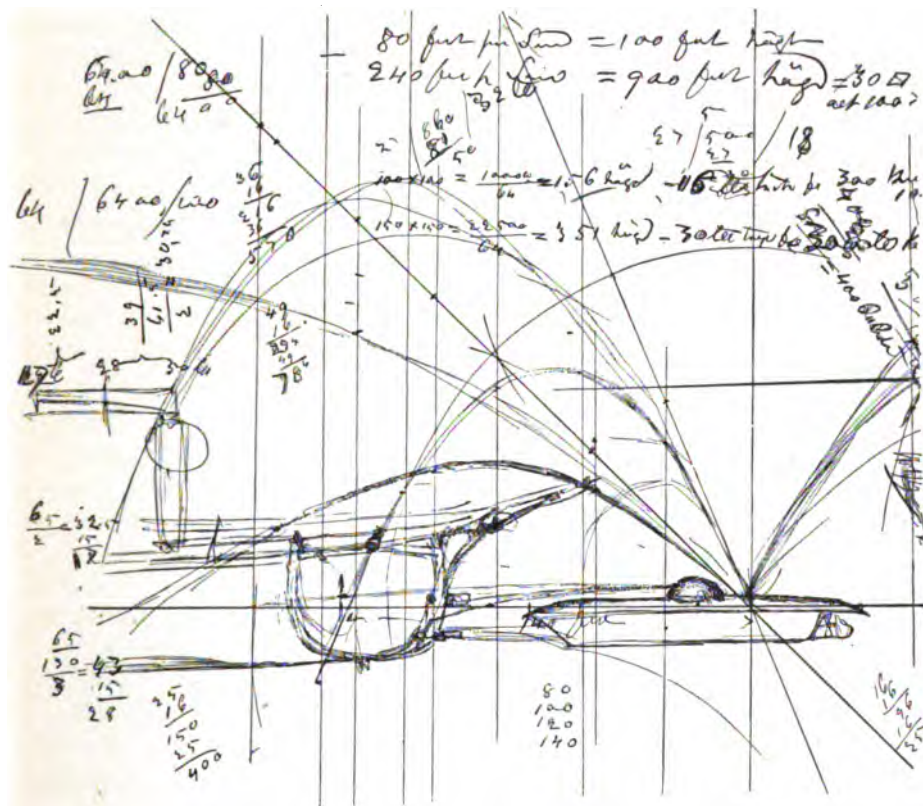
Ericsson's long-cherished plan of a caloric engine was realized in 1833, and was hailed with astonishment by the scientific world of London. Lectures were delivered on it by Dr. Dionysius Lardner and Michael Faraday, and it was much praised by Dr. Alexander Ure and Sir Richard Phillips. In 1836 Ericsson invented and patented the screw propeller, which revolutionized navigation, and in 1837 built a steam vessel having twin screw propellers, which on trial towed the American packet-ship *Toronto* at the rate of five miles an hour on the river Thames. In 1838 he constructed the iron screw steamer *Robert F. Stockton*, which crossed the Atlantic under canvas in 1839, and was afterward employed as a tug-boat on the Delaware river for a quarter of a century. Within ten years Ericsson patented thirty inventions considered by him of sufficient importance to claim a place in the list, that in 1863 numbered one hundred.

A notable feature of the admirable work of Mr. Church is the elucidations of the truth, so often overlooked, that events never spring into being disjoined from antecedents leading to them. He explains how the varied achievements of John Ericsson were developed, showing with great force and in imperishable colors the steps to his successes, and the help the

famous engineer derived in later life from the studies and experiments of his earlier career. Mr. Church, as the literary executor of Ericsson, has had unrivalled opportunities for examining the accumulation of data, which throw light all along the way, and while dealing with the masterly engineering exploits of his subject, does not forget that he had a human side, and presents him with all his hopes and fears and failures, his aims, his obstacles, his courage, and his habits and eccentricities. Ericsson certainly cherished a very high ideal, and was free to an unusual extent from mercenary motives. His inventions did not always pay; he found this a weary world for those who see beyond their fellows. Some of his mechanical contrivances in common use to-day dated so far back of the memory of any one living that before he died he often learned that he was supposed to have copied from others what he, in fact, originated himself or first brought into use.

The barriers of tradition and prejudice had to be overcome with his every new invention. The introduction of steam in any shape to the English navy was sharply opposed. It is interesting to trace the incidents, apparently without connection, which stand in orderly relations one to another as essential parts of an intelligent design. Ericsson was in America at the critical moment when all the experiences of his previous life were to be brought into full play; when he was to take part in an enterprise involving the existence of a nation, the hopes of humanity. He was ready to meet the strain of a demand to which no other living man was adequate. He was then fifty-eight years of age, with the constitution and the vital forces of a man of forty, and such experience in actual accomplishment as few acquire in the longest span of a lifetime.

When he received the order of our government for the *Monitor* his plans were already drawn. He had been at work for years perfecting his system of aquatic attack, originally inspired for the protection of Sweden against foreign aggression, and had in 1854 submitted his drawings to the emperor of France. The story of his proceedings in Washington is familiar to our readers, but in these notable volumes of Mr. Church it is told with a fullness of detail never before attempted. The *Monitor* in all its parts was designed by Ericsson, and fortunately for the country he was allowed to superintend its construction. His former plans, however, had to be carefully revised to meet the novel conditions of life in a submerged structure. It was estimated that this iron-clad vessel contained at least forty patentable contrivances. The entire resources of modern engineering knowledge were brought to bear upon the solution of the problem of an impregnable battery, armed with guns of the heaviest calibre then known, hull shot-



FAC-SIMILE OF ERICSSON'S ORIGINAL PENCIL DRAWING OF HIS MONITOR, 1854.

proof from stem to stern, rudder and propeller protected against the enemy's fire, and above all having the advantage of light draught. Ericsson was made responsible for the successful working of his vessel in every respect. The anxiety of the government was such that every stage in the progress of the work toward completion was watched with restless interest. Ericsson's nerves and sinews seemed to be made of steel. He scarcely took time to eat or sleep, and he was deluged with a continuous tempest of criticism, warning, and advice, from those who knew nothing about the intricacies of science involved in the undertaking. The least halting, even trifling delay, confusion of mind, or weakness of body, and the story of Hampton Roads might not have been written.

The *Monitor* was finished and left the harbor of New York for Washington on the afternoon of March 6, 1862, in tow of a tug, and accompanied by two naval steamers. Chief Engineer Alban S. Stimers, U. S. N., who

was on the vessel as a passenger, described in a letter dated March 9, 1862, to Ericsson, the dramatic incidents attending its arrival at Hampton Roads. "After a stormy passage we fought the *Merrimac* for more than three hours this forenoon, and sent her back to Norfolk in a sinking condition. Iron-clad against iron-clad, we maneuvered about the bay here, and went at each other with mutual fairness. I consider that both ships were well fought. We were struck twenty-two times—pilot-house twice, turret nine times, deck three times, sides eight times. The only vulnerable point was the pilot-house. One of your great logs (nine by twelve inches thick) is broken in two. The shot struck just outside of where the captain had his eye, and disabled him by destroying his left eye and temporarily blinding the other. She tried to run us down and sink us as she did the *Cumberland* yesterday, but she got the worst of it. Her horn passed over our deck, and our sharp, upper-edged rail cut through the light-iron shoe upon her stern and well into her oak. She will not try that again. She gave us a tremendous thump, but did not injure us in the least; we were just able to find the point of contact. The turret is a splendid structure. You were very correct in your estimate of the effect of shot upon the man on the inside of the turret when it struck near him. Three men were knocked down, of whom I was one. The other two had to be carried below, but I was not disabled at all, and the others recovered before the battle was over. Captain Worden [afterward admiral] stationed himself at the pilot-house. Greene fired the guns, and I turned the turret until the captain was disabled and was relieved by Greene, when I managed the turret myself, Master Stoddard having been one of the two stunned men.

Captain Ericsson, I congratulate you upon your great success; thousands here this day bless you. I have heard whole crews cheer you; every man feels that you have saved the nation by furnishing us with the means to whip an iron-clad frigate that was, until our arrival, having it all her own way with our most powerful vessels."

If space permitted it would be interesting to trace the career of Ericsson in detail after the success of the *Monitor*. There was an imperative demand for armor-clads and ere long several were built by the inventor and his associates. Ericsson was never idle. In connection with his labors upon war vessels he expended no small amount of ingenuity on the improvement of heavy guns, his efforts in this field being directed by a most exhaustive study into the strength of materials, the operation of explosive forces, and the laws governing the flight of projectiles. In 1869 he constructed for the Spanish government a fleet of thirty steam gun-boats,



BATTLE BETWEEN THE "MONITOR" AND "MERRIMAC," HAMPTON ROADS, VIRGINIA, MARCH 9, 1862.

intended to guard Cuba against filibustering parties. In 1881 he devised his latest war-vessel the *Destroyer*, the object of which he said was "simply to demonstrate the practicability of sub-marine artillery, unquestionably the most effective, as well as the cheapest device for protecting the sea-ports of the Union against iron-clad ships. I do not," he continued, "seek emoluments, as I am financially independent; but I am anxious to benefit the great and liberal country, which has enabled me to carry out important works which I should not have carried out on a monarchical soil." His investigations included computations of the influences which retard the earth's rotary motion; he erected a "sun motor" in 1883, to develop the power obtained from the supply of mechanical energy in the sun, and he contributed numerous valuable papers to various journals in America and Europe on scientific, naval, and mechanical themes.

The year in which John Ericsson reached the culmination of his fame, 1862, was the same in which his brother Nils retired from active life in Sweden. The latter had retained his position on the Göta canal when his brother left it in 1820, and gradually won his way to fame and fortune. "He was a man of industry and energy, of sterling integrity and public spirit, and an excellent organizer, while his conservative and cautious temperament and his skill in bending others to his purposes enabled him to make the most of his opportunities." After he received his title he altered the spelling of his name and became Baron Ericson. This change gave great offence to John, who wrote to Nils: "I can never forget the unpleasantness caused me by this annulling of relationship. Possibly your wife has had her share in it. If so, she will find some day that the blotted-out letter will cost her children half a million."

Some of the most interesting chapters in the work of Mr. Church relate to the personal characteristics of John Ericsson. He was generous to his friends, and his benefactions to Sweden were considerable. The financial side of his affairs from year to year appears as well as the record of his failures and successes. It is difficult to grasp the whole man and present him to the reader in all his many-sided aspects or to touch upon the variety of his studies, endeavors, schemes, and achievements, without danger of bewilderment. His biographer has done all this, however, in the most skillful and acceptable manner.

A list of the honors conferred upon Ericsson would fill one of our pages, and some of the medals received were very beautiful. He was decorated as Knight of the Order of Vasa, which was founded by Gustavus III. to reward important service to the nation; he was made Knight Commander of the Order of the North Star, for promoting the public good and useful



BARON NILS ERICSON.

COLONEL OF ENGINEERS AND CHIEF OF THE SWEDISH RAILWAYS.

institutions; a commander of the Order of St. Olof, to reward distinction in the arts and sciences; received the Grand Cross of the Order of Naval Merit, with the White Badge and Star, from King Alfonso of Spain, which confers personal nobility and bestowed upon Ericsson the title of "Excellency;" a special gold medal from the Emperor of Austria, in behalf of science; a gold medal from the Society of Iron-Masters in Sweden; thanks under the royal seal and signature from Sweden; joint resolutions of thanks from the United States congress; thanks from the legislature of New York, and of other states; from the chamber of commerce; from boards of trade in many cities; and he was elected to honorary membership in scientific, historical, literary, religious, and agricultural institutions innumerable. Among them all he took the most pride in his simple title of captain, and in the diploma of LL.D. received from the Wesleyan University in 1862.

THE BLADENSBURG DUELING GROUND

Some five miles from the great dome of the Capitol, in a northeasterly direction, just where the old Washington and Baltimore turnpike crosses the eastern branch of the Potomac, sometimes called the Anacostia river, is a village which without any particular fault of its inhabitants will doubtless through all our future history bear an unenviable fame.

This undesirable notoriety attaching to the little hamlet of Bladensburg is properly due to two causes: on the 24th of August, 1814, was here fought that ill-starred battle, prior to the capture of Washington and the burning of its public buildings; and near here, a short half-mile from the bridge which still spans the little stream, and within a stone's throw of the identical spot where the heroic Barney came so near redeeming that unfortunate day—in a little ravine lying just below the turnpike—is the celebrated "field of honor," where has been settled more "affairs" than any other one locality in our country, or perhaps in the world.

To the sight-seer of the present in the sleepy little town of Bladensburg the inhabitants are fond of descanting upon the traditional glories of its history. It is said to have been a thriving port of trade long before Washington city came into existence, perhaps even before Georgetown was planted by Scotch thrift, or the tobacco warehouse of Bell-Haven metamorphosed into Alexandria. Sloops sailed up the eastern branch of the Potomac and discharged their English cargoes at the substantial wharf at the foot of the main street, lading again for the mother country with the one universal staple of all the region roundabout—tobacco. The ancient hotel, where one may yet sit down to an old-fashioned Maryland dinner, is built of bricks brought from England and discharged in bulk not more than a stone's throw from where they stand to-day. While the dinner is being prepared under the supervision of half a dozen colored cooks and assistants in true ante-bellum style the landlord will relate the story of the great Washington himself, who once spent a night beneath his roof.

Who shall say he did not? Albeit the George Washington house of to-day, aged and quaint though it be, is not the celebrated Bladensburg tavern in which the Father of his Country doubtless was sometimes a guest, and which many years later gathered wider though less desirable fame as a resort for those seeking satisfaction for real or imaginary wrongs upon the adjacent field of blood. That historic building, after

many years of the very extremity of architectural decrepitude, has recently been razed to the ground, and nothing now remains to mark the spot save a portion of the cellar walls and some heaps of rubbish. In that desolate spot, flanked on one side by the straggling street and on the other by the weed-grown common, it requires small stretch of the imagination to read the epitome of the village itself. Verily its glory has departed. The wharves where once a busy traffic flourished have decayed, and the harbor where sloops rode at anchor is choked with the debris. No vessel now



THE GEORGE WASHINGTON HOUSE, BLADENSBURG.

floats upon the insignificant stream save perchance a fisherman's skiff or a sand-scow.

Does the blood of the lamented Mason and the brilliant Decatur cry aloud from the barren soil of the desolate ravine just over the hill? Does the genius of a barbarous custom yet hover with blighting pinions over the spot, fixing its mark alike upon the works of man and the face of nature?

The history of the village, so far as future chroniclers will care to write or future generations to read, begins on that memorable 24th of August, 1814, when some six or seven thousand American militia troops under General Winder encountered about forty-five hundred trained and veteran British regulars under command of General Ross, and sustained the defeat resulting in the capture of the capital, as already stated. This battle, and the subsequent destruction of Washington, has ever since been regarded

with sorrow by every patriotic American citizen; and yet our forces engaged in the unfortunate affair are entitled to more consideration and credit in the estimation of succeeding generations than they have received.

The careful student of the engagement with its consequences cannot resist the conclusion that the army, from the unfortunate Winder himself down to the crudest militiaman of the whole hastily gathered band, were the victims of circumstances almost entirely beyond their control—wholly so, so far as the rank and file were concerned. Perhaps nine-tenths of the readers of to-day, who have thought at all of the matter, have little more than a half-defined idea that this engagement was a mere brush, a slight skirmish of perhaps thirty minutes' duration, at the end of which the panic-stricken Americans fled like frightened sheep along the road to Washington and Georgetown, or scattered like partridges in the woods. Such was not the fact. The winning of Bladensburg cost the British more than three hours' hard fighting and five hundred of their best men in killed and wounded; among the latter were some of their bravest officers.

When we consider that the whole of the American forces, with the exception of the six hundred marines under Barney, were untrained militiamen, most of them less than a week removed from the peaceful avocations of the plow, the shop, or the counting-house; that they were here for the first time under fire; that they had spent the two or three days immediately before the battle marching and counter-marching beneath the burning August sun, in the vain effort to ascertain where the hovering enemy intended to strike; that many of them were sick and debilitated from loss of sleep and insufficient and unaccustomed food, we are no longer surprised that they were defeated—but that they fought at all.

This was not all. A survey of the unfortunate causes which conspired to make defeat to our arms on that occasion a foregone conclusion would be wholly incomplete without a glance at the part taken by the leaders, managers, counselors, advisors, and commanders who figured in the matter. A writer of old has said: "In the multitude of counselors there is safety," but in this instance the wisdom of Solomon proved at fault. Perhaps never in the history of civilized warfare was battle waged under such depressing weight of counsel and command. The position of our troops was well chosen. The enemy was forced to admit that much. Just west of the river and bridge two roads come together, inclosing a triangular field, where our troops formed their first line, with one flank extending to an old mill, still standing; and the other, resting upon the height south of the turnpike, was composed of two regiments of Baltimore militia and a battery of Baltimore artillery, posted so as to command the bridge and road.



THE OLD MILL NEAR THE BATTLE GROUND.

Shortly after these troops had taken their position another body of Maryland soldiers, after a forced march of sixteen miles from Annapolis, arrived and took position on the right of the road.

Meanwhile intelligence had reached Washington that the enemy was marching upon the city by way of Bladensburg, and General Winder at once put his army in motion and about noon arrived upon the scene of action and assumed command. He was accompanied or followed to the field by the President, the attorney-general, the secretary of state, the secretary of war, by other members of the government, and prominent citizens. Among those present were Francis Scott Key, who shortly afterward wrote the *Star Spangled Banner*, and Alexander McKim, a member of congress from Baltimore.

It is stated that the President and the members of the cabinet present with him inspected the situation and approved the arrangements, and it is probable that one or more of the party interfered more or less with the

commanding general in his further preparations, for it was afterward stated that that official was just at this juncture annoyed by "numerous self-constituted contributors of advice, suggestors of position, and intermeddlers with command; gentlemen of respectability and good will; committees; a whole democracy of commanders industriously helped to mar all singleness of purpose and unity of action."

Under such conditions the very air must have seemed laden with defeat to the unfortunate commander. A second line was formed of the later arrivals, and before the action commenced still a third line took position upon the heights overlooking the field. Commodore Barney with his five or six hundred marines and a battery of eighteen-pounders took position on the right of the road and quite near the identical spot afterward known as the dueling ground. Another battery of twelve-pounders, under Captain Miller was stationed on his right. These were supported by the militia under command of Colonel Beall on the extreme right, and in the sequel the heroism displayed by this combination formed the one redeeming feature of the day. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that Barney and Beall did all the fighting on that ill-starred field.

The engagement began about one o'clock, when the British deployed down the main street of the little village, and after a short reconnoissance attempted to cross the bridge. Here they were met by such destructive fire from the battery commanding that point and from the sharpshooters sheltered along the margin of the stream that they were thrown into confusion and many of their numbers were slain. The check was only temporary. They soon succeeded in passing the bridge, when our artillerymen together with their supports were forced back. Thereupon the main body of the first line was ordered forward, and at once opened a destructive fire upon the advancing enemy. In a few moments the latter discharged some rockets, which passing close over the heads of our militia caused a panic and they fled in confusion. One regiment, however, stood firm and for a short while covered the retreat. These were shortly directed to fall back to save them from being outflanked. It was a fatal order. The men who had faced the foe like veterans no sooner turned their backs than they became infected by the same panic which had demoralized their comrades.

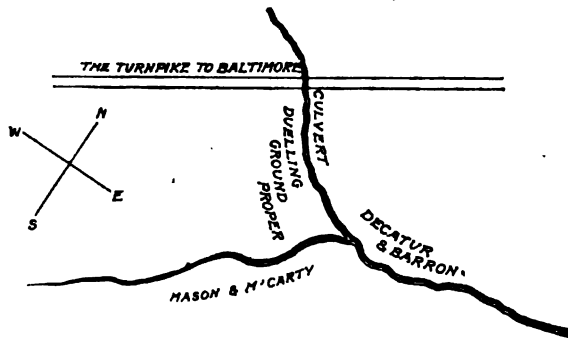
And now the victorious foe swept down the turnpike, meeting with little further resistance until they encountered the deadly guns of Barney's and Miller's marines. It was a check as sudden as unexpected. Again and again the enemy advanced and were as often forced back. For a full hour the invaders strove in vain to dislodge that heroic band.

More than two hundred British soldiers were killed in that part of the engagement and several of their officers fell, either killed or wounded. Among the latter was the leader of the British assault. Ross himself finally came upon the scene, and by a flank movement with fresh troops succeeded in dislodging Beall's militia, thus leaving the gallant Barney without support, yet still he fought on. His brave marines fell in a circle about him; his charger was shot beneath him; then the hero himself fell with a dangerous wound in the thigh.

That virtually ended the conflict. The marines attempted to bear their noble commander from the field, but the severity of his wound would not permit, and he was surrendered to a British officer. The British commander said of him that night in Washington: "Barney was a brave officer; with only a handful of men he gave us a severe shock. I am sorry he was wounded. I immediately gave him parole and hope he will do well. Had half the army been such men as he commanded, with the Americans' advantage in choosing position, we should never have got to Washington."

It is, however, of Bladensburg, the dueling ground—the "field of honor," the "elsewhere" of gentlemen of the "code"—that the writer purposes to treat at greater length. It is perhaps difficult to explain just why this particular spot should have been selected and have become of such universal resort in the unholy custom which has given to it an unenviable fame. The most plausible theory is, that if men must needs fight, this place combined the advantages of being easily accessible from the capital and yet out of the jurisdiction of the district; the near-by village afforded parties an opportunity for rest and refreshment before and sometimes after the combat; and above all, the seclusion to be found within the tangled recesses of the lonely ravine, screening the duelists alike from the observation of the inquisitive passer-by, or the officious meddling of over-zealous minions of the law.

The historic ground is just beyond the district line and a short half-mile from the village bridge, on the right hand of the turnpike as one goes toward Baltimore. A small stream wanders along the bottom of the



ravine, crossing the road beneath a rude culvert and falling into the river a mile below. It is a desolate-looking place, characterized by a thick growth of small trees, shrubs, aquatic weeds, and grasses. In an open space along the west margin of the brook and only a few yards from the road, more than a score of duels have taken place, besides others that have occurred in different localities in the immediate neighborhood, and it is estimated that the whole number of hostile meetings upon this field would aggregate fifty or more. Among the first, so far as the records show, was that of Edward Hopkins of Maryland, with an adversary whose name has not been preserved. It took place in the year 1814 and resulted in the death of Hopkins. It is not known whether this meeting was before or after the battle in August of that year.

It was on the 6th day of February, 1819, that here occurred the first duel that attracted universal attention on account of the prominence of the parties, the implacable bitterness of the quarrel, and the melancholy results. This was the desperate and fatal encounter between General Armisted T. Mason, an ex-senator in congress from Virginia, and Colonel John M. M'Carty, a citizen of the same state. It seems the trouble between them grew out of that prolific source of quarrels of this kind—politics. The principals were relatives—either first or second cousins—and the fact seemed to add to the bitterness of their animosity. The quarrel had been of long standing, but the immediate cause from which grew the fatal meeting was that at a certain election in Virginia General Mason challenged M'Carty's right to vote. The latter thereupon challenged Mason to fight, and in the excess of his anger so far departed from the rules of the code as to prescribe the terms and conditions of the meeting. For this reason Mason declined to receive the challenge, at the same time notified M'Carty that he was ready to accept a cartel in proper form. Thereupon M'Carty published him as a coward. Then in turn Mason challenged M'Carty, but the latter now declined on the ground that he had posted the other as a coward. At this juncture friends interfered and the dispute was for a time dropped. Mason's wrongs, however, whether real or fancied, still rankled. Some months later he determined to renew the quarrel. He is said to have reached this determination upon the advice of no less an authority than that of General Andrew Jackson, who was himself a follower of the "code" both in faith and practice. However that may be, it is certain that the exasperated and desperate Virginian, with a calm and grim determination—a concentrated bitterness—resolved to accept no reparation short of blood or life itself. This is proved by the cool deliberation with which he went about his

preparations. He resigned his commission as general of the Virginia militia, made his will, and then renewed his challenge to his adversary.

In his note to his adversary he says: "I have resigned my commission for the special and sole purpose of fighting you, and I am now free to accept or send a challenge or fight a duel. . . . I am extremely anxious to terminate at once and forever this quarrel. My friends — and — are fully authorized to act for me in every particular. Upon receiving from you a pledge to fight, they are authorized and instructed at once to give the challenge for me, and to make immediately every necessary



THE BLADENSBURG DUELING GROUND, 1890.

[The turnpike crosses the ravine just behind the willow seen near the centre of the picture. Mason was killed near the sycamore on the left of the foreground. Decatur fell, across the stream behind the trees seen on the extreme right. The view is taken looking north.]

arrangement for the duel, on any terms you may prescribe." This note, without having seen or consulted with his seconds, he enclosed to the latter with the following instructions: "You will present the enclosed communication to Mr. John M'Carty and tell him at once that you are authorized by me to challenge him, in the event of his pledging himself to fight. If he will give the pledge, then I desire that you will instantly challenge him in my name to fight a duel with me. . . . Agree to any terms that he may propose, and to any distance—to three feet, his pretended favorite distance—or to three inches should his impetuous and rash courage prefer it. To any species of fire-arms—pistols, muskets, or rifles—agree at once."

M'Carty refused to accept, and it was only when Mason's seconds threatened to post him as a coward that he would agree to fight. But as the challenged party, he now proposed his terms. His first offer was that he and Mason should leap together from the dome of the Capitol. It was declined as being unsanctioned by the "code." He next proposed fighting with lighted matches over a barrel of gunpowder. This was declined as being calculated to establish a "dangerous precedent." He then proposed dirks in a hand-to-hand encounter. This offer was likewise declined. He then proposed to fight with muskets loaded with buck-shot, at ten feet distance. This offer clearly meant, what both parties were seemingly resolved upon, death to one or both; but it was finally accepted; though the terms were afterward so modified as to make the distance twelve feet, and a single ball was substituted for the deadly buck-shot.

The parties repaired to Bladensburg on the evening of the 5th of February, that they might be convenient to the fatal field on the following morning. They spent the night in the village, most probably devoting the intervening time to final preparations. The next morning at eight o'clock they repaired to the place of meeting, accompanied by their friends and seconds. The expected duel had become generally known in the village during the night, and many of the people followed the party to the field. The seconds selected a spot a little farther removed from the road than the one usually chosen, just around a point where a tributary stream empties into the main brook. It was in the midst of a violent snow-storm that the two desperate men stood facing each other, the muzzles of their long muskets almost touching. Mason wore a long overcoat with flowing skirts, the other presented himself in his shirt, with sleeves rolled up. If while they stood there each facing what seemed instant and certain death, there was any abatement of the hatred and bitterness which had so long rankled in both hearts, they gave no sign. Not a word passed between them—Mason spoke to no one whatever after taking his place upon the ground.

At the word both fired and both fell, Mason dead—the life literally blown out of him, M'Carty dangerously wounded. The long skirt of Mason's coat interfered with his aim, thus accounting for the fact that his enemy escaped with life. M'Carty survived, but it is said that he was ever afterward a changed man—that he never recovered from the haunting horror and remorse which the memory of that bloody morning cast over his remaining years.

To any lingering believers in the ethics of the "code," if such there be in this enlightened day, it must be a source of gratification to learn from the account published by the seconds of Mason soon after, "that the

affair, although fatally, was honorably terminated, and the deportment of the friends of Mr. M'Carty throughout the whole business was perfectly correct." The duel, however, which gave the field of Bladensburg its greatest and world-wide notoriety was that of James Barron and Stephen Decatur, both officers in the United States navy, on the 22d of March, 1820.

In the long and bloody record of the "code" inscribed upon the history of the first half-century of our national existence, this melancholy and unfortunate affair ranks second only to that in which the lamented Hamilton lost his life at Weehawken in 1804. At the time of his death Stephen Decatur was the most brilliant and conspicuous figure in the American navy, and few men in any of the walks of public life attracted a larger share of public attention or had a stronger hold upon the affections of the people. It may be said that he was born into the naval service. His father and grandfather before him had followed the sea. At the age of nineteen he obtained a midshipman's warrant, and took service in the frigate *United States*, in the very last years of the last century. He is described as being at that time "well informed for his age, chivalrous in temper, courteous in his deportment, and adding grace of manner to an attractive person." His promotion was rapid. He became a lieutenant in 1799. When, in 1801, our naval force was cut down, he was one of the thirty-six officers of that grade retained out of a total of one hundred and ten. Soon after war broke out with the Barbary powers, and in February, 1804, he performed the daring feat of capturing and burning the ill-fated *Philadelphia* as she lay moored beneath the guns of Tripoli. For that gallant service he was made a captain, and the next year, after the conclusion of peace, he sailed home in command of the frigate *Congress*.

The fame of his achievements in thus humbling the proud piratical power to which all European nations had paid tribute preceded him, and he was everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm. When the war of 1812 came his broad pennant of commodore floated over the frigate *United States*, and in that vessel he shortly after fought the brilliant engagement with the British vessel *Macedonian*, which prize he captured and brought safely into port. After the conclusion of peace with England two squadrons were fitted out to proceed again to the Mediterranean, the pirates having assailed our commerce during the war. One squadron was placed under the command of Decatur and the other under that of Bainbridge. They now made complete the work of ten years before.

Decatur captured two Algerine war vessels; he forced the dey to abandon forever all claim of tribute from the United States; he de-

manded and secured the release of all Christian prisoners; he secured indemnity from the bey of Tunis and the pacha of Tripoli for violation of their treaties, and obtained the release of the prisoners held by them. In short he humbled and for a time completely overawed the powers which had levied shameful tribute upon the commerce of the whole civilized world. They never again molested that of the United States.

For this service all Europe gave him fame and thanks. At home the president eulogized his deeds in his message to congress. When he returned in 1816 to his native land the country was ablaze with enthusiasm, and cities and corporations vied with each other in doing him honor. He was appointed to the office of navy commissioner, and for the next four years devoted his energies to building up the young navy of the republic.

Such was Decatur the brilliant, the hero of two worlds, the idol of the populace. Nor was his, as is too often the case, a one-sided life or character. His domestic relations were as happy and charming as his public career was brilliant. On Lafayette square in Washington he built the commodious and elegant mansion which still bears his name. Here were displayed the trophies of his prowess and glory. Here the accomplished wife who adored him dispensed a hospitality as refined and elegant as it was hearty—reigned the queen of a circle that for brilliancy and accomplishments has never been exceeded in Washington. Yet from this pinnacle of fame and domestic felicity he descended to fling away his life in obedience to the behest of a custom as barbarous as it was unreasonable.

Our sympathy is not all due to Decatur. To the careful reader who follows the long correspondence between the two the conclusion is almost irresistible that although the challenged party he was in fact the aggressor. The culmination of the quarrel between the two men was the result of a long series of events, extending through several years. Singularly enough, its origin may be found in certain events largely instrumental in bringing on the war of 1812. It will be remembered that one of the principal causes of that war was, that Great Britain claimed and exercised the right of stopping our vessels wherever found upon the high seas; of searching them for British citizens or seamen, and of impressing into her marine service whomsoever her officers might decide to fall within that category. That tyrannical and untenable doctrine caused the war of 1812, although it was not mentioned in the peace treaty which followed that struggle.

In 1807 Barron, who had attained the rank of commodore, was placed in command of the United States frigate *Chesapeake*. It was just when our affairs with France had assumed their most threatening aspect—when

war with that power seemed imminent. The vessel, after undergoing hasty repairs, had been hurriedly manned, provisioned, and ordered to sea. Her decks were encumbered with stores, and her crew were undrilled in their new quarters and duties. Just out from the port of Norfolk it was overhauled by the British ship *Leopard*, of fifty guns, whose commander demanded certain alleged British deserters said to be among the crew of the American. Barron refused to surrender the men, and thereupon the *Leopard* opened fire, killing three and wounding eighteen of the *Chesapeake's* men. Wholly unprepared for action, the latter vessel was forced to strike her colors, though her crew managed to fire one gun by a coal brought from the cook's galley. Thereupon the British commander boarded the American and carried off the alleged deserters. His action was afterward repudiated by his government, the men were restored to the *Chesapeake*, and an indemnity in money was paid.

This outrage upon our flag excited universal and burning indignation in the popular mind. A court of inquiry was ordered to investigate the affair, and upon its recommendation Barron was tried by a court-martial. By that body he was found guilty, and suspended from rank and pay for a period of five years. There is little doubt now that this sentence was wholly undeserved; that the fault lay not with the commander whose vessel went to sea unprepared for action, but with the superior officer who issued the ill-timed order. As has so often been the case, public clamor demanded a victim and poor Barron must needs be offered up.

Decatur was a member of both the court of inquiry and the court-martial. Barron believed he should not have served on the latter after having formed and expressed an opinion in the former. After his suspension Barron went abroad and remained away for a number of years. When the war of 1812 was over he returned to his country and applied for restoration to active service in the navy, the term of his suspension having expired. This application Decatur, now in the zenith of his power, opposed with all his influence. The first in the long series of communications which passed between the parties was from Barron to Decatur, dated Hampton, Virginia, June 12th, 1819. He writes: "Sir: I have been informed in Norfolk that you have said that you could insult me with impunity, or words to that effect. If you have said so, you will no doubt avow it, and I shall expect to hear from you."

Decatur replied: "Sir: I have received your communication of the 12th instant. . . . Whatever I may have thought or said in the very frequent and free conversations I have had respecting you and your conduct, I feel a thorough conviction that I never could have been guilty of

so much egotism as to say that I could insult you (or any other man) with impunity." From this point the correspondence continued at great length, and with ever-increasing asperity on both sides; yet through it all one cannot but let his sympathy go out to Barron. He was broken by years of ill-health and bowed down by the weight of a sentence which he felt to be unjust. He was so near-sighted that to his friends, if not to himself, an encounter with pistols must have seemed the sheerest madness. It was to this infirmity he alluded when he wrote: "All I demand is to be placed upon equal grounds with you; such as two honorable men may decide upon as being just and proper." Continuing he says: "You have *hunted* me out; have persecuted me with all the power and influence of your office, and have declared your determination to drive me from the navy if I should make any efforts to be employed; and for what purpose or from what other motive than to obtain my rank I know not. If my life will give it to you, you shall have an opportunity of obtaining it. And now, sir, I have only to add, that if you will make known your determination and the name of your friend, I will give that of mine in order to complete the necessary arrangements to a final close of this affair."

Decatur evidently did not intend to give the other the slight advantage of being the challenged party, for he writes in reply: "I reiterated to you that I have not challenged, nor do I intend to challenge you. . . . It is evident that you think, or your friends for you, that a fight will help you, but in fighting you wish to incur the least possible risk. Now, sir, not believing that a fight of this nature will raise me at all in public estimation, but may even have a contrary effect, I do not feel at all disposed to remove the difficulties that lie in our way. If we fight it must be of your seeking; and you must take all the risk and all the inconvenience which usually attend the challenger in such cases." It is a singular fact in this unfortunate affair, no directly worded challenge ever passed between the parties. In reply to the foregoing Barron wrote: "Sir, your letter of the 29th ultimo, I have received. In it you say that you have now to inform me that you shall pay no further attention to any communication that I may make to you, other than a direct call to the field; in answer to which I have only to reply that whenever you will consent to meet me on fair and equal grounds, that is, such as two honorable men may consider just and proper, you are at liberty to view this as a call. The whole tenor of your conduct to me justifies this course of proceeding on my part. As for your charges and remarks, I regard them not; particularly your sympathy. You know not such a feeling. I cannot be suspected of making the attempt to excite it."

To this Decatur replied: "Sir, I have received your communication of the 16th and am at a loss to know what your intention is. If you intend it as a challenge, I accept it and refer you to my friend Commodore Bainbridge, who is fully authorized by me to make any arrangements he pleases, as regards weapons, mode, or distance." This note was dated January 24, 1820, and the fact that several weeks intervened between it and the fatal meeting would seem to indicate that some difficulty was experienced by the seconds in arranging such terms as would put the parties upon something like a fair and equal footing. It was finally agreed that the weapons should be pistols and the distance eight paces. It was further settled, in concession to Barron's infirmity, that each party after being placed should raise his pistol and take deliberate aim at the other before the word to fire should be given.

Few words were spoken after they took their positions. Barron said: "Sir, I hope on meeting in another world, we shall be better friends than in this." To which Decatur responded: "I have never been your enemy, sir." At the word both fired, apparently at the same instant, and both fell. It was first thought that Decatur was killed, but after a little while he revived somewhat.

William Wirt, who was then attorney-general of the United States and who had tried to prevent the meeting, writing a few days later of the melancholy affair, says: "Decatur was apparently shot dead; he revived, however, after a while, and he and Barron had a parley as they lay on the ground. Doctor Washington, who got up just then, says that it reminded him of the closing scene of a tragedy—Hamlet and Laertes. Barron proposed that they should make friends before they met in heaven, (for he supposed they would both die immediately). Decatur said he had never been his enemy, that he freely forgave him his death—though he could not forgive those who had stimulated him to seek his life. One report says that Barron exclaimed: 'Would to God you had said this much yesterday!' It is certain that the parley was a friendly one, and that they parted in peace. Decatur knew he was to die, and his only sorrow was that he had not died in the service of his country."

Decatur was placed in his carriage and taken to his home in Washington, where he died that night at eleven o'clock. The old *National Intelligencer* of the next morning had the following: "Postscript—Eleven o'clock, Wednesday night, March 22d. A HERO HAS FALLEN! Commodore Stephen Decatur, one of the first officers of our navy—the pride of his country—the gallant and noble-hearted gentleman, is no more. He expired a few moments ago, of the mortal wound received in the duel

of yesterday. Of the origin of the feud which led to this disastrous result we know but what rumor tells. The event we are sure will fill the country with grief. Mourn Columbia! for one of thy brightest stars is set, a son 'without fear and without reproach'—in the freshness of his fame—in the prime of his usefulness—has descended to the tomb." Of his funeral the same paper said: "Since the foundations of the city were laid, perhaps no such assemblage of citizens and strangers, on such an occasion, has been seen." Among those who followed his remains to the tomb were the President of the United States, the members of his cabinet, the foreign ministers resident at Washington, and many other distinguished officers and citizens.

After a long and tedious illness Barron recovered from his wound but he was never restored to active duty, passing the remainder of his service on shore duty and waiting orders. He became senior officer of the navy in 1839, and died at Norfolk in 1851, thirty years after the fatal duel.

Many other duels have occurred, first and last, upon the field of Bladensburg, most of them, perhaps, of later date than the two described, but owing perhaps to the less prominent position of the parties scant record has been preserved. The celebrated encounter between the Hon. Henry Clay and the Hon. John Randolph, in 1826, did not occur here, but took place just across the Potomac on the Virginia shore, a few miles above Georgetown. This grew out of the presidential election of 1824, in which the candidates were Adams, Crawford, Jackson, and Clay. Jackson had received the highest number of electoral votes, but not having a majority, as required by the constitution, the election was thrown into the house of representatives, where, by a combination between the friends of Clay and Adams, the latter was chosen. The supporters of Jackson were highly indignant, and when Clay became the secretary of state under the new administration, they raised the cry of a "corrupt bargain and sale," though there never was the smallest particle of evidence in support of such charge. Randolph, a senator in congress from Virginia, in delivering a speech one day in that body, referred to the affair as "a coalition between Bliffl and Black George, the Puritan and the blackleg." The Kentucky statesman immediately challenged the eccentric Virginian, the cartel was promptly accepted, and they met. Clay shot a hole through his antagonist's coat, Randolph fired into the air, and the parties immediately became reconciled and remained warm friends ever afterward.

The murderous meeting in 1838 between the Hon. Jonathan Cilley, a member of the house of representatives from Maine, and the Hon. William J. Graves, a member of the same body from Kentucky, did not occur

upon this immediate field, but at a spot two or three miles away, near the Marlborough road, across the eastern branch. This is considered the third most noted duel that ever occurred in the United States, and there was certainly less excuse for it and for the vindictive *animus* displayed by one of the parties than for any whose particulars have been recorded.

James Watson Webb, the editor of the New York *Courier and Enquirer*, addressed a note to Mr. Cilley, demanding an explanation of certain language used by the latter in debate in the house, which language was supposed to refer to and reflect upon said editor. Of this note Mr. Graves was the bearer, with a full knowledge of its hostile tenor. Mr. Cilley declined to receive the communication, not from any intended discourtesy to the bearer, but solely on the ground that he declined to be drawn into any controversy by an outsider for words spoken in debate in the discharge of his duty. Thereupon the member from Kentucky espoused the quarrel of his principal, and challenged Mr. Cilley himself. They fought with rifles at the distance of eighty yards. At the first fire both missed. An effort was then made to adjust the difficulty, but without success. A second time the parties exchanged shots, and again both missed. The seconds of Cilley insisted that their principal should not further imperil his life, upon a mere punctilio. Graves insisted upon another shot. At the third fire Mr. Cilley was struck down, and almost immediately expired. The seconds in this affair were the Hon. George W. Jones, member of congress of Tennessee, on the part of Mr. Cilley, and the Hon. Henry A. Wise, member of congress of Virginia, on the part of Mr. Graves. There were also present Congressmen Crittenden and Menefee of Kentucky, Duncan of Ohio, and Bynum of North Carolina. A committee of the house of representatives was appointed to investigate the circumstances, and the following extract from their voluminous report is given to show something of the spirit animating those who were really to blame for the duel.

"Early in the day on which he fell, an agreement was entered into between James Watson Webb, Daniel Jackson, and William H. Morrell, to arm themselves, repair to the room of Mr. Cilley, and force him to fight Webb with pistols on the spot, or to pledge his word of honor to give Webb a meeting before Mr. Graves; and if Mr. Cilley would do neither, to shatter his right arm. They accordingly took measures to ascertain whether Mr. Cilley was at his lodgings, and finding that he was not, they proceeded, well armed, to Bladensburg, where it was said the duel between Mr. Graves and Mr. Cilley was to take place. Before arriving there, it was agreed between Webb, Jackson, and Morrell, that Webb should approach Mr. Cilley, claim the quarrel, insist on fighting him, and assure

him if he aimed his rifle at Mr. Graves, he (Webb) would shoot him (Mr. Cilley) on the spot. It was supposed by them that Mr. Graves, or Mr. Wise, or some of the party, would raise a weapon at Webb, whereupon it was agreed that Webb should instantly shoot Mr. Cilley, and that they should then defend themselves in the best way they could."

The historic "field of honor" continued to be the resort of belligerent parties down, perhaps, to the time of the late war, though happily it was never again the scene of such shocking combats as those which marked the deaths of Mason and Decatur.

And with reasonable confidence we may assert that it will never witness such scenes again. It is no longer a cause of disgrace to refuse to accept a challenge, but, on the contrary, public sentiment now sides with the man, whether in public or private life, who has the moral courage to defy this barbarous relic of the dark ages.

Milton N. Adkins.

DR. LYMAN HALL, GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA, 1783

SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The subject of this sketch was a descendant in the fifth generation of John Hall, who, coming from Coventry, England, crossed the Atlantic in the ship *Griffin*, and, after a sojourn in Boston and New Haven, established his home at Wallingford, Connecticut. In this village Lyman Hall, son of the Hon. John Hall and Mary Street, was born on the 12th of April, 1724.

Graduating from Yale College in 1747, in a class of twenty-eight members, several of whom attained distinction in after life, he entered upon the study of theology under the guidance of his uncle, Rev. Samuel Hall. His purpose undergoing a change, he abandoned the idea of becoming a minister of the Gospel, and applied himself to the acquisition of a medical education. After quite a thorough preliminary course he was admitted to the degree of Doctor of Medicine, married Mary Osborne, and commenced the practice of his profession in his native town.

Early in 1697 a body of Puritans from the towns of Dorchester, Roxbury, and Milton, in Massachusetts, taking with them their pastor, Reverend Joseph Lord, and proclaiming their desire to encourage the foundation of churches and the promotion of religion in the Southern plantations, removed with their families and personal effects and formed a new residence at Dorchester, on the left bank of the Ashley river, not many miles above Charles-Town in South Carolina. Here these enterprising colonists multiplied in numbers and increased in wealth, exerting a strong moral and political influence. Attracted by tidings of the prosperity of this settlement, and anxious to advance his professional and personal interests, Dr. Hall—himself in full sympathy with the religious tenets of these Congregationalists—in the twenty-eighth year of his age abandoned his home at Wallingford and cast his lot among the Puritan dwellers at Dorchester and Beach Hill in South Carolina. He was cordially welcomed, and appears at once to have secured the confidence of the community.

After a residence of rather more than fifty years in this swamp region of Carolina, finding their lands impoverished, and insufficient for the rising generation—Dorchester and Beach Hill proving unhealthy—the good reports of the lands in southern Georgia having been confirmed upon the

personal inspection of certain members of the society who had been sent for that purpose, and a grant* of 22,400 acres of rich land having been secured from the Georgia authorities—the members of the Dorchester Society, in 1752, began moving into what is now the swamp region of Liberty county. This territory lay between Mount Hope swamp on the north and Bull-Town swamp on the south. Begun in 1752, the immigration continued until 1771, and embraced about three hundred and fifty whites and fifteen hundred negro slaves. The influx of this population was most marked during the years 1754, 1755, and 1756. It was about this time that Dr. Hall, following the fortunes of his newly formed friends, accompanied them to the Midway settlement, and became the owner of a small plantation a few miles north of Midway meeting house and on the line of the Savannah and Darien highway—a road connecting the northern and southern confines of the province, which had been completed under the guidance of Tomo-chi-chi and by the command of General Oglethorpe. The region into which the Dorchester congregation thus immigrated was known as the "Midway district." The country was densely wooded, marish, and filled with game. Ducks and geese in innumerable quantities frequented the low grounds, creeks, and lagoons. Wild turkeys and deer abounded. Bears and beavers dwelt in the swamps, and buffalo herds wandered in the neighborhood. There was no lack of squirrels, raccoons, opossums, rabbits, snipe, woodcock, cranes, herons, and rice-birds. Wild-cats and hawks were the pest of the region, while the cry of the cougar was often heard in the depths of the vine-clad woods. The waters were alive with fishes, alligators, terrapins, and snakes.

In utter disregard of the manifest laws of health these immigrants located their dwellings and plantation-quarters on the edges of the swamps, and in such malarial situations passed the entire year. While corn, potatoes, and peas were planted on the upland, chief attention was bestowed upon the cultivation of rice. To that end the swamps, at great labor, were cleared, ditched, and drained. A miasmatic soil was thus exposed to the action of the sun and, as a direct consequence of injudicious location and a too frequent inattention to domestic comfort, occurred violent sickness and considerable mortality.

Dr. Hall found ample employment for his best professional skill, and endeared himself to the community by his unremitting exertions to counteract the pernicious influences of bilious fevers during the summer and fall, and pleurisies in the winter and spring.

In 1758 Mark Carr conveyed three hundred acres of land bordering

* This grant was subsequently enlarged by the addition of 9,950 acres.

upon Midway river to certain trustees, with instructions to lay out a town to be called Sunbury. So soon as the lots were surveyed and designated many members of the Midway congregation, attracted by the beauty and salubrity of the location, became purchasers, and there established their summer homes. Among them was Dr. Lyman Hall, who bought two of the most desirable lots, numbers 33 and 34, fronting on the bay. Here he built a residence and spent most of his time when not actively employed in visiting his patients. His reputation as a successful practitioner and sympathizing friend was most enviable. In fact he speedily became the leading physician of the town and adjacent country. His polite address, literary attainments, public spirit, social habits, thoughtful views, and well-rounded character united in rendering him popular and influential with the inhabitants of St. John's parish. That he entertained a lively interest in public affairs and enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-citizens is evident from the prominence accorded to him when the differences between England and her American colonies were seriously discussed and the question of a separation from the mother country was gravely considered. His sympathies from the first were with the "Liberty Boys," and his arguments and labors were boldly expended in compassing liberation from kingly rule. Georgia occupied a position peculiar among her sister colonies. Since her settlement she had received by grant of parliament nearly £200,000, besides generous bounties extended in aid of silk culture and various agricultural products. The paternal care of the crown had been kindly and signally manifested in her behalf. As a natural consequence there existed a marked division of sentiment upon the political questions which agitated the community during the years immediately preceding open rupture between England and America. The royal party was active and strong, and it required no little effort on the part of the rebels to acquire the mastery and place the province fairly within the lists of the revolutionists. The line of demarkation was sometimes so sharply drawn that father was arrayed against son, and brother against brother. Thus, not to multiply examples, the Hon. James Habersham and Colonel Noble Jones maintained their allegiance to the crown, while their sons were among the foremost champions of the rights claimed by the rebels. The cruel effects of such disagreements, experienced prior to and during the progress of the revolution, were projected even beyond the final establishment of the republic. Governor Wright was most energetic in upholding the fortunes of his royal master, and succeeded in delaying action on the part of the colony. Through his influence Georgia was not represented in the first session of

the continental congress. The parish of St. John—which then possessed nearly one-third of the aggregate wealth of Georgia, and the citizens of which were noted for their thrift, courage, honesty, and determination—chafed under the inaction of the province, which bred dissatisfaction at home and called down denunciation most violent from the republican party in South Carolina. The Puritan element in the parish, cherishing and proclaiming intolerance of established church and of the divine right of kings, impatient of restraint, accustomed to independent thought and action, and careless of associations which encouraged tender memories of and love for the mother country, asserted its hatreds, its affiliations, and its hopes with no uncertain utterance and appears to have controlled the action of the entire parish. In commenting upon the disturbed condition of affairs, Governor Wright advised the Earl of Dartmouth that the head of the rebellion in Georgia should be located in St. John's parish, and that the revolutionary measures there inaugurated were to be mainly referred to the influence of the "descendants of New England people of the Puritan independent sect," who, "retaining a strong tincture of republican or Oliverian principles, have entered into an agreement among themselves to adopt both the resolutions and associations of the continental congress."

On the revolutionary altars erected within the Midway district were the fires of resistance to the dominion of England earliest kindled; and of all the patriots of that uncompromising community Lyman Hall, by his counsel, exhortations, and determined spirit, added stoutest fuel to the flames. Between the immigrants from Dorchester and the distressed Bostonians existed not only the ties of a common lineage, but also sympathies born of kindred religious, moral, social, and political education. It is therefore not difficult to perceive why the Midway settlement declared at such an early period and in such an emphatic manner for the revolutionists.

Dissatisfied with the failure of the Savannah congress to place the province in direct association with the other twelve American colonies, the inhabitants of St. John's parish, under the leadership of Lyman Hall, resolved "to exert themselves to the utmost, and to make every sacrifice that men impressed with the strongest sense of their rights and liberties, and warm with the most benevolent feelings for their oppressed brethren, can make to stand firmly or fall gloriously in the common cause." They called a convention of their own, extending invitations to the inhabitants of other parishes, in the hope "that if a majority of the parishes would unite with them they would send deputies to join the general congress,

and faithfully and religiously abide by and conform to such determination as should there be entered into, and come from thence recommended."

This effort failing of success, on the 9th of February, 1775, at a meeting of the inhabitants of St. John's parish—convened at Midway and presided over by Lyman Hall—Joseph Wood, Daniel Roberts, and Samuel Stevens, members of the parish committee, were deputed with a carefully prepared letter to repair to Charlestown, South Carolina, and request of the committee of correspondence their "permission to form an alliance with them, and to conduct trade and commerce according to the act of non-importation to which they had already acceded." Among other arguments advanced in that communication, framed and signed by Dr. Hall as chairman, we find the following:

"Our being a parish of a non-associated province cannot, we presume, prevent our joining the other provinces, as the restrictions mentioned in the 14th clause of the general association must, as we apprehend, be considered as a general rule only, and respects this province considered in a mixed or promiscuous sense; but as we of this parish are a body detached from the rest by our resolutions and association, and sufficiently distinct by local situation, large enough for particular notice, and have been treated as such by a particular address from the late continental congress, adjoining a sea-port, and in that respect capable of conforming to the general association, and (if connected with you) with the same fidelity as a distinct parish of your own province; therefore we must be considered as comprehended within the spirit and equitable meaning of the continental association, and we are assured you will not condemn the innocent with the guilty, especially when a due separation is made between them."

Reaching Charlestown on the 23d of February, Messrs. Wood, Roberts, and Stevens waited upon the general committee and earnestly endeavored to accomplish their mission. While expressing their admiration of the patriotism of the parish, and entreating its citizens to persevere in their laudable exertions, the Carolinians deemed it "a violation of the continental association to remove the prohibition in favor of any *part* of a province."

Disappointed, and yet not despairing, the inhabitants of St. John's parish "resolved to prosecute their claims to an equality with the confederated colonies." Having adopted certain resolutions by which they obligated themselves to hold no commerce with Savannah or other places except under the supervision of a committee, and then only with a view to procuring the necessities of life, and having avowed their entire sympathy with all the articles and declarations promulgated by the general

congress, the inhabitants of St. John's parish elected Dr. Lyman Hall as a delegate to represent them in the continental congress. This appointment occurred on the 21st of March, 1775, and was conferred in direct recognition of his prominent and persistent services in behalf of the revolutionists. No more suitable selection could have been made. Among the prominent citizens of the parish no one enjoyed a more enviable reputation for courage, ability, wisdom, and loyalty to the aims of the republican party. When departing for the continental congress he carried with him, as a present from his constituents to the suffering patriots in Massachusetts, one hundred and sixty barrels of rice and fifty pounds sterling.

The patriotic spirit of its inhabitants, and this independent action of St. John's parish in advance of the other Georgia parishes, were afterwards acknowledged when all the parishes were in accord in the revolutionary movement. As a tribute of praise, and in token of general admiration, the name of *Liberty county* was conferred upon the consolidated parishes of St. John, St. Andrew, and St. James. On the 13th of May, 1775, Dr. Hall, who had been so instrumental in persuading the parish of St. John to this independent course, attended at the door of congress, presented his credentials, and was unanimously "admitted *as a delegate from the parish of St. John in the colony of Georgia*, subject to such regulations as congress should determine relative to his voting." Until Georgia was fully represented he declined to vote upon questions which were to be decided by a vote of colonies. He participated, however, in the debates, recorded his opinion in cases where an expression of sentiment by colonies was not required, and declared his earnest conviction "that the example which had been shown by the parish which he represented would be speedily followed, and that the representation of Georgia would soon be complete."

This came to pass within a very few months, and Georgia assumed her station and responsibilities in the sisterhood of confederated colonies.

By successive appointments Dr. Hall was continued as a member from Georgia of the continental congress. Upon the fall of Savannah in December, 1778, and the capture of Sunbury, the entire coast region of Georgia passed into the possession of the king's forces, which overran, plundered, and exacted the most onerous tribute. To the families of those who maintained their allegiance to the rebel cause no mercy was shown. Stripped of property, their homes rendered desolate, often without food and clothing, they were dependent upon the charity of impoverished neighbors.

Dr. Hall's residence in Sunbury and his rice plantation near Midway meeting house were despoiled. Under such melancholy circumstances

he removed his family to the North and there resided until the evacuation of Savannah in 1782. While his services as a member of the continental congress were perhaps not as conspicuous as those rendered by some of his brethren, it may nevertheless be fairly claimed that he was regular, earnest, and intelligent in the discharge of the important duties devolving upon him. He was present and, in association with Button Gwinnett and George Walton, affixed his signature to the Declaration of Independence.

Between Dr. Hall and the gifted, ambitious Gwinnett existed a warm friendship. The former resided at Sunbury, and the latter upon St. Catherine Island, within distant sight of that pleasant village. They constantly exchanged social courtesies, and were of one mind upon the political questions which then agitated and divided the public thought. As president of the council of safety and commander-in-chief of Georgia, Gwinnett, in 1777, anxious to signalize his administration by a feat of arms, planned an expedition for the subjugation of East Florida. Instead of intrusting the command of the forces employed to General Lachlan McIntosh, who, as the ranking military officer of Georgia was entitled in all fairness and in accordance with custom to expect and to claim it, Gwinnett set him aside and determined in person to lead the expedition. McIntosh was not even permitted to accompany his brigade, and Colonel Elbert was assigned to the command of the continental forces to the exclusion of his superior officer. General McIntosh was naturally incensed at this conduct of Gwinnett, and denounced him in unmeasured terms.

Soon after, when in the exercise of his gubernatorial powers and responding to the emergency caused by the lamented death of Archibald Bulloch, Gwinnett convened the legislature to elect his successor, McIntosh espoused the choice of John Adam Treutlen, who was the rival candidate for popular favor. Gwinnett had set his heart upon the office, and was grievously disappointed at the selection of his opponent. So violent was the animosity harbored by McIntosh, that, during the short but heated canvass, he publicly denounced Gwinnett in unmeasured terms. The quarrel between these gentlemen culminated on the 15th of May, 1777, when Gwinnett challenged McIntosh to mortal combat. They met the next morning at sunrise within the present limits of the city of Savannah. What then transpired we relate in the language of Dr. Hall, who, in a postscript to a letter addressed to the Hon. Roger Sherman, under date of Savannah, June 1, 1777, writes as follows :

"I resume my Pen to confirm what you have no Doubt heard, that our worthy Friend Gwinnett has unfortunately fell. The Contention

between him & the Gen^l run high, principally respectg the Expedition against E. Florida, which bro^t on an Enquiry in the House of Assembly into the Conduct of M^r Gwinnett who, as President & Commander in Chief, had made the preparations & meant with the Militia, and aid of Continent^l Troops, to have carried them into Execution as principal Leader & Commander: he proceeded as far as Sunbury,—from this about 40 mile,—with a small Fleet, from thence sent for the Militia and Continent^l Troops to join him—few of the Militia turned out, except those of the Parish of St. John, & when the Gen^l with the Continent^l Troops arrived, M^r Gwinnett summoned a Council of War, but the Gen^l it seems would not hold a Council of War with him: he repeated his Summonses, but to no purpose, on which Mr. Gwinnett's Council & the Field Officers of the Gen^l advised both to return to this place and leave the command of the Expedition to the next Officer. This matter was laid before the Assembly, where both appeared and were heard, on which the Assembly Resolved 'that they approved the Conduct of M^r Gwinnett & his Council so far as those matters had been laid before them.' Here it was (in Assembly) that the Gen^l called him (as 'tis said) *a Scoundrell & lying Rascal*—I confess I did not hear the words, not being so nigh the parties; however it seems agreed that it was so. A Duel was the consequence, in wh^h they were placed at 10 or 12 foot Distance. Discharged their Pistols nearly at the same Time. Each wounded in the Thigh. M^r Gwinnett's thigh broke so that he fell—on wh^h ('tis said) the Gen^l Asked him if he chose to take another shot—was answered Yes, if they would help him up (or words nearly the same). The seconds interposed. M^r Gwinnett was brought in, the Weather Extremely hot. A Mortification came on—he languish'd from that Morning (Friday) till Monday Morning following, & expired.

O Liberty! Why do you suffer so many of your faithful sons, your warmest Votaries, to fall at your Shrine! Alas! my Friend, my Friend!

* * * *

Excuse me, Dr Sir, the Man was *Valuable*, so attached to the Liberty of this State & Continent that his whole Attention, Influence, & Interest centered in it, & seemed riveted to it. He left a Mournful Widow and Daugh^r & I may say the Friends of Liberty on a whole Continent to deplore his Fall." * * *

Gwinnett's death caused intense excitement. Dr. Hall—one of his executors and a warm personal friend—and other gentlemen of influence brought the matter to the notice of the legislature, and charged the judicial

officers with a neglect of duty in not arresting McIntosh and binding him over to answer to the charge of murder. Informed of these facts, so soon as his wound permitted, the general surrendered himself to Judge Glen, entered into bonds for his appearance, was indicted, tried, and acquitted. Even this determination of the matter did not allay the resentment of the Gwinnett party, who, incensed at the loss of their leader, used every exertion to impair the influence of McIntosh and to fetter his efforts in the public service. At the suggestion of his friends he repaired to the headquarters of General Washington for assignment to duty in other quarters. For nearly two years he remained absent from his native state.

Upon his return to Georgia Dr. Hall selected Savannah as his home, and, with shattered fortunes, resumed the practice of his profession. While thus quietly employed he was, in January, 1783, elected governor of Georgia.

His acknowledgment of the honor thus conferred was expressed in the following brief inaugural address:

“MR. SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY:

I esteem your unsolicited appointment of me to the office of chief magistrate of this state as the greatest honor, and I am affected with sentiments of the warmest gratitude on this occasion. The early and decided part which I took in the cause of America originated from a full conviction of the justice and rectitude of the cause we engaged in, has uniformly continued as the principle of my heart, and I trust will to the last moments of my life.

If I can, by a strict attention to the various objects of government, and a steady and impartial exertion of the powers with which you have invested me, carry into execution the wise and salutary laws of the state, it will afford a pleasing prospect of our future welfare, brighten the dawn of independence, and establish the genuine principles of whigism on a firm and permanent foundation.

The confident reliance, gentlemen, I have in the wisdom of the council you have assigned me, and the firm support of your honorable house, afford a flattering expectation of succeeding in this difficult and important trust.”

Georgia had but recently emerged from the perils and privations of the Revolution; and, while all were rejoicing in the inchoate blessings of independence, poverty, sorrow, and desolation were the heritage of many homes. The energies of his administration, which lasted for only one year, were chiefly directed to the establishment of land offices and the

sale of confiscated property; to the arrangement of the public debt and the rewarding of officers and soldiers with bounty warrants for services rendered; with the accommodation of differences and the prevention of further disturbance with Florida, and the adjustment of the northern boundary of Georgia; with the establishment of courts and schools; and with the consummation of treaties of cession from and amity with contiguous Indian nations. The most important of these were solemnized at Augusta with the Cherokee Indians in May, and with the Creek Indians in November, 1783. Upon the assembling of the legislature at Augusta, on the 8th of July, 1783, Governor Hall, in his message, thus commended to its members the subject of public education:

"In addition, therefore, to wholesome laws restraining vice, every encouragement ought to be given to introduce religion, and learned clergy to perform divine worship in honor of God, and to cultivate principles of religion and virtue among our citizens. For this purpose it will be your wisdom to lay an early foundation for endowing seminaries of learning; nor can you, I conceive, lay a better than by a grant of a sufficient tract of land, that may, as in other governments, hereafter, by lease or otherwise, raise a revenue sufficient to support such valuable institutions."

Be it spoken and remembered to his perpetual praise that Governor Hall, by this early and wise suggestion, sounded the key-note and paved the way for the foundation and the sustentation of the University of Georgia, which, for nearly a century, has proven the parent of higher education and civilization in Georgia. Upon the conclusion of his term of service he resumed, in Savannah, the practice of his profession, holding no public office save that of judge of the inferior court of Chatham county. This position he resigned upon his removal to Burke county in 1790. He had evidently prospered and accumulated a fortune somewhat unusual in that day and community, for he then purchased a fine plantation on the Savannah river not far from Shell-Bluff, and furnished it with a considerable number of negro slaves, and all animals, implements, and provisions requisite for its proper cultivation.

Here he died on the 19th of October, 1790, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, leaving a widow Mary, and a son John, both of whom within a short time followed him to the tomb, and were buried in a substantial brick vault situated on a bold bluff overlooking the Savannah river. There he rested until his remains were removed and brought to Augusta, Georgia, and placed, in association with those of George Walton, beneath the monument erected by patriotic citizens in front of the court house in honor of the

signers from Georgia of the Declaration of Independence. Gwinnett's bones could not be found; for, although it was believed that he was interred in the old cemetery on South Broad street in Savannah, no stone having been erected over his grave, all memory of the place of his sepulture had vanished.

The will of Dr. Hall, which was on file in the office of the court of ordinary of Burke county, at Waynesboro, was destroyed by an accidental fire which consumed the court house and most of the public records. Subsequent to the removal of his remains to Augusta, Mr. William D'Antignac, who then owned the Hall plantation, forwarded to the corporate authorities of Wallingford, Connecticut, the native town of the signer, the marble slab inserted in the front of the brick vault wherein they had so long rested. That slab is still carefully preserved. It bears the following inscription :

" Beneath this stone rest the remains of

HON. LYMAN HALL,

formerly governor of this state, who departed this life on the 19th of October, 1790, in the 67th year of his age. In the cause of America he was uniformly a patriot. In the incumbent duties of a husband and a father he acquitted himself with affection and tenderness.

But reader, above all know from this inscription that he left this probationary state as a true Christian and an honest man.

To those so mourned in death, so loved in life,
The childless parent and the widowed wife,
With tears inscribes this monumental stone,
That holds his ashes and expects her own."

In Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers* we are advised that Dr. Lyman Hall was six feet high and finely proportioned; that his manners were easy and polite; that his deportment was affable and dignified; that the force of his enthusiasm was tempered by discretion; that he was firm in purpose and principles; that the ascendancy which he gained was engendered by a mild, persuasive manner coupled with a calm, unruffled temper; and that, possessing a strong discriminating mind, he had the power of imparting his energy to others, and was peculiarly fitted to flourish in the perplexing and perilous scenes of the Revolution.

While there are several engraved portraits of the signer, we cannot speak authoritatively in regard to the genuineness of any of them. Careful inquiry has thus far failed to disclose the existence of any original portrait of Dr. Hall, unless that in the Philadelphia group, from which my

friend Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, of New York city, had his drawing made, may be so regarded. So far as we can ascertain, there is in Georgia no original likeness of Dr. Hall. His only son died childless, and there are no lineal descendants of this signer. The state of Georgia perpetuates his name by one of her counties, and the memory of his manly walk and conversation, of his Christian virtues, useful acts, and patriotic impulses is and will be gratefully cherished.

Although he never bore arms, or won the distinction of an orator, he hazarded everything in the cause of humanity and liberty, on every occasion manifesting an exalted patriotism, conscious of the blessings to be secured and jealous of the rights to be defended.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, *November*, 1890.

THE ELOQUENCE OF ANDREW JOHNSON

I had the rare and very good fortune to be a spectator, in the gallery of the United States senate, of one of the most thrilling scenes that ever transpired within those historic walls. It was on the evening of the 2d of March, 1861, between nine and ten o'clock. Not more than forty hours thereafter President Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated. The country was then on the eve of our terrible civil war—an impending calamity which few thoughtful people saw any possibility of being averted. There had been, in both the house and senate, protracted and exciting debates upon "the state of the Union," in which great bitterness had been exhibited, all of which, however, ended in no improvement of the situation. There were men on both sides who would gladly have laid down their lives could they have secured peace by such a sacrifice, but their efforts came to naught. The great questions at issue were only to be settled by the stern arbitrament of the sword.

Among those whose devoted loyalty to the Union was most pronounced and emphatic was Andrew Johnson, then a United States senator from Tennessee. Because he thus represented a slave state, he was doubly obnoxious to the southern senators and representatives. Then, again, he was so outspoken and daring in his denunciation of what he regarded as treason to his country, that he smoothed down no asperities, allayed no animosities. He was at that time but fifty-three years of age, in the very prime of life, stalwart, vigorous, and utterly devoid of the sense of physical fear. He had come up from the humblest walk of life through his own unaided exertions. A destitute orphan, he became a tailor's apprentice, and had been charitably taught the alphabet by his fellow-workmen. When he was finally married, his good and accomplished wife taught him to write, reading to him while he wrought with shears and needle and goose. It is related that he only acquired the art of writing with facility after he was elected to a seat in congress. These well-known facts only made him the more objectionable to the advocates and promoters of southern slavery, in whose eyes honest labor was an unmitigated disgrace. They allowed no opportunity to pass unimproved in which they could show their contempt for such a "mud-sill" as Charles Sumner.

At the time of which I write, not even Lyman Trumbull, Henry Wilson, James Harlan, John P. Hale, or Joshua R. Giddings, either or all of

them put together, were so bitterly repugnant to the south as the ex-tailor whom the proud state of Andrew Jackson and James K. Polk had sent up to the senate of the United States. They hated him with an intensity of feeling which it is no exaggeration to say was "red hot."

A great debate was in progress on this evening of that memorable 2d of March. The galleries were filled to their utmost capacity, as they usually were during those exciting days just "befo' de wah." The senate, as in committee of the whole, had under consideration a joint resolution proposing certain amendments to the constitution of the United States. I do not have the opportunity of referring to this resolution, but I can hardly be mistaken when I state my recollection, that it was one of those vain and useless contrivances for saving the Union and slavery together by some sort of compromise. It was a "Report of the Peace Conference." Such ropes of sand were constantly proposed, but they as speedily fell to pieces. The senator from Oregon, General Joseph Lane, "was entitled to the floor." Though representing a northern state, he was one of the most uncompromising supporters of slavery. The northern people did not like him. It was even widely published, and I think quite generally credited, that, in writing his own first name, he spelled it with a small *g*. He was derisively spoken of as "Old Joe Lane." But he was a man of much culture and great ability, and had made a most honorable record in the Mexican war. He enlisted as a private, and came back a full major-general, a sufferer from wounds which nearly cost him his life. He had "done the state some service and they knew it," but he was clear over on the wrong side this time. The session was rapidly wearing to its close when General Lane took the floor for the purpose of reading a very long speech. It fills nearly twenty-three printed columns in the old *Congressional Globe*. Though it is full of the gall of bitterness, inspired by personal and sectional hatred of the utmost intensity, I thought, as I sat a listener in the gallery above, that it was a very prosy affair. He read slowly from a manuscript, to which he closely adhered, carefully laying aside one after another the pages of old-fashioned letter-paper upon which it was written. His voice was low, his manner very quiet, and he scarcely made a gesture. He more reminded one of some decayed, superannuated clergyman than of a warrior who midst smoke and flame had "breathed threatenings and slaughter upon the field of battle." It seemed evidently his intention to so use up the time—until midnight of March 3, as to give Mr. Johnson no opportunity for reply; and as this was to be his last utterance upon the floor of the United States senate, he evidently intended it as his legacy to future times, for he presented in full his views

upon the Union and the Constitution, the guarantees of slavery, the rights of the states, his opposition to coercion, etc. He panegyrized Jefferson Davis in terms of highest laudation, and poured out the bitterest denunciation upon the head of Andrew Johnson. The unfairness of the matter lay largely in the fact that neither Lane nor his friends from the south intended that Andrew Johnson should be heard in reply to this long and most carefully prepared harangue.

The senator from Oregon was not interrupted from the opening to the close of his speech. Johnson sat near by, an attentive listener, but taking no notes. Instantly, as Lane closed, he arose, and was recognized by the presiding officer (Mr. Polk of Missouri). But he had scarcely said "Mr. President," when he was interrupted by Bigler of Pennsylvania, who was a well-known "northern man with southern principles." Johnson was not to be heard if disrespectful interruptions could be made to prevent his reply. Four pages of the *Globe* were filled with a running debate upon various subjects before he was accorded—at the urgent request of Stephen A. Douglas—the right to go on without interruption. It was evident from his first words that he would now make the supreme effort of his life, and doubtless nine out of ten of the people in the galleries were in heartiest sympathy with him. He spoke from the impulse of the instant—wholly impromptu—without a single reference to a book or scrap of paper. It seemed as though a giant of most herculean strength, having been crowded into a corner, had finally turned upon his enemies with power and might and was scattering them like chaff before the wind. The sympathetic audience wanted to applaud his every sentence, and it was the most difficult thing in the world to preserve order. He was so wrought up by intense feeling that every one of his direct, clean-cut sentences went forth like the blow of a Titan. His manner was intensely dramatic, impassioned in the highest degree; and the official report fails to indicate the reception or effect of the great effort which made the speaker Vice-President and President of the United States.

It was soon evident to "the galleries" that unless order was preserved we should all be turned out, for the rules of the senate were very stringent in regard to such demonstrations, and, moreover, the presiding officer was not on our side. So, when a grand, magnificent, patriotic sentence created that indefinable "buzz" which reporters set down as "sensation," it was followed at once by that other—"sh! sh! sh!"—imploring and commanding silence. It was hard work, almost impossible, to refrain from cheering such loyal utterances where treason had been hourly rampant. General Lane continued to pace backward and forward just behind Mr. Johnson

throughout the speech. Whether he did this with the vain idea of over-awing the orator, or from the force of habit, I know not. I rather think that his immediate presence only inspired the speaker to grander flights of eloquence. Referring to the use of personalities by the Oregonian, Johnson said :

"They are not arguments ; they are the resort of men whose minds are low and coarse. It is very easy to talk about 'cowards;' to draw autobiographical sketches ; to recount the remarkable, the wonderful events and circumstances and exploits that we have performed. I have presented facts and authorities, and upon them I have argued ; from them I have drawn conclusions ; and why have they not been met ? Why have they not been answered ? Why abandon the great issues before the country, and go into personal allusions and personal attacks ? Cowper has well said :

'A truly sensible, well-bred man
Will not insult me, and no other can.'

But there are men who talk about cowards, courage, and all that description of thing ; and in this connection I want to say, not boastingly, that these two eyes of mine never looked upon anything in the shape of mortal man that this heart feared."

As he uttered these last words he pointed out in front of his eyes with the first two fingers of his right hand, rose to his fullest height on tiptoe, and smote his chest with a blow which reverberated throughout the chamber. The air seemed to thrill as if charged with electricity, and cheers were only restrained with the supremest difficulty. Lane was believed to have intimated that he might "call out" the Tennessee "mud-sill," but he did not improve the occasion thus defiantly offered him. Proceeding with his remarks, Mr. Johnson asked :

"Sir, have we reached a point at which we cannot talk about treason ? Our forefathers talked about it ; they spoke of it in the Constitution of the country ; they have defined what treason was. Is it an offense, is it a crime, is it an insult to recite the Constitution that was made by Washington and his compatriots ? What does the Constitution say ? 'Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.' There it is clearly defined that treason shall consist only in levying war against the United States, and adhering to and giving aid and comfort to their enemies. Who is it that has been engaged in conspiracies ? Who is it that has been engaged in making war upon the United States ? Who is it that has fired upon our flag ? Who is it that has given instructions to take our arsenals, to take our forts, to take our dock-yards, to take the public property ? In the language of the Constitution of the United States, have not those who have been engaged in it been guilty of treason ? We make a fair issue. Show me who has been engaged in these conspiracies, who has fired upon our flag, has given instructions to take our forts and our custom-houses, our arsenals and our dock-yards, and I will show you a traitor !"

Uttered in his grandest, most defiant manner, these eloquent words, so fraught with the truth of history, were followed by an outburst of applause which it did not seem to be in the power of mortal man to stifle or restrain. The presiding officer pounded with his gavel, ordering the sergeant-at-arms to proceed at once to "clear the galleries on the right of the chair." Senator Douglas moved to suspend the order, and quite a long debate ensued upon the subject before Mr. Johnson could proceed with his remarks. The audience was allowed to remain, but was repeatedly admonished to refrain from all demonstrations of applause. Resuming, he further said :

"I was going on to remark, in reference to a general allusion to treason, that if individuals were pointed out to me who were engaged in nightly conspiracies, in secret conclaves, and issuing orders directing the capture of our forts and the taking of our custom-houses, I would show who were the traitors ; and that being done, the persons pointed out coming within the purview and scope of that provision of the Constitution I have read, were I the President of the United States I would do as Thomas Jefferson did in 1806 with Aaron Burr : I would have them arrested ; and if convicted within the meaning and scope of the Constitution, by the eternal God, I would execute them ! Sir, treason must be punished ! "

"The galleries" were only reasonably quiet under these burning, memorable words, but the people were allowed to remain. The speech makes only a little more than five columns, but it left scarcely anything of "old Joe Lane." It was a most triumphant vindication of the loyal position of Mr. Johnson ; a blasting *exposé* of the unholy aims and ambitions of those who were going into rebellion against the government of the nation. In speaking of Lane his sarcasm was blighting, withering to the last degree. He quoted the soliloquy of Cardinal Wolsey as most fitting to be uttered by the Oregon senator :

"At twelve o'clock on Monday next, or a few minutes before, when the hand of the dial is moving round to mark that important point of time :

'Nay, then, farewell !

I have touched the highest point of all my greatness ;
And, from that full meridian of my glory
I haste now to my setting : I shall fall
Like a bright exhalation in the evening,
And no man see me more.' "

These words were most prophetic. Lane went out of public life on that "next Monday at twelve o'clock," and never again returned. Going back to a remote corner of Oregon, honored and useful as he had been in his better days, he passed his old age in poverty, and died in the most complete obscurity.

As this great speech, after nearly thirty years, is now well-nigh forgotten, I am tempted to quote a few more of its scathing words. After replying to some of Lane's arguments, Johnson said :

"I have no disposition, Mr. President, to press this controversy farther. If the senator from Oregon is satisfied with the reply he has made to my speech or speeches, I am more than satisfied. I am willing that his speeches and mine shall go to the country, and as to the application and understanding of the authorities that are recited by each, I am willing to leave an intelligent public to determine that question. I shall make no issue with him on that subject. I feel—and I say it in no spirit of egotism—to-day that in the reply I made to his speech I vanquished every position he assumed ; I nailed many of his statements to the counter as spurious coin ; and I felt that I had the arguments, that I had the authority ; and so feeling I know when I have my victim within my grip. I know an argument that cannot be explained away, and a fact that cannot be upturned. The senator felt it ; I know he felt it from the feeling he has manifested, from the manner in which he has nursed his feelings and his wrath until this occasion to pour them out. Yes, sir, in that contest, figuratively speaking, I impaled him and left him quivering. He felt it. I saw it ; and I have no disposition now, in concluding what little I am going to say, to mutilate the dead, or add one single pang to the tortures of the already politically damned ! I am a humane man ; I will not add one pang to the intolerable sufferings of the distinguished senator from Oregon. [Laughter.] I sought no controversy with him ; I have made no issue with him : it has been forced upon me. How many have attacked me ! And is there a single man, north or south, who is in favor of this glorious Union, who has made an assault on me ? Is there one ? No, not one ! But it is all from secession ; it is all from that usurpation where a reign of terror has been going on."

His closing words were peculiarly pertinent and fitting to the great issue of the time—whether the Union should be preserved. He closed with these sentences :

"I have already suggested that the idea may have entered some minds, 'If we cannot get to be President and Vice-President of the whole United States, we may divide the government, set up a new establishment, have new offices, and monopolize them ourselves when we take our states out.' Here we see a president made, a vice-president made, cabinet officers appointed (for the southern confederacy), and yet the great mass of the people not consulted, nor their consent obtained in any manner whatever. The people of the country ought to be aroused to this condition of things ; they ought to buckle on their armor ; and, as Tennessee has done (God bless her !), by the exercise of the elective franchise, by going to the ballot-box under a new set of leaders, repudiate and put down those men who have carried these states out and usurped a government over their heads. I trust in God that the old flag of the Union will never be struck. I hope it may long wave, and that we may long hear the national air sung :

'The star-spangled banner, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave !'

Long may we hear old 'Hail, Columbia,' that good old national air, played on all our martial instruments ! Long may we hear, and never repudiate, the old tune of 'Yankee

Doodle!' Long may wave that gallant old flag which went through the Revolution, and which was borne by Tennessee and Kentucky at the battle of New Orleans, upon that soil the right to navigate the Mississippi near which is now denied. Upon that bloody field the stars and stripes waved in triumph; and, in the language of another, the Goddess of Liberty hovered around when 'the rocket's red glare' went forth, indicating that the battle was raging, and watched the issue; and the conflict grew fierce, the issue was doubtful; but when, at length, victory perched upon your stars and stripes, it was then on the plains of New Orleans that the Goddess of Liberty made her loftiest flight, and proclaimed victory in strains of exultation. Will Tennessee ever desert the grave of him who bore it in triumph, or desert the flag that he waved with success? No! We were in the Union before some of these states were spoken into existence; and we intend to remain in, and insist upon—as we have the confident belief we shall get—all our constitutional rights and protection in the Union, and under the Constitution of the country."

Upon this magnificent, most thrilling, and most eloquent peroration, the pent-up enthusiasm of the vast audience burst forth so tumultuously as to defy all control. Pounding vigorously with his gavel, the presiding officer (Mr. Fitch of Indiana) at length, and with an apparent effort at calmness, said: "It will become the unpleasant but imperative duty of the chair to clear the galleries." Mr. Johnson quickly waved his hand, as if in deprecation of such an order, saying in a kindly, persuasive tone: "Mr. President, I have done."

At this the applause became wilder than ever. Just back of where I was sitting, Hon. J. B. Grinnell of Iowa, afterwards a distinguished member of congress, standing upon the top of the seats, swung his hat, and shouted at the top of his voice: "Three cheers for Andy Johnson of Tennessee!" The audience sprang to their feet, and the cheers were given with a will, awaking the echoes of the United States senate chamber as was never done before nor since. Poor Mr. Fitch pounded with his gavel, shouting to the sergeant-at-arms, "Clear the galleries! Arrest the rioters!"

At once everybody began to leave the galleries, and the remarks which were made in response to the order of the chair were neither respectful nor complimentary. I distinctly remember such expressions as: "Arrest and be ——!" "We are ready to go now." Feeling on both sides was intensely bitter, and there was no lack of freedom in its fullest expression. It was during this day's debate that the swaggering Wigfall of Texas said: "Gentlemen of the republican party, the old Union is dead. The only question that concerns anybody now is as to its burial. Shall we have a decent Christian funeral or an Irish wake? It is for you to decide." In his own case the trouble was worse than a hundred Irish wakes, for he ended his career more miserably than did Lane of Oregon, a failure as a soldier, and a drunkard.

It is very doubtful whether another debate as intensely exciting as this, and as important in its results, ever occurred in the senate of the United States. Our distinguished Iowa ex-senator, Hon. James Harlan, said to me that he never saw anything approaching it, nor from his reading and experience did he believe that this peculiar effort of Andrew Johnson had ever been equaled in this country. Every circumstance contributed to make it one of the greatest events of the century. It was at the outbreak of the rebellion, when southern statesmen believed that the Union was already destroyed. Public excitement was wrought up to the highest pitch and blood might have flowed at any moment. With all his reputation for ability and undaunted courage, southern senators—under the inspiration of a hatred so deep that it can scarcely be understood at this time—must have believed that Andrew Johnson could be vanquished in debate or possibly intimidated into silence. If so they sadly misunderstood the man. No greater occasion could arise in which to put the highest qualities of a patriot to the severest test. He met the emergency grandly, magnificently, and came out triumphantly, with the laurels of a hero and conqueror. His logical arguments, based upon the fairest interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, were wholly unanswerable. His sarcasm, so unmercifully visited upon General Lane, really left that individual in a pitiable condition, from which he never rallied.

As I have stated, the official report gives little indication of the intense feeling attending this great debate; but that complete triumph of Andrew Johnson over his personal enemies and the enemies of the Union was the most important event in a career which led up to the Vice-Presidency, and to the Presidency itself upon the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. It has always seemed quite unaccountable that the later career of a man who had acquitted himself so sublimely in the greatest of national emergencies should have been so erratic as that of Mr. Johnson in the days when he was "swinging around the circle;" but that in no degree detracts from the power and might, the far-reaching influence, of his eloquence upon the 2d of March, 1861.

Leander Adams

WEBSTER CITY, IOWA.

THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

COUNT DE FERSEN'S PRIVATE LETTERS TO HIS FATHER, 1780-81*

I

PARIS, 2d *March*, 1780.

Dear father: You see me at the height of my ambition. An important expedition is to be started, numbering some twelve thousand men; it is said before we get through we shall be twenty thousand strong. I have obtained permission to join it as aid-de-camp of the general, Monsieur de Rochambeau, but I am sworn to secrecy in this matter, as this coveted place has been already refused to many applicants. Every one seems anxious to join the expedition; only those officers commanding marching regiments are to be sent. I owe my good fortune to Monsieur de Vergennes, who sent in my request. I am delighted beyond expression, as you may imagine. When I spoke to Monsieur de Rochambeau, he was very nice about it, and expressed himself warmly about you, dear father; he wound up by saying that he certainly would like to have me with him to show you how much he esteemed and respected you. The generals who are to be with him are the Marquis of Jancourt, Count Caramon and the Marquis of Viomesnil; as these two latter are notabilities, Rocham-

*Count Jean Axel de Fersen, aid-de-camp of General de Rochambeau, and subsequently grand marshal of Sweden, was born in 1750, and educated at Turin. He took part in the American war as an aid-de-camp of General de Rochambeau, and remained in America until 1783, when he returned to France, and resided at Versailles until 1788. He then went to Sweden and served in the war with Russia, but the next year found him again at the court of France. At the breaking out of the French revolution he was able to be of service to the royal family. It was he who procured the Swedish passports when preparations were being made for flight to the frontier. In the disguise of a coachman, he drove the coach the first part of the journey to Bondy, during that remarkable night of the flight to Varennes. He then left the royal party and made his escape to Brussels. In 1795 he returned to Stockholm, and made it thenceforth his permanent residence, living in great state as a senator, supreme marshal, and chancellor of the university of Upsala. A rumor having spread abroad that his sister, the beautiful Countess Piper, had poisoned her husband, the common people became possessed with the idea that the Count de Fersen had in like manner caused the death of the crown prince elect, Prince Charles Frederick of Schleswig-Holstein. His pride and the consciousness of his own innocence caused him to disregard the warnings of his friends that he should not take part in the funeral ceremonies of the crown prince; he appeared in his state carriage in the procession which followed the body of the prince through the streets of Stockholm, May 20, 1810, and was torn from his carriage and brutally beaten to death by an infuriated mob with sticks and umbrellas.—*Sketch by Mr. Geo. McLaughlin, Cincinnati.*

beau's position is assured. This is the wisest selection he could have made. He has under his command three German regiments; viz., Anhalt, Royal Deux-Ponts and Royal Corse. I have not yet been able to ascertain the number of our French regiments, but the colonels have been ordered to report with their men at Brest on the 15th instant. We are to be there ourselves by the 25th, as we set sail on the 1st of April. The convoy will be escorted by twelve vessels and a number of frigates. Our fleet will be commanded by Monsieur Ouchaffand, whilst the signal fleet is to be under the orders of Count d'Estaing this year, who will be stationed in the Dover Straits. I know our marine will die of sheer spite, yet I think this has been wisely ordered for the good of all.

BREST, 4th of *April*, 1780.

Our embarkation progresses; the artillery, the ammunition, the provisions are already shipped, and now they are busy getting the troops off. The first regiment is expected to-day, and all will be aboard the 8th, as Monsieur de Rochambeau wants to leave port the 10th, to sail definitely the 12th or the 13th. Although I am much pleased, yet my cup of happiness will not be full till I am off the Cape Finistère. I have already told you, dear father, that our division (it cannot be called an army) numbered some seven thousand six hundred and eighty-three men; these are reduced now to only five thousand, owing to the culpable neglect and the utter want of management with which everything is done in this country. You can see, yourself, how it all happened. When the question of this expedition was first mooted, four thousand men were deemed sufficient. Monsieur de Rochambeau absolutely refused to take charge of so small a number, and said he could not command less than seven thousand. About that time he was blamed by every one for his excessive modesty; his only answer was that he was quite sure he had even then more than he could find room for. The result justifies his remark, for instead of finding vessels of thirty thousand tonnage which had been promised by Monsieur de Sartines, there were only those of twelve thousand to be found amongst all the transport ships which were assembled at Brest. As we generally count two men per ton, this number would only make the third wanted. However, by strenuous efforts we found means to leave two thousand five hundred and ninety-five men behind and sail with five thousand and eighty-eight. We are all in a state of despair as we cannot help being surprised and indignant that the larger vessels harboring at St. Malo and Havre were not dispatched to Brest during the winter season instead of waiting till spring, when they ran the risk of falling

in with Jersey pirates who cut off all communication between these three ports. This is just what has happened. We had counted on ten or twelve large vessels from Havre and St. Malo, but these were forced to return to shelter as the risk of being captured was entirely too great. Boneau had been written to, to provide others. They are expected every day, but should they not arrive here by the 12th we sail anyhow, and the remainder of our little army will join us when it can. I am in hopes that a welcome increase of four thousand men to their small number will be made, it becomes a necessity. We have four superior officers: the Chevalier of Chastellux, the Chevalier and Baron Viomesnil (two brothers), and Monsieur Wicktenstein, formerly colonel of an Anhalt regiment. These four officers are field-m Marshals. We have taken a great deal of artillery, especially siege pieces. We are victualled for four months at sea, and for four on land. We are escorted by seven line vessels: the *Duke of Burgundy* of eighty guns, the *Neptune* of seventy-four, the *Conqueror* of seventy-four, the *Jason* of sixty-four, the *Eveille* of sixty-four, the *Provence* of sixty-four, and the *Ardent* of sixty-four (this latter was captured last year by the British), besides two frigates. Our convoy numbers twenty-four ships. I do not as yet know to which vessel I shall be assigned. The general is to sail on the *Duke of Burgundy*, with only one of his old aids-de-camp, as there is no room for the others; I am almost certain, however, of going on a man-of-war.

At sea, on board the *Jason*,
Monday, 16 May, 1780, off Cape Finistère.

I have only time to write you a few lines to let you know I am well, and that I have not suffered at all with sea-sickness. We met with pretty rough weather, which carried away one of our masts. As the wind is now in our favor we may reach America in forty days. We have just sighted a large craft, but we do not know whether she be friend or foe. I have no time to write you more.

NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND, 5th August, 1780.

The letter I wrote you on the 16th of July and which returned here on the 23d because of the English fleet putting in an appearance, is now at the bottom of the sea, as the vessel which finally carried it struck on a rock as she was leaving port on the 30th of July. In that lost letter I not only gave you an account of a naval engagement in which we took part, but I sent you a little chart, as well as a log-book of our sail. I will not have time to rewrite the naval engagement or to make a fresh draught

of the plans, but here is my diary. We left Brest on the 4th of May. Met with a gale in the Bay of Biscay on the 11th. We doubled the Cape of Finistère on the 16th or 17th. We then southed 27° latitude, then headed westward. On the 20th of June off the Bermudas we met with five English vessels and a frigate which fought us for a couple of hours without doing much damage. At night-fall they sailed away and we were prevented from following them by our convoy. We were to have landed on Chesapeake Bay, but on the 4th, as we were but fifteen leagues from shore, we fell in with eleven vessels which we rightly judged were men-of-war, so we thought it more prudent to direct our course to this place, Rhode Island, where we arrived safely on the evening of the 11th, entering port at 6 P.M. Our fears of meeting the British whilst we were crossing the bay to reach here were not groundless, as Admiral Graves, who had left England in our wake with the determination to join us and fight us if he could, arrived in New York on the 13th, where he mustered a fresh crew and appeared at the entrance of our harbor on the 17th. Were he to have reached Rhode Island before us, he certainly would have occupied it, and we could not possibly have gotten in without a smart struggle, which would no doubt have cost us our convoy in spite of any advantage we might have gained. As to our future plans I cannot tell you, dear father, as I know absolutely nothing about them. We are anxious to join General Washington, who is stationed about twenty-five miles from New York, as we think that is the only way we can be doing something. I do not know whether this junction of forces will ever take place. In the meanwhile we are blockaded here by twenty sail, ten of which are line vessels; daily do they come dangerously near the coast, but we are told that all this will amount to nothing, and I believe so. We are expecting General Clinton, who has left New York with ten thousand men. We are all ready to receive him; all precautions have been taken. I hope he will come, although I can scarcely believe he will commit such a blunder.

NEWPORT, *8th September, 1780.*

Nothing has taken place since my last. We are still on our island and are peaceably settled and in the best order possible, occupying a healthy camp with a good position and strongly entrenched. The works of defense are not quite completed; they are being actively pushed forward. The most rigid discipline is enforced; nothing is taken from the inhabitants but what is paid for cash down. There has not been a complaint against the troops. This discipline of ours is admirable; it surprises the Americans who are accustomed to being pillaged not only by the British

but by their own army as well. The greatest confidence and harmony reign between our two nations. If this alone suffices to insure us a happy result of the expedition we will be successful.

These last four or five days our blockade has been raised, and we do not know where the British fleet has gone; we are momentarily expecting news from Jamaica, which, if conquered, will not leave us much to do here. General Clinton, who is in command of New York, remains on Long Island with his twenty thousand men. He has richly stored the island with provisions and fuel; he seems determined to winter there. I greatly fear we shall have to pass ours here. I would not mind this so much were we assured of a spring campaign. Our army is in the best possible condition; officers and men alike seem to be willing to work for the common cause. Of course little bickerings will occasionally take place, this is unavoidable; but perfect law and order prevail, especially amongst the French, which only proves what a good commander can do. We have not yet begun maneuvering, but will do so shortly. You, who know the French so well, dear father, especially those who are attached to the court, you can imagine the state of desperation these young courtiers are in when they realize the fact that they have to pass a quiet winter here in Newport, far from their lady-loves and deprived of the gayeties of Paris, their little suppers, the theatres, and the balls. They are literally frantic; their only consolation now would be to receive marching orders to fight the enemy. During the month of August the heat has been extreme here. I never experienced the like even in Italy. Now that the atmosphere is cooler it seems like a splendid climate and a charming country. We were on the mainland about eight days ago with the general. I was the only aid-de-camp who accompanied him. We stayed a couple of days and we saw the most beautiful country in the world, well cultivated, charming sites. The people seem in easy circumstances and free from any love of display or ceremony; they are satisfied with a simple style of living, which with us is confined to persons of inferior rank. Their dress is quiet, but of the finest texture, and their manners have not been spoiled by the luxuriousness of Europe. This country is bound to be a prosperous one, should peace be theirs, and if the two parties which divide it now do not reduce it to the state of Poland and so many other republics. These two parties are called the whigs and the tories. The first named is entirely for liberty and independence; it is composed of people of the lowest extraction, who possess nothing in the way of worldly goods. The tories are nearly all country people; they sympathize with England, that is to say, they are for peace at any price, and do not seem to care for either freedom

or liberty. They are of a better class of people in this country, and the only ones, in fact, who seem to have any landed property. Some of these tories have relations or possessions in the mother country, England; others, wishing to keep what they have already acquired in this country, have embraced the British side, as this is the stronger. When the whigs have the mastery they plunder the others as hard as they can. This, of course, keeps up a bitter animosity and hatred between the two sides, which will be with difficulty overcome, and which will be the very hotbed of future troubles.

NEWPORT, 14 *September*, 1780.

I have neither good nor very interesting news to send you. There is, however, one very vexatious bit of information for us, it is the defeat of General Gates by Lord Cornwallis, in South Carolina, on the 16th of August. The American general had imprudently advanced and was repulsed, the half of his troops slain, the other half taken; he alone escaped with an aid-de-camp. We have had no detailed account of this affair. Count Rochambeau received the news by a messenger who arrived here the day before yesterday; he has not made the matter public, he does not even mention it, yet all the town knows of it. An American with whom I spoke this morning told me he had seen a letter written to a member of the council, wherein it was mentioned that the militia under the orders of General Gates had all passed over to the enemy's camp at the very outset of the action. If this be true, what sort of dependence can be placed in such troops? A brave man is to be pitied who has the command of such. This, dear father, is the situation we are in; it is not a cheerful one; it is to be hoped it will change at the arrival of the second division, which we all await with the greatest impatience. Newport's military situation begins to be a very depressing one.

NEWPORT, 16th *October*, 1780.

This is the first opportunity I have had for a long time to write to you. I am in hopes my letter will not only reach you safely, but will be personally handed to you without fear of its being opened and read. A frigate which Monsieur de Rochambeau is sending back to France will carry it to you, as one of the Duke de Lauzun's men is aboard of her; he is to be intrusted with my letter to hand to Count Creutz, to whom I have also written by bearer. An officer is to be sent to France by this frigate to give the government there an account of the true position of our army and that of our dear allies, both bad enough.

It is not at present known who will be intrusted with this delicate mission. Every one seems to think I will get it, as several of the commissioned officers, Monsieur de Chastellux, and Baron Viomesnil have mentioned me as one fully capable of carrying out the instructions of the general in this particular case. I do not know what the result will be, as I will take no step to obtain it, nor will I refuse it should the general offer it to me. I should, however, prefer not to be burdened with such a task, as something interesting might occur here during my absence, and I should be in despair were I away. Our position here is a very disagreeable one. We are vegetating at the very door of the enemy, in a most disastrous state of idleness and inactivity, all of which is attributable to our inferior numbers, which are terribly tired out, being obliged to be always fatiguingly on the defensive. We are of no possible aid to our allies; we cannot leave our island without exposing our fleet to the danger of being captured or destroyed; our fleet cannot leave port without exposing us to the enemy, who with superior forces in the way of men and ships would certainly attack us and cut off our retreat to the mainland. There are still some British armaments of more or less importance which watch us pretty closely, and we dare not attack these, as they have a supply of vessels stationed at Gardiner's Island, some twenty miles to the southwest. We can see that the British fleet is some fifteen to twenty sail strong. As long as we have no superior forces we shall be obliged to remain in our present position unless we determine to send back the fleet and abandon Rhode Island to the English. One result will be the consequence of the other. Instead of helping the Americans we are a drawback to them; we cannot reinforce their army, as we are about a twelve days' march from them, separated by great arms of the sea which are dangerous to cross in winter because of their huge floating blocks of ice. We are in fact a burthen to the allies, because our victualing makes provisions scarce for them. Our paying gold cash down, even, undervalues government paper, as this deprives General Washington's army of the facility of using their paper to purchase provisions—it is refused whenever offered. Our financial is as bad as our military condition. We had brought with us only two hundred and sixty thousand pounds, half in specie and half by letters of credit on Mr. Holcker, a banker in Philadelphia; we ought of course to have brought double that amount. The scarcity of specie here makes us use our ready money continually; the consequence is, it enforces us to the most rigid economy, when we ought to have been lavish and profuse in our expenditures. This ruins our credit. Then, too, the securing of provender for the horses has been terribly mismanaged; it had been

delegated to a contractor, who had himself depended on a sub-contractor. These gentlemen not viewing the question from a military standpoint had simply consulted their own interests, and instead of securing and storing all the provender of the island within a radius of thirty or forty miles, with easy transportation facilities, made us very foolishly consume the nearest provender at hand, leaving the farthest distant for the hard winter months.

God knows how we shall manage to get these! We have been twice out of provender, obliged to buy just enough to last us two days, wherever we could find it. The generals are not in complete harmony; the army is discouraged with their total inactivity. The second division has not yet put in an appearance, and without this we cannot do much, or at least what will amount to something. Monsieur de Rochambeau is sending to France an account of the state of things here; he begs for an increase of troops as well as a fresh supply of money. We await the result of this letter.

About fifteen days ago I went to Hartford (some forty miles from here) with Monsieur de Rochambeau. There were only six of us in the party: the general, the admiral, Viscount Rochambeau (the general's son), a superior officer of the engineering corps, and two aids-de-camp (myself included). An interview was arranged between the generals, Washington and Rochambeau. I was sent on slightly in advance to announce Rochambeau's approach, and thus had an opportunity of studying this most illustrious man of our century (not to say the *only one*). His majestic, handsome countenance is stamped with an honesty and a gentleness which correspond well with his moral qualities. He looks like a hero; he is very cold, speaks little, but is frank and courteous in manner; a tinge of melancholy affects his whole bearing, which is not unbecoming; on the contrary it renders him, if possible, more interesting. His suite outnumbered ours: the Marquis de Lafayette, General Knox of the artillery, Monsieur de Gouvion, a French officer of engineers; and six aids-de-camp; besides an escort of twenty-two dragoons; of course this latter was indispensable, as he had to cross a country bristling with enemies; no post-horses being procurable, the journey had to be taken on horseback with private horses on account of the miserable condition of the roads. In this one instance, however, nearly every one had come in carriages except our own aids-de-camp. It was a three days' journey for us as well as for Washington. Whilst we were journeying we heard of Rodney's arrival in New York. We continued on, however. During our stay in Hartford the two generals and the admiral were closeted together all day; the Marquis de Lafayette assisted as interpreter, as General Washington does not speak

French nor understand it. They separated, quite charmed with one another, at least they said so. It was on leaving Hartford that General Washington discovered Arnold's treachery. He was one of their most heroic generals, had been twice wounded, and had always conducted himself bravely. He had been won over by General Clinton and made to promise to deliver up West Point (where he commanded) into the enemy's hands. Major André, Clinton's first aid-de-camp, had been sent in the disguise of a countryman to examine the fortifications and to make the necessary arrangements for Clinton's mode of attack and Arnold's retreat so as to arouse no suspicion. A frigate had been sent up the Hudson and a sloop was to be stationed at some given point. All had been satisfactorily arranged with Arnold. Major André was setting out for the sloop, which, however, could not be found. The frigate on account of the firing of the West Point guns had slipped two miles below, where she was stationed. Major André, ignorant of this fact, started to go by land to New York, but he was arrested by a small band of farmers who had been formed into a strict patrol corps to secure Washington's safe journey on to Hartford. André showed them his passport signed by Arnold, but they doubting its authenticity and in spite of all inducements on André's part to bribe them, he was carried to headquarters. In the meantime General Washington arrived at West Point; he had sent on two of his aids-de-camp to the general to announce that he would dine with him and make a personal inspection of the fortifications. The aids found Arnold at breakfast alone with his wife; they were invited to be seated, but scarcely had they taken their places when a messenger arrived and whispered a few words to the general, who arose and hurriedly murmuring to his wife, "Farewell forever!" left the house. The woman fainted; the young officers rushed to her assistance, not knowing what the matter really was; a few moments afterwards General Washington heard of the whole affair by a courier. A search was made for the traitor; it was too late, he had escaped. If the British had succeeded in capturing this point they would have been masters of the Hudson, they would have cut off all communication between our armies or forced us to march considerably out of our way to join them, and Washington camped at Orangetown between West Point and New York would indeed have been caught between two fires and utterly destroyed before we could have reached him with our forces. It would have been, perhaps, the total ruin of America itself, and we would have had the humiliation of landing here merely to witness the complete annihilation of our allies and add to their miserable dependence by the state of demoralization it would have produced; our position then

would have been an extremely perilous one, as the British having then nothing more to fear from the Americans might have turned their forces against us, and we should not have been strong enough to resist them. Fortunately the plot failed. It is rumored that Major André has been hung. It is a great pity! He was only twenty-four years old and full of talent. The general, however, has no positive information about him, but we hope it is a false report.

I have already mentioned to you, dear father, my intimacy with the Duke de Lauzun. Public opinion seems to be pretty evenly divided about him; there are good and evil reports in circulation. The *former*, however, is the truth, and the latter nothing but falsehood; for if the people who so dislike him only knew him *better* they would soon change their opinions about him and could then do justice to his excellent heart. He has taken quite a fancy to me, and proposes in the frankest way imaginable to have me appointed to the rank of brevet colonel in command of his legion, where now there is a vacancy; in fact he hopes to turn it over entirely to me, as in a year's time he retires from active service. His legion consists of one thousand infantry and five hundred mounted hussars, besides a few pieces of artillery. This proposition is too agreeable as well as too advantageous for me to think of hesitating one moment about accepting it, therefore it has a double charm. The Duke de Lauzun has written about this to the queen, who has not only been most gracious to him, but a little kind to me. I have also written to her majesty, and I am in hopes that the frigate which bears an answer to these may bring me likewise my brevet. Lauzun assures me there is no doubt about this.

NEWPORT, 26th *October*, 1780.

You have already heard of the defeat of General Gates in the south, for I sent you the news. Congress has recalled him to Philadelphia and has given his command to General Greene. He is under suspicion, as he was so intimate with Arnold. It appears that the latter's desertion has had no consequences whatever. All is quiet; two battalions of grenadiers and fusiliers with detachments of other army regiments, numbering some four thousand men, have sailed from New York for the south of the states. A fleet from Cork, Ireland, has landed in New York laden with provisions, which were sorely needed. This fleet brought some four thousand fresh recruits composed partly of British and Hessians. What a terrible thing this war has been for England! She has been obliged to send over even her provisions. This power must have indeed great resources to be able to keep up the struggle as long as she has done.

NEWPORT, 13th *November*, 1780.

The frigate which carried our letters left here the 28th of last month. On the 27th we sighted a fleet of thirteen men-of-war; the next day, however, we lost all sight of them, and hearing that they were sailing due east, three of our frigates left port; we have not been informed of the destination of the two others, we are totally without news. We believe, however, that Monsieur Ginchim left for Europe.

As I said, the Arnold affair has had no serious consequences except for poor Major André, who has been hung. He was a most promising young fellow, only twenty-four years old, and a friend of General Clinton's. His terrible ending has quite stirred up the army. The two officers deputed by Washington to be his guard of honor to the place of execution had not the heart to accompany him. General Gates, whose defeat you must have read the account of in the *Gazetteer*, was recalled to Philadelphia by congress, and the command of his division given to General Greene, who seems to be liked by the army. It is said that congress suspecting Gates because of his intimacy with Arnold, recalled him for that very reason. The three states, New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts, have just named General Washington dictator with absolute military authority. It is thought the other ten states will do likewise. This resolution has infused fresh vigor and nerve into the campaign; it will considerably change the status of things by arousing the slow indolence of these Americans. Fourteen Spanish and nine French vessels have just captured a convoy off Madeira; it consisted of fifty sail from India and the isles richly freighted. The war is not any more active than it was. A small victory which the Americans obtained over the British is the latest news, but as it is not confirmed I do not credit it. Six thousand troops, nearly all grenadiers and fusiliers, have left New York; three thousand of these have already landed at Chesapeake bay. It is said General Clinton is to leave with the remainder; surely it must be to make an expedition in the south? To capture perhaps North Carolina and Virginia, or else to commit as many depredations as possible. They will meet with small resistance there on the part of the American forces, which are only four thousand strong in all, and some militia which cannot be depended on. Unfortunately the term of service of these very same four thousand men expires in January, so that the army will be reduced then to nothing. General Washington cannot leave the position he now occupies without exposing the whole course of the Hudson and adjacent country to the attack of the enemy, and we, by lacking sufficient means, cannot leave our island where we are shut up like an oyster in its shell. The

British, therefore, will have unrestricted liberty to act as they please in the south. They have garrisoned Charleston with about six thousand men with which they can reinforce their army, and besides all this, half of the country people sympathize with them. They have a beautiful position, and they know it and profit by it, whilst ours will be simply a despairing one if it does not change soon.

Rochambeau has just sent the legion of De Lauzun some twenty-nine leagues inland on a foraging expedition, as there was no hay or grain for the cattle. The Duke de Lauzun still treats me with the same kind friendliness. He frequently mentions my advancement and how pleased he would be to further it by placing me in full command, for all of which he will accept no remuneration whatever. He said once when I mentioned something of the kind, "I have sometimes bought men but I never sell them. I would in fact gladly pay a man who would take as good charge of my command (whom I love as my children) as you will." This of course shows how kindly disposed the man is. The hope of being put promptly in possession elates me.

NEWPORT, 7th *December*, 1780.

You see, my dear father, we are still in Newport; we do not even think of stirring, as we are in quiet possession of our winter quarters. Washington's army has just gone into theirs about a fortnight ago. Admiral Rodney has returned to the West Indies with his ten vessels. Arbuthnot is here with seven sail and three or four frigates besides. Affairs in the south are doing well. Colonel Ferguson has been defeated by the Americans, his division of some fourteen hundred men have nearly all been destroyed. This has forced Lord Cornwallis, who commands the British forces in that section of country, to withdraw to Charleston with his corps of four thousand, the half of whom had died from disease and over fatigue. The English had sent Brigadier Leslie with a corps of twenty-five hundred from New York to join Cornwallis. By an intercepted letter which Leslie wrote to Cornwallis we learned since that Leslie landed with his troops at Portsmouth, Virginia, where he was awaiting orders to form a junction. To all appearances now it will not take place, owing to Cornwallis's withdrawal to Charleston. There is even question of Leslie's return to New York. Before retiring to winter quarters Washington made an attempt on Staten Island. He, desirous of attracting the British attention in another quarter, made a feint of foraging at Kingsbridge, but they were not taken in by this strategy, as they doubly reinforced their position on the island; he

had therefore to abandon the project. Rochambeau has just made a little six days' trip on the mainland. I was of the party, but we saw neither a fine country nor a good population; they are all lazy and greedy. With two such amiable vices, how can any warlike material be made of them?

NEWPORT, 9th of *January*, 1781.

As regards our military situation, there is absolutely nothing new, dear father; it seems as if we were irrevocably doomed to be on the defensive, as it is very hard to say which side will first begin the approaching campaign. This probably will depend on the arrival of fresh troops from Europe. The side which receives theirs first will of course (as it seems to me) profit by superior numbers to make an attack on the other. Should the forces which France destines for us arrive, we shall, for a time at least, have some superiority on the sea. That is the only way to operate and put an end to a war that is as wearisome as it is ruinous. Although we are not masters upon the sea, we can at least prevent the English from making any further inroads into the country; we cannot, however, force them to leave the coast. Their commerce, too, is in a flourishing condition and they are by these very means furnished the wherewithal for subsistence, which otherwise they would be deprived of. As long as they hold Quebec, Halifax, New York, Charleston, and Jamaica, they necessarily will not make a peace, which must be the outcome of the ruin of their commercial condition, and the seizure of one or two of these ports. The failure to capture Jamaica this year will be an opportunity; I fear one which will never occur again. The reinforcements promised us from France consist I think of eight men-of-war. There is one of one hundred and ten guns, three of eighty, three of seventy-four, and one of sixty-four. We do not know the number of troops. We received this piece of information by a ship which arrived in Boston some fifteen days ago. She was from Nantes, having made the passage in thirty-eight days. Our government has neglected us shamefully, for since our arrival here we have had no letters whatever.

The campaign in the south is carried on more actively than our northern one. I have already told you, dear father, that the troops under Lord Cornwallis there gained no inconsiderable victory over General Gates last September. A short time afterwards the British advance guard, consisting of some fourteen hundred men under Colonel Ferguson, marched rather imprudently into the country and were surrounded by the militia, some three thousand strong, and entirely routed. This mishap

joined to sickness, which began to weaken the British army, obliged Lord Cornwallis to retire to Camden. About that time General Clinton sent twenty-five hundred men to join Cornwallis's forces; they landed at Portsmouth, Virginia, but the retreat to Camden prevented the junction, and they had to reembark and have sailed for Cape Fear it is said. The report is that Cornwallis is surrounded at Camden, his troops are suffering from hunger and disease; they have been compelled to eat their horses. The truth of this rumor, however, has not been confirmed. The news of the embarkation of twenty-five hundred men from the port of New York for the south is more likely to be true. These troops are destined to join Ferguson's at Cape Fear, and they are ultimately to march to Cornwallis's rescue at Camden should he be surrounded, and begin campaign operations with him. Should this junction take place the south is irrevocably lost, as the Americans have no army there whatever. The forces they counted on were destroyed by General Gates and the scattered remnants are destitute of clothes, of shoes, and of arms. To be sure there is the militia, which is only called out when danger threatens, but which runs away when the enemy appears; how will it act when compelled to face the well-drilled and well-seasoned troops of the British?

That is the state of affairs in the south. Ours is not much better; we are forced to be the idle spectators of the loss of a section of the country and cannot raise a finger to help them. I have traveled but little in this country. Several of our army officers are now absent on a trip; all they have seen and all the mistakes they may commit will be a guide for me. I shall await the month of March. The different American states have passed a resolution to raise a standing army of twenty thousand men for three years. The appointment has been made and public interest again has been thoroughly aroused. They hope to have all their recruits in by the 1st of March. I sincerely *trust* they may succeed, but I am not *sure* of it. Some of these recruits have been engaged for three years, others only for the duration of the war, but none of them will serve for love; it is only by dint of offering high pay that the different regiments have been filled at all. Money is scarce; in fact there is none. The taxes do not suffice; there is no credit, no resources, it seems to me. This is the time or never to be of some service to them and repair our inactive and useless campaign by furnishing them with all the means and the clothing they may need. Should, however, our reinforcements from France fail to come we may be ourselves in *want* and reduced to the humiliating expedient of paying our army in paper money. You see, dear father, by these expla-

nations you have a truthful statement of the whole question, and how difficult it is to raise an army which can only be kept on a standing footing by money. Besides all this the spirit of patriotism is only to be found amongst the military chiefs and the principal men of the country, who do make great sacrifices; the bulk of the population, however, only look out for their own interests. Money is the prime motor of all their actions; their only thought is how to make it. Every one for himself, no one for the public good. The inhabitants of the coast and the stanchest whigs carry provisions of all kinds to the British fleet anchored in Gardiner's Bay, and they get well paid for their pains; they swindle us unmercifully; everything is exorbitantly high, and whenever they have any business dealings with us they generally treat us more like foes than friends. Their cupidity is unequalled, for money is their god; virtue and honor hold no place beside the precious metal. There are, of course, estimable people among them, people noted for their noble, generous natures—fortunately there are many such—but I am speaking of the country as a whole. I believe there is more of the Dutch than of the English element among them. This, dear father, is my opinion of this country, its inhabitants, and its war, and this opinion is corroborated by all intelligent-minded persons—persons who are better able to judge the situation than I can. With troops, with ships, and plenty of money, all this could be remedied; but should this latter not be sent forthwith to help us in our needs and enable us to succor our allies, then nothing can be done, and the ministry of France will have capped the climax with its stupidity. We have just received most disastrous news; the Pennsylvania troops, numbering some twenty-five hundred men and recruited in the state of Pennsylvania, have passed over to the enemy. They were, it is true, thoroughly demoralized, being destitute of clothes and shoes, then starved for nearly four days. There is an amended report to this, that they repenting of their desperate act returned to camp and sent six of their sergeants to treat with congress the conditions under which they return to duty. This last bit of news has not been confirmed. This desertion has set a most disastrous example; it proves, furthermore, how much reliance can be placed in such material. We have had nothing recent from the south, so that we are ignorant as to what may be taking place there.

NEWPORT, 14th of *January*, 1781.

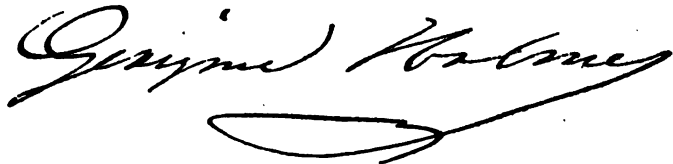
We have just received the detailed account of two little engagements in the south wherein the Americans were victorious. There were only two small British detachments repulsed. I am glad to report that the

Pennsylvanians did not pass over to the enemy; they have taken up a strong position at Morristown. Everything is carried on with the greatest order; there are no officers but sergeants in command. These are perfectly well fitted for the post; they send out foraging parties to gather in whatever they may need, and give receipts which they promise congress will redeem. General Clinton, it appears, sent them a letter by two of his spies, in which he promised them fourteen months' back pay (which had been owing them), a bounty besides, new clothes, and then the regular pay of the British troops. He assured them that he would form them into a corps apart, and that they would always be led by their own officers, to whom likewise he promised advancement and higher pay. Notwithstanding all these allurements the Pennsylvanians arrested the spies and hung them. Congress has sent three of its members to treat with them; they on their side have named six of their sergeants to represent them.

They demand fourteen months of back pay, new clothing and provisions for the future. All this will certainly be acceded to, but the difficulty will be to find ready money, as it is next to impossible. I should think we ought to now step in and furnish them with the requisite cash and give them whatever they might need besides for suppressing this rebellion. But we are powerless, and without the prompt assistance of France we ourselves will not have the wherewithal to pay our own troops.

A slight coolness has sprung up between Rochambeau and Washington; the latter considers himself the aggrieved party and our general has not the slightest idea what the reason may be. He has charged me with a letter to him, as well as to gather information regarding the cause of discontent. I am to patch up matters peacefully if I can, or if the case be a serious one to report immediately. You see, dear father, I am to act the part of *mediator*. It will be my first attempt in that rôle; I only trust I may succeed.

(Translated from the French by)

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, which appears to be "George Washington". The signature is written in dark ink and has a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

(To be continued.)

THE ORIGINAL TREASURY ACCOUNTING OFFICE

When the impeachment trial of Andrew Johnson reached its final stage, the senate first voted on the eleventh or last article, but did not continue in reverse order; it next took up the first article. The *Magazine of American History* follows the illustrious precedent: having recently published a sketch of the sixth auditor's office of the United States treasury, it now treats of the first.

When President Washington was inaugurated the government may be said to have consisted of a president, a congress, and a constitution. Though departments and courts were provided for, none had yet been created: it remained for the first congress to project and set them in operation. Naturally the first department to be considered was that of state, so that our new government would have some authorized agent to carry on business with other nations. This was accomplished July 27, 1889. Only two other departments were established by the first congress—that of war, August 7, and that of the treasury, September 2, 1789. An attorney-general was provided for on September 24 of the same year, but he was not placed at the head of a department until the creation of the department of justice, June 22, 1870, occupying in the meantime a position akin to that of a planet without any satellites. He was always a member of the cabinet, which may be mentioned as an undefinable body, unknown to the Constitution or statutes; but, like the common law, a creature of the tradition or history of republics and limited monarchies. The remaining four departments were respectively established or erected as follows: The post-office, May 8, 1794; the navy, April 30, 1798; the interior, March 3, 1849; and agriculture in a minor form, with a commissioner at the head, May 15, 1862; then made a full-fledged department, in charge of a secretary, February 9, 1889. These are all mentioned because the first auditor's office has more or less jurisdiction over the accounts of all of the departments.

The first secretary of the treasury, Alexander Hamilton, is accredited with the authorship of the act creating the department. Like any other financial institution it was necessary to have one or more accounting officers. This act provided for two, an auditor and a comptroller of the treasury, their powers being not separate and distinct, but concurrent; or, rather, what would in law be known as original and appellate, with this

difference: that action of both officers was essential in all cases. An auditor is technically defined as one authorized to adjust accounts. This is not strictly true of the first auditor of the treasury, nor in fact of any but the sixth auditor; on the contrary, he is only given power to receive and examine accounts, and certify the balances, and transmit the same with the vouchers and certificates to the first comptroller for his decision therein. Thus the auditor's position resembles that of a master in chancery as referee, who reports an account to the court for action; or, to use a homelier illustration, that of the well-satisfied hod-carrier, who boasted that he got paid for carrying bricks to the top of a house, while a man up there did all the work. The work of the auditor, like that of the carrier, is as laborious as that of the workman who finishes the task.

There was originally but one auditor, who examined all accounts except those of the state and war departments; these were examined and settled by accountants in the respective departments. Similar accountants officiated in the post-office and navy departments after their establishment, until March 3, 1817, when congress concluded to have the whole system of accounts under the control of the treasury, therefore abolished the office of accountant, and substituted auditors in their stead.

The original auditor, by this act, was given the title of first auditor, and the others followed in numerical succession. The first auditor had general jurisdiction, the others limited; briefly stated, the second and third act on accounts arising in the war department, the fourth in the navy, the fifth in the state, the sixth in the postal service, leaving to the first all accounts not specifically enumerated. Detachments from the first and annexation to some one of the others have been made from time to time, until, at the adoption of the revised statutes seventeen years ago, the duties of the first auditor were declared to relate to "all accounts accruing in the treasury department; all accounts relating to the receipts from customs, including accounts of collectors and other officers of the customs; all accounts accruing on account of salaries in the patent-office; all accounts of the judges, marshals, clerks, and other officers of all the courts of the United States; all accounts of the officer in charge of the public buildings and grounds in the District of Columbia; all accounts of the expenditures of the department of agriculture; all accounts relating to prisoners convicted in any court of the United States."

The first class in this enumeration is very extensive. In addition to the accounts arising strictly in the treasury department, a liberal and uniform construction has been given that it includes legislative expenses, salaries of departmental officers generally, whether in the treasury or out

of it. Thus the accounts for salaries of the departmental force in the war department are audited by the first auditor, those for the army and for public improvements of rivers, etc., by the second and third auditors; the distinction being that the expenses of the civil list are construed to arise in the treasury department, those of the military in the war department. In like manner the distinction has been drawn between the civil and naval list, the home and foreign list in the state department, and the departmental and postal service. The system of settling claim accounts has always been two-fold, either by advancement to a bonded disbursing officer or by payment to a claimant direct.

In the first case, let us take for example the disbursing clerk of the treasury. The congress makes an appropriation say for four hundred thousand dollars for salaries in the office of the secretary; that is, so much for the secretary, so much for assistant secretaries, so much for chiefs of division and clerks and other employees, specifying the number and salary of each class. The fiscal year begins on the first day of July. Along towards the middle of the month—for the departments pay their employees semi-monthly—the disbursing clerk will ask the secretary for a requisition for thirty-three thousand dollars. This is issued on the treasurer, who pays the money to the disbursing clerk; at the end of three months the disbursing clerk makes out an account current, charging himself with the moneys advanced, and crediting himself with the signed monthly pay-rolls. This quarterly account is sent to the first auditor, and one of his clerks takes it up, and sends to the register of the treasury for a statement showing the state of the disbursing clerk's account under that particular appropriation. For the first quarter the register's books show only the advancements; afterwards they will show also the balance either way on the previous quarter. The auditor's clerk compares the disbursing clerk's statement of money received with the register's certificate; these usually agree, but if they do not the register's statement is for the present accepted, and the disbursing clerk is afterwards to explain the discrepancy. Next, the auditing clerk turns to the disbursements, sees that the pay-rolls are all signed by the proper person, and approved by the chief of the appointment division; that no more than the legal number of the employees of each class are paid; and that the calculations as to the number of days and the amount of pay are correct. Then an auditor's certificate is made out, and if the balance due to or from the disbursing clerk differs from his own statement, a statement of differences is also made out, showing how or wherein the auditor's calculation differs from that of the disbursing officer. The clerk puts his initials on this

certificate and passes it to the chief of division, who initials it if he approves it and the auditor signs on the faith of these two initials.

Unless some new and important question arises the auditor never sees anything but the certificate; and when he signs it with the opening words, "I certify that I have examined an account between the United States and John Smith, and find," etc., he is indulging in a legal fiction, in which there is no more truth than the indorsement on every congressional bill: "Read twice and referred to the committee," or in the daily statements of attendance at professional ball games.

The appropriations for salaries have for many years been kept separate for each bureau in the treasury and for each item of contingent expenses; so that quarterly there comes to the first auditor from eighty to one hundred accounts of these two characters alone. Then for the public buildings, always in course of construction, there is a separate account for a disbursing officer for each building, who draws money by requisition as may be needed, and pays bills approved by the supervising architect.

When a United States marshal wants to draw money, say to pay witnesses, he writes to the attorney-general who makes a requisition for the amount; this is sent to the first auditor who indorses on it the amount of vouchers on hand in his office and sends it to the register, who certifies what balance, if any, the marshal appears to owe according to his books, and sends the requisition to the first comptroller who deducts the vouchers from the balance due from the marshal, and approves any advance that will not overreach the marshal's bond of \$20,000. Then the marshal pays out to the witnesses whatever amount the court directs, and forwards an account current and receipted pay-roll with the court's approval, and an account is stated by the auditor as in case of a disbursing clerk; only it is under appropriation for fees of witnesses in the United States courts. If the marshal has drawn too much money he deposits the amount to pay back with some recognized depository, and it is turned into the treasury on the secretary's warrant.

In case of payment to a claimant direct take, for example, the case of a United States commissioner: he presents his account to the court by which it is approved and sent to the first auditor, one of whose clerks takes it up, examines it, sees that the charges are all legal and authorized, or if not strikes out the improper ones and prepares a certificate and statement of differences in the manner before stated. After the first comptroller approves or alters this certificate it is copied and sent to the attorney-general, who makes a requisition for the amount found due, sends it back to the treasury, and the secretary issues his warrant, and the treas-

urer sends a draft to the claimant. No debit and credit account is kept with any but disbursing officers.

Besides the claim accounts there are the receipt accounts of the customs officers, amounting last year to \$254,694,204.97 (the internal revenue being audited by the fifth auditor); and the treasurer's accounts for moneys received, \$647,002,990.13; and receipts in mints and assay offices, \$106,741,654.09; and other minor receipts. These, with the treasurer's disbursements on public debts and payments out of other appropriations, made the grand total of accounts examined and audited run up to the following figures for 1889:

2,761 receipt accounts, amounting to.....	\$1,019,684,429.60
31,867 disbursement accounts, amounting to.....	1,165,879,638.80
Total accounts, 34,628, amounting to.....	<u>\$2,185,564,068.40</u>

It is hardly worth while to go back a century for statistics showing the continuous growth of business in this office; it would be wearying if not confusing to the reader. It may be stated, however, that for the fiscal year 1861 the total accounts were 9,205, involving \$241,893,457.28—the thirty years showing that the accounts have increased three-fold in number and eight-fold in monetary value. All this has been accomplished by from time to time improving the system in use, with an increase of only twenty-five per cent. in the office force, which at present numbers only sixty-three from the auditor down to the laborers.

The auditor's certificates, as has been stated, are sent to the first comptroller, with all the papers for his decision except in customs cases, when they are sent to the commissioner of customs, an officer authorized by act of March 3, 1849, in order to relieve the comptroller to the extent that the name indicates. There is a second comptroller, who revises the accounts of the second, third, and fourth auditors, and the commissioner of customs has sometimes been called the third comptroller.

While the action of the auditor must always be revised, it is the theory of the law that his office must be as vigilant and painstaking as though no one was to follow after, and that the first comptroller and commissioner of customs are only to correct the auditor's errors and oversights. It is but just to say that the auditor has always endeavored to live up to that theory, and that the differences sometimes arising between the offices spring from differences of opinion on legal questions rather than from hasty and negligent work.

Probably no civil office under the government has been less susceptible

to political influence. In the century of its existence there have been but twelve incumbents of the office :

APPOINTED.

Oliver Wolcott, Jr., Connecticut.....	September 12, 1789.
William Smith, Maryland.....	July 16, 1791.
Richard Harrison, Virginia.....	November 29, 1791.
Jesse Miller, Pennsylvania.....	November, 1, 1836.
Tully R. Wise, Virginia.....	June 17, 1842.
William Collins, Virginia.....	July 24, 1849.
John C. Clark, New York.....	August 2, 1849.
Thomas L. Smith, Virginia.....	October 31, 1849.
David W. Mahen, Pennsylvania.....	December 19, 1871.
Robert M. Reynolds, Alabama.....	April 16, 1878.
James Q. Chenoweth, Texas.....	May, 1, 1885.
George P. Fisher, Delaware.....	June 5, 1889.

Omitting the brief terms of William Smith and Clark, and of the present incumbent, we have in a century only nine auditors, showing an average term of over eleven years, equal to that of the chief-justices.

Two Virginians, Richard Harrison, a kinsman of the President, and Thomas L. Smith, held this office for two-thirds of the time: the former occupying it forty-five years, under every president from Washington to and including Jackson; and the latter for twenty-two years, or from Taylor to Grant. When auditor Smith died, so little was politics considered that his successor Mr. Mahen, although a democrat, was promoted by President Grant from the chief clerkship to the vacant place. Up to this date it seemed to have been the policy of the government to treat this office as a judgeship, and give its incumbents practically a life tenure, filling a vacancy by promotion. On Mr. Mahen's retirement in 1878 the trail of the political serpent first came over the office. A republican from Alabama was brought in "from the outside." He was relieved by a democrat in 1885, and he in turn by a republican in 1889.

The application of the civil service law to the lower grades in the departments seems to have resulted in the withdrawal of its principles from the making of appointments to the higher. Not only the auditors but other like and even lesser officers, whose official duties have no more to do with politics than the man in the moon, are regarded as the legitimate, and seemingly the necessary, prey of each succeeding administration, and are officially "strangled as remorselessly as a sightless kitten."

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Quin B. Hallam

ISAAC JOGUES, A. D. 1636

I

At the convent window sat and dreamed

Isaac Jogues.

Though his garb was black, and his dark eye beamed
With the ardor of youth, yet like Gabriel seemed

Isaac Jogues.

Slight was his figure, and fair his face,
And small his hand in its frills of lace,
And he bore himself with a courtly grace.

Born for a palace, forsooth, was he ;
For a life, wherein no care might be,
Of dalliance, sloth, and luxury.

Before him, touched with the moon's soft gold,
Lay Paris, city of joys untold,
But vile as Babylon of old.

And he thought if sin were no longer there
It would be like the city of vision, fair
And glorious beyond compare.

Over the Seine which beneath his eye
He saw like a crozier of silver lie,
Came dulcet sounds of revelry,

And music and voices passing sweet,
Touching his blood with a subtle heat,
And quickening his pulses' beat.

But he crossed himself and turned away,
And that sin no longer the world might sway,
Would unto Jesus and Mary pray.

Till far away a slender light
He saw, like a star across the night,
In the nunnery window shining bright,

Where prostrate at the altar lay
A nun, and ceaselessly would pray
For the Huron mission till dawn of day.

And the thought like lightning ran through his brain,
That he would give his life to gain
Some Huron souls from sin and pain.

"Sure life the measure of pain should be,
And life is a thing full brief," said he,
"While after cometh eternity.

As into the darkness sank last night's sun,
So souls to ruin sink one by one,
While nought to save them by me is done.

Ah, Lady blessed, no more, I pray,
Grant me a moment to dream away !
But waft, oh, waft me speedily
To the Huron mission across the sea ! "

II

As one who sees a lover die,
So Père Jogues
 From a ship's deck saw, with straining eye,
 The shores of France fade on the sky—
Sad Père Jogues.

And he knew that the nun so slim and straight,
With a face like Mary's, who, through the grate,
He had often seen at the nunnery gate,

Even then before the altar lay,
And unto Christ through tears would pray
To guide him safely upon his way.

And, though sick of body and heart and brain,
He prayed that his mission might not be in vain,
And night and day he drew with pain

The cabin's stifling atmosphere,
And heard with over weary ear
The shameless jest and senseless jeer.

And days and nights went slowly past,
Until the heights, obscure and vast,
Of young Quebec he saw at last—

Saw o'er the purple billows rise
For him the gate of sacrifice,
O'erarched with morning's pearly skies.

So up the heights with joy he went
With the brothers thither before him sent,
And at their rude, rough altar bent.

* * * *

Low sighed the winds the pine-woods through,
As leagues on leagues, in a birch canoe,
He stemmed the river broad and blue.

From the river's brink the caribou
Stared at the boats with their savage crew,
Then vanished shadow-like from view.

And the buffalo shook his blinding mane
From his blood-red eyes, and swept amain,
Like a thunder-storm, across the plain.

Through wildering wood, by lake and stream,
From morn's first flush to eve's last gleam,
He went, as through a dolorous dream.

Till, on a dull November day,
Through shivering swamps of birches gray,
Tracing a dim, uncertain way,

The forest opened, and in the west
He saw the smoke of wigwams crest
A naked hill which hid, he knew,
The Mohawk village he sought from view.

III

Faithfully through the Indian town
Good Père Jogues

Day by day went up and down,
In his broad-brimmed hat and sable gown—
Meek Père Jogues.

And he told of Christ and his work of grace,
And the death he died for a fallen race ;
But he sowed, alas, in a stony place ;

For his message of love they coldly met,
And scowled with hate when his foot was set
In the gloom of their wretched homes ; and yet

He smiled upon them ; and though within
His heart was heavy, he strove to win
Their souls from the dreary ways of sin.

And what he suffered these souls to gain
He only knows who with love is fain
To sound the measureless depths of pain.

With Famine's fearful form he grew
Familiar. Ay ! no fear he knew,
Scanning her face of bloodless hue.

In wintry wilds his feeble feet
Sometimes with wandering hunters beat
A weary way through snow and sleet.

And they, whate'er their ills might be—
Sickness or want—affirmed that he,
The black-robed, brought it over sea.

And he would mark with sad surprise,
Greeting them ever loving wise,
The gleam of hate in their cruel eyes.

Seeking his wretched wigwam, oft
He heard behind a footstep soft,
And saw the tomahawk flash aloft.

Still, some strange power the stroke would stay,
And he would live to toil and pray
For his fierce foes ; but one drear day

They tortured and maimed him cruelly,
Yet slew him not, o'erjoyed to see
The black-robed suffer patiently.

They slew him not, forsooth ; ah, no !
The death on him they would bestow
Should be more bitter, sure, and slow.

But while they paused, a vessel manned
With Dutch folk, a rude trading band,
Came like a ghost to that strange land ;

And he, with what poor life remained,
One night through darkness crawled and gained
Its friendly shelter, there to find
The liberty for which he pined.

IV

Up the convent road, on a winter morn,
Walked Père Jogues,
With a feeble gait and an air forlorn,
In the tattered garb of a beggar born—
Brave Père Jogues.

The mass-bell swung on the frosty air,
And the bishop was donning his vestments fair,
When the verger came up the marble stair,

Saying a feeble man, who wore
The weeds of a beggar, was at the door,
Who news from the Huron mission bore.

And ere the bell had ceased to beat,
Père Jogues again, his joy complete,
Was kneeling at the bishop's feet.

But the bishop looked with a kindly air
On his pallid face and snowy hair,
And asked as a stranger the news he bare.

Tears from the eyes of Père Jogues fell,
As he strove his story of pain to tell
To one who had known him so long and well.

Yet, when his dolorous tale was told
The monks of Rennes, both young and old,
Heaped honors on him manifold.

They nursed him until life might be
A thing once more to love, then he
To Paris went triumphantly.

Round the half-martyred hero, proud
To catch his glance amid the crowd,
Obsequious courtiers lowly bowed.

His fingerless hands the dainty queen
Kissed with a daughter's loving mien,
Weeping his benisons between.

But to this humble soul such show
Of reverence was unblest ; and so
To his old convent would he go,

And on the Seine look out once more—
Look as when youth on eves of yore
Held even for him some joys in store.

There still like a crozier of silver lay
The silent Seine, and far away
The ancient nunnery's turrets gray.

And he looked and looked for the well-known light
Which the sweet-faced nun kept ever bright
While she prayed for his mission day and night.

But he looked in vain ; no light was there,
No longer the fair nun knelt in prayer,
For she lay dead in her chamber bare.

On the morrow he looked on her marble face,
Her small hands folded in maiden grace,
And saw her laid in her resting place.

And he thought of the mission across the sea
She had loved so well, and so faithfully
Had prayed for, and he said : " For me

The way is open, the path is plain,
And I must tread it in spite of pain,
Of peril, and death, which to me is gain."

And so one morning, when to and fro
The willows swung and the winds sobbed low
Round the convent walls, he was ready to go.

But before he went he would stand once more
By the little mound and the cross it bore,
And pray for her on the heavenly shore,

As she prayed for him when alone with God
The terrible Huron wilds he trod ;
So down he knelt on the dank green sod,

And prayed heart full till the morn was spent,
Then rose to go, with head low bent,
Murmuring as down the path he went :

" Oh ! would that I might be so blest
As within this hallowed ground to rest,
With those on earth beloved the best ! "

* * * *

In fitful gusts the chill winds blew,
And it seemed to him that a voice he knew
Sighed through the churchyard, " Adieu ! Adieu ! "

He crossed the sea, he stemmed the flood ;
Again he traversed the dismal wood,
And again in the Mohawk village stood,

And met the scowl of hate again
With loving service, yet all in vain ;
His love met ever but fierce disdain.

And once, as he entered his lodge, a blow,
Aimed in the dark by a hidden foe,
Fell suddenly and laid him low.

Cast forth, his poor dishonored clay,
The sport of elements, the prey
Of prowling things, unburied lay,

Finding no nook for rest ; no place
For human sympathy to grace,
To which even thought a path may trace.

Nor may we find, with curious eye,
Where even the faithful nun may lie,
Though still the winds persistent sigh

About the nunnery's turrets gray ;
Sigh midst the churchyard's drear decay
Of willow, brier, and matted yew ;
Sigh as of old, " Adieu ! Adieu ! "

James P. Baxter.

PORTLAND, MAINE.

MINOR TOPICS

THE UNITED STATES FLAG

Editor of Magazine of American History :

In the "Notes" of your December issue is a brief account of how the Union prisoners of war at Macon, Georgia, "Rallied around the Flag" on the 4th of July, 1864. The sketch is true. Captain Harry H. Todd of the Eighth New Jersey volunteers, and myself were "chums." After the sixteen hundred officers who were prisoners in the pen at Macon had finished their morning repast, they got together near the old fair building, and Adjutant Lombard of an Illinois cavalry regiment, one of the best singers I ever heard, started the "Star Spangled Banner." Such a chorus as followed the adjutant's effort, I had never before, and never since, heard. The confederates who manned the stockade, standing in the broiling sun, at first manifested no concern, but when some wag sung out that a "break" would be made before night the commandant called out his entire force, a portion following him into the enclosure, when he insisted that there should be no more singing or speaking. For a few moments there was commotion and some angry thoughts. If we cannot "sing or speak, we can pray," said Chaplain Dixon of Connecticut, and down upon his knees he fell, most of the officers following him in the attitude. He prayed long and loud, and occasionally with a tinge of bitterness toward those who had cruelly deprived him and us of God-given privileges. Captain Todd still has the tiny flag he waved in the Macon prison-yard, and when I met him in San Francisco in 1886, he showed it to me in a good state of preservation. Perhaps it may not be uninteresting for me to state that Captain Todd and myself, with two companions, Captains Alfred Grant and J. E. Lewis, made our escape from the confederates near Charleston, South Carolina, in the following October, and after a weary tramp for forty-nine days, and suffering more than pen can describe, reached the Union lines at Knoxville, Tennessee.

J. MADISON DRAKE, 9TH NEW JERSEY VET. VOLS.

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY, December 3, 1890.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT IN 1740

Editor of Magazine of American History :

There has been so much talk about capital punishment of late that perhaps a comparison with "ye olden times" might be interesting. I enclose you a copy of an old constable's bill, the original of which is in my possession.

"The Publick D^r to David Davis & Sam^l Edgar Constables for y^e punishing y^e negroes concerned in y^e entended Insurrection in St Jn^s Parish Berkley County as follows.

Hanging	5 negroes	25
Cutting off y ^e years of	21 do	21
Branding of	31 do	31
Whipping of	46 do	£46
		<hr/>
		£123

The above acc^t Certified p^r me

J. Colleton.

Jan^y 29, 1740 "

It did not cost very much to hang a negro in 1740.

Very truly yours,

BAUMAN L. BELDEN

ELIZABETH, NEW JERSEY.

THE FAR WEST IN 1832

George Catlin in describing his western travels in 1832 says : " Notwithstanding all that has been written and said, there is scarcely any subject on which the knowing people of the East are less informed than on the character of the West. By this I mean the ' Far West,' the country whose fascinations spread a charm over the mind, almost dangerous to civilized pursuits. Few people even know the true definition of the term ' West,' and where its location. Phantom-like it flies before us as we travel on our way and is continually gilded before us as we approach the setting sun. In the commencement of my tour several of my traveling companions from the city of New York found themselves at a frightful distance to the West when we arrived at Niagara Falls, and hastened home to amuse their friends with what they had seen. At Buffalo a vessel was landing with four hundred passengers, and twelve days out. ' Where from ? ' ' From the West.' In the beautiful city of Cincinnati people said to me, ' Our town has passed the days of its most rapid growth, it is not far enough West ! ' In St. Louis my landlady assured me that I would be pleased with her boarders, for they were nearly all merchants from the West. I asked, ' Whence come those steamboats laden with pork, honey, hides, etc. ? ' The answer was, ' From the West ! ' "

NOTES

THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH—In his new work *Thomas Jefferson's Views on Public Education*, Mr. Henderson says: "It was a happy moment in the life of Professor Morse when in 1859, to an assembly in the University of New York—at which were present the Prince of Wales, who was visiting the United States, and the Duke of Newcastle—he made an address in the course of which he thus spoke: 'The infant telegraph, born and nursed within these walls, had scarcely attained a feeble existence, ere it essayed to make its voice heard on the other side of the Atlantic. I carried it to Paris in 1838. It attracted the warm interest not only of the continental philosophers, but also of the intelligent and appreciative among the eminent nobles of Britain, then on a visit to the French capital. Foremost among these was the late Marquis of Northampton, then president of the Royal Society, the late distinguished Earl of Elgin, and in a marked degree the noble Earl of Lincoln.'"

MRS. SIGOURNEY'S BIRTHPLACE—A tradition exists in the northern part of the old township of Lyme, Connecticut (eight miles above the village of that name) that Mrs. Sigourney was born there, in a house the locality of which is pointed out, but which was long ago torn down. A very old lady repeats the tradition, and says that Mrs. Sigourney was adopted early in life and taken to Norwich by a family named Lathrop. In Miss Caulkins's *History of Norwich*, it is said that "Ezekiel Huntley and

Zerviah Wentworth, both of Norwich, were married November 28, 1790. Lydia, their daughter and only child, was born September 1, 1791, while her parents were living under the same roof with Madam Lathrop," by whom she was adopted. "She was married to Charles Sigourney of Hartford, June 16, 1819." On examining the book, we find that a Wentworth family lived in Norwich, but there is no mention of any persons of the name of Huntley except Ezekiel Huntley and his daughter Lydia. There were Huntleys among the early settlers of Lyme, and there are still families of the name in different parts of the town. In the Lyme town records there is found the marriage of Ezekiel Huntley to Ruth Miner in 1803. If this record refers to the father of Mrs. Sigourney, it was his second marriage.

This tradition was repeated to Judge Charles J. McCurdy, now nearly ninety-three years of age, with his mind and memory unimpaired. He said at once that "he had always heard that Mrs. Sigourney's father was a Lyme man—one of the Lyme Huntleys." There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that Mrs. Sigourney's father was born in Lyme, and that his home was in the old house, afterward destroyed. It is probable that his daughter lived there at some time in her life, as in her memory of the neighbors the name is associated with the house.

Many distinguished men, governors, judges, lawyers, merchants, soldiers, and others, and many eminent women, including an Italian princess of high posi-

tion, a British peeress and a countess, and wives of many men of distinction, have been of Lyme birth or descent, but in the proud old town it has not been generally known that it had produced a poetess.

The lack of this knowledge is easily explained when it is understood that Mrs. Sigourney was born a hundred years ago, and that her father lived in so remote a part of the town. EXETER

NEW JERSEY BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS—
The secretary of the New Jersey His-

torical Society, Mr. William R. Weeks, 750 Broad street, Newark, New Jersey, is preparing a historical bibliography of the state of New Jersey. He desires all the assistance he can obtain in the way of titles and collation of subject-matter of pamphlets, books, and manuscripts printed in or relating to the state which he has chosen as his theme. When possible, he desires to purchase such material for his own library, and any of those who may possess and desire to dispose of matter of this character he will be glad to hear from.

QUERIES

WHITTIER'S POEM—Will some one tell me who was the Pennsylvania "Pilgrim" of Whittier's poem?

WASHINGTON MERRIWEATHER
BALTIMORE, MD.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI—The statement that Vespucci made a voyage to Pavia in 1497, and a second voyage in 1499, is discredited by Muñoz, Navarrete, Humboldt, and also by Messrs. Winsor and Gay in the *Critical and Narrative History of America*. In fact very few students of history put faith in Vespucci's description of these two voyages. It is shown, or seems to be shown, that he was at those times, and before those times, engaged in mercantile pursuits with Juan Bevardi.

I myself can find no proof that Vespucci made the two voyages he writes of, and agree with the critics that as we have only his own words for it, it would appear that *he did not make them*. But Vespucci certainly accompanied Alonzo de Ojeda in 1499 to Pavia, and Ojeda ex-

pressly says: "I took with me Juan de la Cosa, pilot, and Américo Vespuche and *other pilots*."

Vespucci must, then, in 1499, have been considered to be a seaman and an experienced one, and also must have been considered *to know the coast of America about Pavia*; otherwise he would not have been taken by Ojeda *as pilot*.

The critics seem to have overlooked this point. How are we to explain it?

WM. HARWAY PARKER
206 E. MAIN ST., RICHMOND, VA.

LETTER OF PIKE—Lieutenant Pike, in a letter to General Wilkinson, written July 2, 1806, states that he perceives he has differed materially from Captain Lewis in his account of the numbers, manners, and morals of the Sioux; "but I will not only vouch for the authenticity of my account," he says, "as to numbers, arms, etc., from my own notes, but from having had them revised and corrected by a gentleman of liberal educa-

tion, who has resided eighteen years in that nation, speaks their language, and for some years past has been collecting materials for their natural and philosophical history."

Can any one now living, who may read this, think of clews which would lead to the discovery of the identity of the gentleman Pike refers to? That ascertained, inquiry might be made among his descendants, if any, for manuscript of the nature mentioned. ALFRED J. HILL

ST. PAUL, MINN., Nov. 12, 1890.

WILLOUGHBY QUERIES—1st. Sir Christopher Willoughby had five or more sons—Sir William, first son; second, Christopher; George, whose wife was Anastace; Sir John, who married Cicely, and died 1536; and Sir Thomas, youngest son. Did any of these sons, besides William and Thomas, leave sons?

2d. Sir Thomas Willoughby, chief justice, youngest son of Sir Christopher,

married Bridget Read, of Bore Place, Kent. They had sons, of whom Robert was the eldest. What were the names of his other sons? Did they leave sons?

3d. Robert Willoughby married Dorothy, daughter of Sir Edward Willoughby of Wollaton. Their eldest son was Thomas. What were the names of Robert Willoughby's other sons?

4th. Thomas Willoughby, sheriff of Kent, married Catherine Hart. They had seven sons, of whom were Sir Percival, eldest son, Edward, and Henry, a lawyer. Were there other sons?

In bringing to a close their large work on "Family Histories and Genealogies," Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury of New Haven, Ct., desire to further inquire for the descendants of Deputy Governor Francis Willoughby of Charlestown, Massachusetts, and to communicate with them.

Will descendants, of whatever names, kindly reply to above address?

REPLIES

THE OLDEST OF THE ARTS [xxiv. 402]—Pottery is the oldest of the arts. Its recorded history begins with the building of the tower of Babel. Every people since the creation of the world has practised the art in one form or another. The Egyptians made soft pottery in forms at least 2000 B.C. But the best period in the history of pottery is believed to have been about 400 B.C.

A. D. BANYER

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

WASHINGTON'S AIDS-DE-CAMP [xxiv. 481]—The list of aids-de-camp to Gen-

eral Washington as published in the number for December, 1890, omits

Col. William Palfrey, July 3, 1775, aid-de-camp to Gen. Charles Lee.

March 6, 1776, aid-de-camp to Gen. George Washington.

April 27, 1776, paymaster-general with the rank of lieutenant-colonel.

Nov. 4, 1780, consul-general to France. Lost at sea 1780.

CONSTANT READER

MOTHER GOOSE [xxiv. 482]—Thomas Fleet first established the *Boston Weekly Rehearsal* in 1731, and afterward the

Boston Evening Post. The mother-in-law of Thomas Fleet was none other than the original Mother Goose—the Mother Goose of the world's famous melodies. Mother Goose belonged to a wealthy family in Boston, where her eldest daughter, Elizabeth Goose, was married in 1715 to Fleet, and in due time gave birth to a son. Like most mothers-in-law in our own day, the importance of Mrs. Goose increased with the appearance of her grandchild; and poor Mr. Fleet, half distracted with her endless nursery ditties, finding all other means fail, tried what ridicule could effect, and actually printed a book with the title, "*Songs for the Nursery; or, Mother Goose's Melodies for Children*" Printed by T. Fleet, at his printing house, Puding Lane, Boston. Price ten coppers." Mother Goose was the mother of twenty-one children, and hence we may easily trace the origin of the famous classic:

"There was an old woman who lived in a shoe;
She had so many children she didn't know
what to do!"

WILLIAM L. STONE
JERSEY CITY HEIGHTS.

MOTHER GOOSE [xxiv. 482]—"Who was the real Mother Goose in history?" is asked in your December number. I find that Thomas Fleet married Elizabeth Goose, daughter of a wealthy Bostonian, 8th June, 1715. His mother-in-law, who lived at his house, spent her whole time in the nursery and in wandering about the house, pouring forth in unmelodious strains an abundance of rhymes for the amusement of Fleet's infant son, greatly to the annoyance of

the whole neighborhood, and of Fleet in particular. He endeavored for a long time to put an end to it, but his good mother-in-law would not be silenced. Finally . . . he wrote down her songs, and published them under the title, "*Songs for the Nursery; or, Mother Goose's Melodies for Children*." Printed by T. Fleet at his Printing House, Pudding Lane [now Devonshire street], 1719. Price two coppers." The book was popular and remunerative.

Will not some one contribute some interesting particulars in the life of Mother Goose?

J. M. PARKER
ROCHESTER, N. Y.

MOTHER GOOSE [xxiv. 482]—To your correspondent's query about Mother Goose, let me assure him that, as a boy in Boston, I have often had pointed out to me the site of the printing office of Thomas Fleet. He was the son-in-law of Isaac and Elizabeth (Foster) Goose, the latter being the veritable Mother Goose. These melodies, formerly sung to her grandchildren, were first published in 1716, at the printing office above mentioned, which had the sign of the "Heart and Crown." There is excellent authority for the statement that the dame in question was for many years a member of the historic Old South Church. She died at the good old age of ninety-two, in 1757, I think.

E. W. WRIGHT
VICKSBURG, MISS.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR [xxiv. 342]
—For 1673, read 1643.

EDITOR

THE BATTLE OF NATIONS [xxiv. 232, 325, 402, 403]—A sharp critic has called my attention to an error, and I cry "Peccavi." Marmont was not Duke of Dalmatia; he was Duke of Rajusa, a seaport city of Dalmatia. Soult was Duke of Dalmatia.

ANCHOR

TIVOLI, NEW YORK.

AUTHOR OF QUOTATION [xxiv. 402]—Your Rochester correspondent asks for the name of the author of "To err is human; to forgive, divine."

He will find the above in Alexander Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, Part II., line 525.

FERGUSON HAINES

BIDDEFORD, MAINE.

UNIVERSITIES OF THE WORLD [xxiii. 345, 418, 507; xxiv. 152, 233]—Further additions to my former lists.

SOUTH AMERICA—Uruguay. College of Montevideo is part of the *Universidad Mayor* of the republic; 5 to 7 professors. Large number of students. The degree of LL.D. conferred freely on the young men in attendance.

Venezuela—University of Caraccas, founded in 1636 as a college, became a university in 1722. 1874: 19 professors, 165 students. College of Mérida was a university during the last century. 1874: 12 professors, 150 students. The Jesuits left a prosperous college in Maracaybo when they were expelled; 13 national colleges. Law school at Barcelona and Maracaybo, naval college at Maracaybo, medical colleges at Caraccas and Maracaybo, fraternal college in La

Guayra, Independence college and a college for poor students, and school of drawing and painting at Caraccas.

AFRICA—Egypt. Alexandria university was founded by Ismail Pasha, the viceroy, in 1871, and is supported by him. The instruction is on the French plan. There is a "school of Egyptology" connected with it for the study in the rich field of Egyptian archæology. The number of students is limited to twenty-four and is open to Europeans. A pledge is exacted from them that after graduating they will enter the service of the Egyptian government several years.

University of Cairo, El Azhar [xxiv. 234], is as old as Oxford. Its chief building "Gamah el Ezhar" or splendid mosque, covers two acres of ground, and is supported by 380 choice columns from ancient Egyptian temples and churches. One of the professors spoke in 1882 of 48,000 students, but according to the lowest estimate there are at least 10,000. The official enumeration gave 314 professors. The students spend 5 to 15 years in the school. They are of all ages and come from the most remote provinces. There are few rules, no compulsory course of study, and no roll-call or classification of students. Coffee and tobacco are forbidden within the walls. If the students are rich they make presents to the professors, who are paid entirely by voluntary donations; if poor they are aided. Many of them are housed and fed within its walls. The viceroy on one occasion of family rejoicing sent them a baksheesh of 500 sheep.

MURRAY EDWARD POOLE

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY— The society celebrated its eighty-sixth anniversary on Tuesday evening, November 18, Hon. John A. King in the chair. The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Duffie, chaplain of Columbia college. The anniversary address was delivered by James C. Welling, LL.D., president of the Columbian university of Washington, D. C. His subject was "Connecticut Federalism; or, Aristocratic Politics in a Social Democracy." A large audience listened to the eloquent discourse, which was ordered to be printed.

The stated meeting for December was held on the evening of the 2d instant. The committee on fine arts reported a memorial minute for record on the death of the late Thomas Hicks. The paper of the evening, on "The First Voyage of Columbus," was read by Mr. Eugene Lawrence to a large and attentive audience. On its conclusion Dr. George H. Moore moved a vote of thanks, with some remarks on the memorials of Columbus and the use of his name in connection with the United States. Dr. De Costa in seconding the resolution called attention to the fact that a flight of parrots, observed from the deck of the *Santa Maria*, induced Columbus to steer southwest; his vessel was pointing at that time for the coast of North Carolina.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular quarterly meeting November 20, 1890, which was well attended, the president, Hon. James P. Baxter, in the chair. The following papers were read:

"Report on the Library and Cabinet," by H.W. Bryant. "Communication Concerning Fort Richmond on the Kennebec," by Dr. J. F. Pratt of Chelsea, with prefatory remarks by President Bryant. "A Tribute to the Memory of the Late William H. Smith," by Rev. Wm. B. Hayden. "Some Accounts of Sir John Moore at Castine During the Revolution," by Joseph Williamson, Esq. "A Biographical Sketch of the Late George W. Dyer, a Native of Calais," by Llewellyn Deane, was read by Mr. Williamson. "A Sketch of the Life of Major Samuel Denny," by Parker McCobb Reed, was read by Mr. Sargent. "A Communication from the Maine Genealogical Society Relative to the Destroyed Book of Town Record from 1773 to 1786," was read by George C. Burgess.

Rev. Dr. Burrage called attention to the formation of societies of Sons of the Revolution in other parts of the country and stated that he had received authority from the general society to organize such society in this state of the descendants from any officer or soldier or sailor who served in the Revolution, and called upon any present thus qualified, to meet immediately after adjournment; and there assembled from among those present nine members, who effected a temporary organization by choice of Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage as chairman, and William M. Sargent as secretary. Intending members and all qualified to join are requested to address the secretary, and notice will be given of subsequent meetings. George C. Burgess, Esq., then read a paper on the "Falmouth Town Records." He re-

ferred to the lack of valuable town history found in early town records, and also of the laxity with which in many cases they were kept, and the want of care in storing them. This is particularly true of the early vital statistics of his own office. After referring to the loss of the Falmouth town records from May 30th, 1773, to July 4th, 1786, Mr. Burgess said: "The question which confronts us now is, Can any part of this gap be filled from any source? Undoubtedly, if the matter had been taken up at the time of the loss of this volume, since that was fifty years ago, much might have been done; and it seems to me that at this late day, by a persistent effort properly directed, much which constituted the public action of the time, the names of the public officers, and births, marriages, and deaths, with other correlative matter can still be collected and preserved."

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting on Friday evening, November 14th, the president, Gen. James Grant Wilson, in the chair. After the business part of the meeting, President Wilson introduced Mr. William Nelson, secretary of the New Jersey Historical Society, who delivered an interesting address on Berkeley and Carteret, first lords proprietors of New Jersey. Mr. Nelson gave a sketch of the Isle of Jersey in the British channel, the inhabitants of which, though French, have always remained loyal to the descendants of Duke William of Normandy, who made the conquest of England. He dwelt upon the peculiar customs of the island, and drew somewhat of a parallel between

them and those of the early institutions of New Jersey. He told of the energetic steps taken by Sir George Carteret to protect the island and hold it in the interest of King Charles I., with some accounts of the time spent on it by Charles I. and Charles II. when they were mere lads. He sketched the career of Carteret and of Berkeley. Mr. Nelson made a statement new to his hearers, and which has never been published by *any work on American history*, to the effect that King Charles II. conferred on Sir George Carteret while sojourning on the Isle of Jersey the province of New Jersey, which Carteret attempted to colonize vainly in the same year. All historians concur in giving the date of the grant of New Jersey as 1664, and as originating from the Duke of York; and this statement of Mr. Nelson that it was granted to Carteret alone, fourteen years earlier, is a surprise.

THE TARRYTOWN HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting November 18th, the president, Dr. R. B. Coutant, in the chair. The paper of the evening, on "The Importance of Culture in American History," was read by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb. The hall was filled to overflowing with members of the society and their friends, and the essay was received with enthusiastic applause by the large and appreciative audience. In seconding a vote of thanks, Mr. Raymond called attention to the fact that just one hundred years ago, on the 18th of November, General Washington, in company with Governor Clinton and Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt, spent the night at the old house alongside the building where the audience were assembled.

BOOK NOTICES

THOMAS JEFFERSON'S VIEWS ON PUBLIC EDUCATION. By JOHN C. HENDERSON. 12mo, pp. 387. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890.

This excellent work will bear the most careful reading. The selections from Thomas Jefferson's correspondence and addresses have been made with good judgment, and are so arranged that his views are presented clearly on many points where hitherto he has not been altogether understood. One of his cherished ideas was that every state should have a university. He argued that "ignorance and bigotry, like other insanities, are incapable of self-government." He further said: "Well-directed education improves the morals, enlarges the minds, enlightens the councils, instructs the industry, and advances the power, the prosperity, and the happiness of the nation." Mr. Henderson says: "The more one duly reflects upon the benefits which Jefferson pointed out will be reaped by nations who cherish the interests of useful learning, the more he will be astonished at the greatness of their value. When nations, needing on some great occasion the services of men of intelligence and culture, are enabled to call upon citizens who have passed through a high school, a college, or a university, they have an assurance that the men whom they purpose to entrust with momentous duties have at least received a certain amount of mental cultivation. No one can realize the indebtedness of the world to institutions of a high grade of learning who has not traced the history of inventions which without the aid of science could never have been made. Innumerable consequences, direct and indirect, flow from every new truth respecting the properties of matter made known to man. The more one considers the extent to which the discoveries of science are applied to every-day life, the more he will be amazed at the lofty mission in which institutions of a high grade of learning are engaged. Every citizen in the United States enjoys in one way or another blessings which have come to him through the instrumentality of science." Another interesting chapter in the volume is entitled "Our Colored Brethren." We advise every one to read it. The work throughout is suggestive; and we wish, as does the author, that every good American would take the same praiseworthy interest in the education of youth as did Thomas Jefferson.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Embracing the Fifth and Sixth Biennial Reports,

1886-1888. Compiled by F. G. ADAMS, Secretary. Vol. IV. 8vo, pp. 819. Topeka, Kansas, 1890.

This handsome volume contains all the addresses delivered before the Kansas Historical Society at its annual meetings from 1886 to 1890. Nearly four hundred pages are devoted to the official correspondence pertaining to the office of governor of Kansas territory during the latter part of Governor Shannon's administration in 1856, and of Governor Geary's administration from September 9, 1856, to March 10, 1857, including the official executive minutes kept by Governor Geary. These documents relate to a considerable portion of the most stirring period of Kansas territorial history. They have been gathered from congressional documents published about that period—documents that have hitherto been hidden from the general public, and much of what they contain will be found new to students of Kansas history. The book has an alphabetical index of sixty pages, pointing to every subject and almost every name contained in it; also a chronological index to the contents of the public documents. As a book of historical reference, it is one of great value.

THE LIFE OF AN ARTIST. An autobiography. By JULES BRETON. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. 16mo, pp. 350. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1890.

Perhaps the best test of a translation is to ask whether it reads like one. In this regard, as in all other essentials, the present volume sets an excellent example. The task must have been somewhat difficult, for if we may judge from the frankness and simplicity of his nature, Jules Breton, the subject of the autobiography, must have used many peculiar and idiomatic phrases in this charming narrative of his boyish and mature experiences. The opening chapters present an entirely new view of French life. Breton was the son of a well-to-do agent, representing one of the old nobles of France, and the boy's home life is very fresh and entertaining to American readers. One who has read Mr. Howells's "A Boy's Town," will find pleasing contrasts in the widely different, yet strangely similar, traits and passages of boy-life in the two books. The later artistic experiences of the young painter and his eventual professional triumphs are perhaps less novel than the earlier chapters, but all are entertaining and of especial interest to those who are given to the study or practice of the fine arts.

RICHARD HENRY DANA. A Biography.

By CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 378-436. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1890.

This is one of the most charming biographical works of the season, if not of the decade. As a literary production it will rank among the best of the age. It opens with the birth in 1815, and the school-days of young Dana, followed by his voyage to California, entrance into active life, and early experiences at the bar. In 1831 he entered Harvard college, and remained until weakness of the eyes compelled him to give up study for a time. Mr. Adams thinks his hard and healthy fore-castle experiences were of inestimable advantage to him, for he "needed coarsening if he was to deal successfully with practical life." Mr. Adams further says that "his descent was a disadvantage to him," and that "in America it is not well for any young man to grow up under the consciousness of an ancestry, or encumbered by family traditions." Dana was "naturally disposed to dwell on this sort of thing and to magnify its importance; he developed a premature and exaggerated punctiliousness on all points of so-called 'honor,' together with a somewhat overwhelming sense of responsibility to family. The sailor life took the nonsense out of him; he ceased to be too fine for every-day use." Every page of this work is readable and instructive. Dana's connection with the philosophical and scientific movements of his day is clearly presented. When he first commenced the practice of law, he sought through his experiences and the knowledge thus acquired the clientele of sea-faring people. He was present in 1843 at the court-martial to investigate the mutiny on the brig *Somers*. He says in his journal, under date of January 4, 1843: "Went with William and John [Watson] on board the *North Carolina* to see the court-martial. There, in the cabin at the head of a table, sat Commodore Stewart, the president of the court, and at his side, Commodores Dallas and Jones. At one end of the table sat Commander Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, and at the other, Midshipman M. C. Perry [nephew of O. H. P.], who was testifying; and standing at the stove was Ogden Hoffman, judge advocate." Dana began keeping a journal in 1841, and his comments on men and things are exceedingly interesting. He describes the visit of Dickens, and records his opinions. Thackeray was in Boston in 1853, and Dana thus alludes to the visit under date of January 5: "Supped at Lowell's with Thackeray; present, Longfellow, Felton, Clough (an Englishman), James T. Fields, Edmund Quincy. We sat down a little after ten, had an excellent supper, and left a little before two o'clock. Walked home with Longfellow. Thackeray is

not a great talker; he was interested in all that was said, and put in a clever, pleasant word occasionally. Felton, Lowell, and I did nearly all the talking." On another occasion Dana notes that "Curtis [George W.] is quite clever in conversation, but Tom Appleton is the prince of rattlers. He is quick to astonishment, and has humor and thought and shrewd sense behind a brilliant fence of light works." Three years later Dana was in England, and among other notes in his journal is an account of a dinner at Lord Cranworth's, where he met Macaulay. In this country Dana's opportunities of observation were exceptional, and his references to his contemporaries are among the many attractions which the volumes possess. Mr. Adams has written this biography with discriminating judgment and with excellent taste. It is an admirable pen-portrait of a most interesting character.

FROM YELLOWSTONE PARK TO ALASKA.

By FRANCIS C. SESSIONS. Illustrated by C. H. Warren. 12mo, pp. 186. New York, 1890. Welch, Fracker Company.

We are transported at the very opening of this attractive volume to the wild beauties of Yellowstone Park. From the midst of four hundred hot springs and twenty-six geysers we proceed on our travels. Like the Englishman who was rather disappointed with America and its wonders, we shall, as we read, be liable to admit that this region is worth seeing. Our guide takes us into the "unexplored country," in the second chapter, and we reach "Lookout Point," where we are entranced by the view and by the many colors, like the colors of the rainbow, and in the distance projecting rocks, resembling old castles on the Rhine. We proceed on our journey presently, in a new road cut through the pine forests for fourteen miles, just wide enough for one little wagon to pass, and when we meet one we are obliged to alight and cut down trees to let it turn out for us. Mr. Sessions says: "The mountains are not equal to those of Switzerland, but where in the wide world can any one see such geysers, hot springs, cañons, falls, lakes, mountains, and picturesque scenery?" We are conducted to Seattle, Tacoma, and Portland, and finally take steamer across Puget Sound to Port Townsend, and a steamer from there to Alaska.

The author is a critical observer, and his bright pages are flooded with agreeable information about the vast domain which will doubtless prove, when developed, as valuable a country as Norway, and far superior to Russia. He says: "It is impossible to describe Alaska and its wonderful scenery. Words fail to express what one sees as one sails among the ten thousand islands, numerous glaciers, and great mountains, with beautiful bays, inlets, rivers, lakes,

sounds, and the verdure of trees as they bend down to the water's edge, reflecting their beauty in the clear water." But he has nevertheless produced a remarkably clear, realistic, and instructive picture of all this, and much more, and we cordially commend the delightful book to our readers.

THE TSAR AND HIS PEOPLE; OR, SOCIAL LIFE IN RUSSIA. Illustrated. Square 8vo, pp. 435. New York, 1890. Harper & Brothers.

This sumptuous volume with its many and fine illustrations is an admirable gift-book for the holidays. It abounds with instructive views of a great empire, which is now concentrating upon itself the attention of the whole civilized world. The first part of it is by the Vicomte Eugène Melchior de Vogue, who writes with great power and animation of Russia's political and social conditions, and with full knowledge apparently of his subject. He tells us that "the central figure, from which everything starts, and to which everything converges, is the Tsar." He describes the court, the nobility, and the people. His sketches of society at St. Petersburg, of the manners and customs of the commercial class, and of the amusements of all parties, is extremely entertaining. Mr. Theodore Child, a traveler of wide experience and critical observation, writes the second part of the volume. Clarence Cook contributes valuable material on Russian art, and Vassili Verestchagin, himself a Russian, furnishes a graphic sketch of village life.

Untraveled readers will be charmed with the chapter on "Palatial Petersburg," which comprehends information extremely desirable to possess. "Whence once admitted to the Russian bird-cage," writes Mr. Childs, "one may live on Russian territory for six months, with no other obligation than that of reporting himself to the police and having his passport stamped at every fresh halting place. As for communication with the outer world, he must be content to trust to the good pleasure of the censorship, whose employes will read his letters, confiscate his newspapers, or deliver them after many days, mutilated by vengeful scissors, or at least maculated by big patches of obliterating ink. There is nothing to be said or done by the ordinary mortal. We have become prisoners voluntarily on Russian territory." We are further told that with the exception of Rome and in Constantinople, no capital possesses so many imperial palaces as St. Petersburg; but its palaces and its churches do not suffice to give

an idea of the immensity of the town. The pictures freely introduced supplement the description. The architectural beauties of St. Petersburg are displayed with lavish liberality; but Mr. Childs does not admire Russian taste, and notices crude work and sham and make-believe in the palaces and public buildings. In the villages of Russia the houses are crowded together, usually touching one another. Thus the danger from fires is very great. But Russia is not to be judged wholly or even chiefly by her towns. St. Petersburg is not Russia, but the vices of Paris bound in Russian leather. Moscow is not Russia, but an ancient Russian fortress turned into a modern factory. Odessa, Nijni-Novgorod, and Astrakhan represent commercial Russia; Kief and Dorpat, collegiate Russia; Tula and Perm, manufacturing Russia; Cronstadt and Sebastopol, military Russia. And yet Russia proper—the actual and genuine substance of that mighty shadow which is now projecting itself as far as the Bosphorus on one side, and the Himalaya on the other—must be found elsewhere. We have it in the descriptions of the Russian people through the length and breadth of that vast country. The book will be read from one end of the world to the other.

THE GERMAN SOLDIER IN THE WARS OF THE UNITED STATES. By J. G. ROSENGARTEN. Second edition, revised and enlarged. 12mo, pp. 298. Philadelphia, 1890. J. B. Lippincott Company.

We had the pleasure of reading and noticing the first edition of this excellent work in July, 1886. Mr. Rosengarten takes up the story of German-American soldiers from early times in the colonies, follows them through the old French war, through the Indian troubles, through the Revolution, not omitting the services of the Hessians, and brings them through the war of 1812, the Mexican war, and the late civil war to our own time, concluding with a long list of officers whose record covers all the campaigns in which the armies of the United States have been engaged. In the present edition of the book much additional matter appears. The Germans have from their first coming and settling in this country always stood ready to take part in its defence. No other class of our adopted citizens have a more honorable record. The theme is of great interest to all intelligent readers, and appeals to the patriotism of our best naturalized Americans. The book has been well and carefully written, and the demand for this second edition is fresh evidence of its intrinsic worth.

STATEMENT OF The Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York,

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For the Year ending December 31st, 1889.

ASSETS,	\$136,401,328 02
Increase in Assets,	\$10,319,174 46
Surplus,	9,657,248 44
Increase in Surplus,	1,717,184 81
Receipts,	31,119,019 62
Increase during year,	4,903,087 10
Paid Policy Holders,	15,200,608 38
Increase during year,	473,058 16
Risks Assumed,	151,602,483 37
Increase during year,	48,388,222 05
Risks in force,	505,949,933 92
Increase during year,	83,824,749 56
Policies in force,	182,310
Increase during year,	23,941
Policies written in 1889,	44,577
Increase over 1888,	11,971

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Real Estate and Bond and Mortgage Loans,	\$69,361,913 13
United States Bonds and other Securities,	50,323,469 81
Loans on Collateral Securities,	9,845,500 00
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,988,632 79
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,881,812 29
	\$136,401,328 02

Liabilities (including Reserve at 4%), \$126,744,079 58.

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Assets.	Surplus.
1884.....	\$34,681,420.....	\$351,789,285.....	\$103,876,178 51.....	\$4,743,771
1885.....	46,507,139.....	368,981,441.....	108,908,967 51.....	5,012,634
1886.....	59,832,719.....	393,809,203.....	114,181,903 24.....	5,643,568
1887.....	69,457,468.....	427,628,933.....	118,806,851 88.....	6,294,442
1888.....	103,214,261.....	482,125,184.....	126,082,153 56.....	7,940,063
1889.....	151,602,483.....	505,949,934.....	136,401,328 02.....	9,657,248

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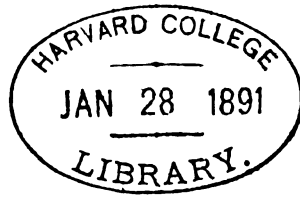
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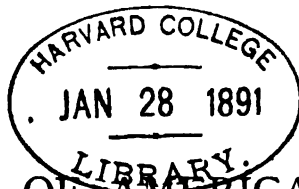
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SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON.



MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

FEBRUARY, 1891

No. 2

SIR RODERICK IMPEY MURCHISON, 1792-1871

GEOLOGIST AND GEOGRAPHER

THERE was hardly a foreign scientific society of any note during the life of the distinguished subject of our frontispiece which had not his name enrolled among its honorary members. Sir Roderick Impey Murchison's home during his later years was one of the great centres where science, art, literature, politics, and social eminence were brought together in friendly intercourse. Perhaps no man of the present century has done more to promote the progress of geographical science and kindle the spirit of adventure among those engaged in Arctic exploration on the one hand and of African discovery on the other. He traveled in various parts of the globe, and, struck with the resemblance in geological structure between the Ural mountains and the Australian chain, he was the first to predict the discovery of gold in Australia.

He had reached the age of thirty-two before he took any active interest in science, but from that time to the end of his interesting history his industry and enthusiasm were marvelous. It was in the year 1831 that he found the field in which the chief work of his life was to be accomplished. It was in the borders of Wales, where his researches resulted in bringing into notice a remarkable series of formations, each replete with distinctive organic remains older than and very different from those of the other rocks of England. These discoveries were found to belong to a geological period of which there are recognizable traces in almost every part of the globe. He added a new chapter to geological history, one that contains the story of almost the earliest appearance of living things upon this planet. The old British tribe Silures gave the name to the *Silurian System* which he established, and which passed into the familiar vocabulary of geologists in every country. He projected an important geological campaign in Russia with the view of extending to that country the classification he had succeeded in elaborating for the older rocks of western Europe. He was accompanied by De Verneuil and Keyserling, in conjunction with whom he produced an excellent work on *Russia and the Ural Mountains*, published in 1845.

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He was knighted in 1846, and during the same year presided over the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Southampton. He soon afterward became president of the Royal Geographical Society, and so energetic was he in behalf of geographical exploration that to a large section of the contemporary public he was known rather as a geographer than as a geologist. He particularly identified himself with the variable fortunes of David Livingstone in Africa, and did much to raise and keep alive the sympathy of his fellow countrymen in the fate of that heroic explorer. In 1863 he was made a K. C. B. and three years later a baronet.

In the last decade of his life he devoted himself to geological investigations among the Highlands of Scotland, where he succeeded in showing that the vast masses of crystalline schists, previously supposed to be a part of what was termed the primitive formations, were really not older than the Silurian period, for underneath them lay beds of limestone and quartzite containing Lower Silurian fossils. By this important discovery he not only changed at once the accepted views of the structure of half a kingdom but furnished a gigantic example of regional metamorphism, the true significance of which in regard to theories of metamorphism is not yet adequately appreciated.

He was descended from a Scottish clan which for many generations had lived in the west of Ross-shire. His father married one of the Mackenzies of Fairburn, and purchased the estate of Tarradale, where Roderick, their eldest son, was born in 1792. The youth's education took a military turn, and while yet quite young he was placed on the staff of his uncle, General Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and went with the army to Spain and Portugal. He resigned in 1816 and married the daughter of General Hugonin of Nursted House, Hampshire, with whom he traveled on the continent, spending much time in Italy, where it is said her cultivated tastes and artistic proclivities were of decided influence in guiding his intellectual pursuits. He afterward settled in England and became one of the greatest fox-hunters in the northern counties. But he grew weary of field-sports, and meeting Sir Humphry Davy was induced to attend lectures at the Royal Institution, where he was soon fascinated by the young science of geology.

One of the closing public acts of Murchison's useful career was the founding of a chair of geology and mineralogy in the university of Edinburgh, for which he gave the sum of six thousand pounds, an annual sum of two hundred pounds being likewise provided by a vote in parliament for the endowment of the professorship.

THE DEMAND FOR EDUCATION IN AMERICAN HISTORY *

The American Historical Association enters upon its sixth year under new and favorable auspices, and the country may be congratulated upon the rise and progress of an association with special claims not simply upon American scholars, but upon every thoughtful American who desires his children to understand aright the history and principles of their country. It seems to have sprung into existence under the guidance of our accomplished experts to supply a great national want, and to perfect for the scholars and the people of America a branch of education which to America, of all the countries in the world, is of supreme importance ; for the defects in our methods of historic study have been widely felt and frankly acknowledged, and this branch of our education has kept pace neither with the progress nor with the dangers of the republic.

These considerations give to the American Historical Association a national and a practical importance which congress has wisely recognized by the act of incorporation authorizing the association to share the advantages of the Smithsonian Institute and the National Museum, and instructing the secretary of the Smithsonian Institute to communicate to congress reports of our proceedings and of the condition of historical study in America. Our secretary reported in October the titles of some two hundred historical societies in the United States, including a number honorably distinguished during the past century by scholarly management and excellent work. His report shows also the resolutions of the executive council, and the circular addressed by its instruction to the state historical societies. The letter from the secretary of the Smithsonian Institute announcing the generous privileges accorded to this association in regard to its collections, exchanges, and the printing and distribution of its reports, is definite and encouraging ; and the cordial reception of the association by the residents of Washington honorably represents the enlightened sentiment of the republic.

The instructive papers of our association, especially those of Professor Herbert B. Adams, Dr. Andrew D. White, and President Charles K. Adams, have given us a full account of the progress of the new methods of historic study in Europe, with interesting particulars supplied by their

* Inaugural address of Hon. John Jay, LL D., President of the Association, at the opening session of the meeting of the American Historical Association, in Washington, D. C., December 29, 1890.

own large experience. President Adams in his inaugural told us of the latest progress in England at Oxford and Cambridge; of the moderate advance in Holland, at the universities of Leyden, Groningen, and Utrecht, and in Belgium at Liege and Ghent, Brussels' and Louvain; of the very remarkable progress in Italy, from the national unification, with its immense archives, notably at Florence and Rome, and with its eminent professors of Florence, Turin, Naples, Venice, Palermo, Milan, Pavia, and Bologna. Then came a reference to the study of history in Germany, of which Ex-President White had given so comprehensive and instructive a review, and to its remarkable progress in France at Paris and Bordeaux. As regards America President Adams reminded us that the methods of work in our institutions of university grade were very different from those in vogue twenty-five years ago, and that several of the professors of history now employed have received their training in the best methods of the old world. He advised us of the progress at Harvard, under Professor Henry Adams and President Eliot; at Yale, under Professors Fisher, Wheeler, George B. Adams, and Sumner on constitutional and financial law; at Columbia, under Professor John W. Burgess in the school of political science, and to which new life will doubtless be added under the vigorous and judicious influence of President Low; at the University of Michigan, where under Dr. White the science of history was lifted to the very summit of promise and usefulness; at Cornell, where the admirable work of Dr. White is being carried on by President Adams himself; and lastly, at Johns Hopkins university, whose historic volumes tell their own story, and where so much work has been so excellently well done, and where forty graduate students in history are working with a view to the doctor's degree.

The harmony and helpfulness of the students of the various nationalities of Europe toward each other, and toward the scholars of our land, in furthering the introduction of the new methods of history in the colleges and universities of the world, recall the words of Sir Henry Maine: "The only community which, as far as I can see, is absolutely undivided by barriers of nationality, of prejudice, of birth, and of wealth, is the community of men of letters."

America, we are told, is still far behind Europe in the study of history, and Professor Emerson of Harvard declares that "history has been taught very badly in America, or rather, to be honest, it has hardly been taught at all;"* and we are told, too, that the time is passing, in certain lands at least, when historians, one after another, set themselves up to write the pane-

* *Methods of Teaching History*. Edited by G. Stanley Hall. Boston: Ginn, Heath & Co. 1883. (Page 196.)

gyric of his favorite period or party, and "each panegyric is an apology or a falsehood." Professor Emerson says—and this seems to be the general opinion of our scholars—that the new principle "is no longer on trial in America; it has come to stay." The importance of history as illustrating the continuing tie which amid all the changes of time connects the present with the past is a constant idea with thoughtful Americans. "The foundations of our Christian culture," says Dr. Eliphalet Potter, the accomplished president of Hobart college, "of our boasted commerce and manufactures, of our science and our government, are as old as history. . . . All the splendid superstructure of art and knowledge in the nineteenth century is built upon enduring foundations, laid by other races as well as by our heathen ancestors and Christian forefathers. The saying of Christ is the motto of the ages: 'Other men have labored and ye have entered into their labors.'"^{*} What they did, and the reason and result of their action, make history philosophy teaching by example.

The American student of history cannot forget the debt due by America to the world. We may hesitate to join in the boast that we are the latest product of the ages, Time's last and noblest offspring, the Star of Empire on its western way; but the fact that our republic occupies a position that commands a world-wide influence and imposes upon its citizens proportionate responsibilities, is one that the world recognizes and which we cannot ignore. The historic contrast presented by the fact that while we were celebrating the centennial of our Constitution and rejoicing in its strength, the French Exposition was exhibiting fifteen national constitutions, of which fourteen had been adopted and rejected during the last century, was not without significance. Lafayette in his reply to Henry Clay's speech of welcome said that the United States reflected "on every part of the world the light of a far superior civilization;"[†] and Ticknor spoke for the more enlightened Americans when he felt, on crossing the Pyrenees, "as if he had gone backward two centuries in time." That impartial and philosophic observer, Dr. Orestes A. Brownson, declared that "the American civilization is the highest civilization that the world has ever seen, and comes nearer to the realization of the catholic idea." Nor can we forget that an English representative so eminent as Mr. Gladstone has said:[‡] "I wish to recognize the prospective and approaching right of America to be the great organ of the powerful English tongue."

^{*} Baccalaureate sermon, preached in the Packer Memorial church of the Lehigh university, June 16, 1889.

[†] *Thomas Jefferson's Views on Public Education.* By John C. Henderson. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890. (Page 5.)

[‡] At Paris, 8th September, 1887.

Mr. Gladstone and the philosophic thinkers of Europe doubtless recognize the truth of a remark by William von Humboldt, that "beyond the sum of creative forces directly presented by events there remains a powerfully active principle which, though not directly manifest, yet lends impulse and direction to those forces and ideas which according to their nature lie beyond the finite, but still permeate and rule the world's history in all its parts." This active force, which history alone discloses and which cannot be safely overlooked, Burke recognized when, as if inspired by the historic spirit and judging of the future by the past, in his speech on conciliation he described not simply the American colonists from England, but those from other lands, as marked by a spirit of resistance to the exercise of an authority which they denied. He said:

" . . . The religion most prevalent in our northern colonies is a refinement of the principle of resistance ; it is the dissidence of dissent, and the protestantism of the Protestant religion. . . . The colonists left England when this spirit was high, and in the emigrants was highest of all ; and even that stream of foreigners which has been constantly flowing into these colonies has for the most part been composed of dissenters from the establishments of their several countries, and has brought with them a temper and character far from alien to that of the people with whom they mixed."*

Burke seems to have had in his mind something of the idea expressed by Bayard Taylor in his centennial ode: "In one strong race all races here unite." In 1643 eighteen languages were spoken in the New Netherlands, and historic memories may have suggested to Burke that in the army of Washington were representatives of races which had been the most distinguished in the battle-fields of Europe—of Hollanders and Walloons who had in the Netherlands resisted Alva and Philip ; of Frenchmen who had served under Coligni and Henry of Navarre, or who had passed through the memorable siege of La Rochelle ; of Danes who had fought for their country against Tilly and Wallenstein ; of the Englishmen who had battled at Naseby and brought the king to the block at Whitehall ; of those who stood with William of Orange or with the partisans of James at the battle of the Boyne ; of Swiss who had defended the freedom of their cantons against the trained soldiers of Austria ; of the burghers who had maintained against the Duke of Burgundy the liberties of Ghent and Liege ; of men who under Sobieski saved Vienna from the Turks ; of those who stood with the Dutch at La Hogue, or with Charles XII. of Sweden against his victorious rival Peter the Great of Russia. But the

* Speech on "Conciliation with America." Works of Edmund Burke, 5th edition, vol. ii., p. 123. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1877.

advice of Burke and the warnings of Chatham were unheeded, although they were perhaps recalled, when the army of Lord Howe, pronounced by Lord Chatham "the best appointed army that ever took the field," yielded to Washington's hasty levies; and Lord Chatham said to parliament on the surrender of Burgoyne: "Those men whom you called cowards, poltroons, runaways, and knaves, are become victorious over your veteran troops, and in the midst of victory and the flush of conquest have set ministers an example of moderation and magnanimity well worthy of imitation."

The varied nationalities represented by the American colonists give an exceptional breadth to our national history, so closely do they connect us with the nations of Europe, even in the distant past. Freeman tells us that the records of Athenian archives and Roman consuls are essentially part of the same tale as the records of the Venetian doges and English kings, and that the tale of Greece and the tale of Italy bring us at almost every page across the records of the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, and the Arabs. So the local histories of our early settlements carry us back to the shadowy past, connecting us in other ages with the beginnings of national life, changing with time, but carrying onward something of their original power. Take, for instance, the recent interesting paper of Mr. Elting in the Johns Hopkins studies on "Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River," which shows similar laws, customs, and form of government with the village communities on the Rhine, some of which linger until to-day. These features, which thus far have been too little noticed even by the historians, recall the institutional relationship of our early villages on the Hudson with those of the ancient Germanic tribes of the Rhine countries, called by Cæsar the Menapii, who occupied the country between the Rhine and the Meuse, and the Scheldt and the ocean. The Menapii, as the descendants of the Hollanders like to remember, "held alliance with the Romans, but never submitted to their yoke at all, nor permitted them to introduce their language, but retained in perpetual use the Teutonic dialect."*

We are reminded that east of the Rhine and in the northern provinces of the Netherlands, Friesland, Groningen, and Dreuthe—"whose free people Rome never conquered, and whose right of self-government no haughty baron ever suppressed"—the industrial spirit of the Dutch and the spirit encouraged by the growth of towns modified the feudal system of Holland to a degree unknown in France or even in England.†

* General de Peyster's *Netherlands*, p. 23.

† Paper by Mr. Irving Elting, IV. Johns Hopkins Studies, quoting Brodhead's *History of the State of New York, 1609-1644*, p. 192.

There came to the Hudson river, says Mr. Elting, Walloons from the Spanish Netherlands, Huguenots from France, Puritans from New England, and Waldenses from Piedmont whose historical antecedents extend beyond the Christian era—all seeking freedom and finding it in New Netherlands. Their descendants are to be found in Kingston, Esopus, and New Paltz, now a quiet village on the Walkill Valley railroad. This valley reposes near the peaks of the Catskills and the Shawangunk range, with its most prominent point, Sky Top, marking the location of Lake Mohonk, now known as a national centre of the thoughtful and practical philanthropy of the republic in reference to the two races whose claims to enlightenment at the hands of the national government in the common-school system of the republic can no longer be ignored; and here, after three centuries, the noblest traits of the Hollanders are recalled by the benign influence that from one of their earliest American homes extends throughout the republic.

A like forgetfulness of the plainest lessons taught by history is constantly exhibited in our own land, and invaluable public service has been rendered by this association and the Johns Hopkins university in their historic exposition of the policy and principles of the republic as exhibited in congressional acts and judicial decisions. Two of their papers illustrate the remark of Mr. Freeman, that "law has now become a mainstay of history, or rather a part of history, because a knowledge of history is coming to be received as a part of the knowledge of the law;" and the early appearance of these papers shows that the new methods of history recognize its relation not simply to the legislature but to the judiciary, as an independent and essential element of the country, wielding a power that can sit in judgment on the legislative and executive departments, the interpreter of national and state constitutions, and the final arbiter of the constitutional limits to legislation.

One of these papers is that of Dr. Philip Schaff on "Church and State in the United States," in which that accomplished scholar with historic and judicial exactness has quoted the adjudications on this point as a matter "not of doctrine but of fact." His masterly exposition and array of authorities add conclusive weight to the thought that no nation has more reason than our own for tracing the relations between the past and the present, and to the remark of Dr. Herbert B. Adams, that national and international life can but develop upon the constitutional basis of self-government in church and state. Dr. Schaff's paper was entitled "Church and State in the United States, or the American Idea of Religious Liberty in its Practical Effect, with Official Documents." It presents in an appen-

dix the provisions of the United States Constitution for religious liberty, decisions of the United States supreme court and of the courts of Pennsylvania and New York upon Christianity as a part of the common law, with the opinions of Judge Story, Dr. Lieber, Judge Cooley, and Mr. Bancroft.

"The state of New York," Dr. Schaff reminds us, "had virtually dis-established the Episcopal Church in 1777, one year after the declaration of independence, by repealing in its constitution all statutes and acts which 'might be construed to establish or maintain any particular denomination of Christians and their ministers;' and it ordained that 'the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference shall forever hereafter be allowed within this state to all mankind.'" In the leading case in New York, of *The People vs. Ruggles*, quoted by Dr. Schaff—when Chancellor Kent delivered the opinion of the court, with the approval of a full bench, including the eminent names of Smith Thompson, Ambrose Spencer, William Van Ness, and Joseph C. Yates—the court held that by the common law now in force here as in England, and wholly irrespective of any question of church establishment, contemptuous words uttered maliciously against Christ or the Holy Scriptures are an offence affecting the essential interests of civil society, where Christianity is recognized as a part of the law and the religion of the people.

That eminent legal authority the Hon. William Allen Butler, LL.D., of New York, in a recent paper on "Religion in the Schools," * states that eleven years after that decision an amendment was introduced in the New York constitutional convention with the avowed attempt of obviating the effect of the decision in *The People vs. Ruggles*; and that "after a debate in which Chancellor Kent, Mr. Van Buren, Rufus King, and other eminent jurists opposed the amendment, it was rejected by a large majority, and the provision as to religious liberty was left unchanged, with the judicial construction of it in the case of *Ruggles* fully recognized, and the same provision remains in the state constitution now in force." Mr. Butler further showed that the constitutional right of the people by their legislature to enact laws for the preservation of the public peace and order on Sundays was distinctly placed, in the leading case of *Lindmuller vs. The People*, "upon the ground that the Christian religion is a part of the law of the land, and that the Christian Sabbath is one of the institutions of that religion and may be protected from desecration by proper legislation." This decision, added Mr. Butler, "was approved by the

* *The New York Observer*, December 4, 1890.

court of appeals in the later case of *Neundorff vs. Duryea*, and in the light of these authorities and these judicial constructions of the Constitution, it must be assumed that Christianity is, and until abolished by a constitutional amendment will continue in this state to be, a part of the law of the land."

The historic facts thus judicially announced, tracing back through the common law the religious faith of the American people, are in accord with the first enactment of the Puritans on board the *Mayflower*, commencing "In the name of God, Amen," and declaring that the voyage was undertaken "for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith"; with the early laws of the Dutch and the Huguenots, the Swedes and other colonists, some of which are in force to-day, until the day when the federal Constitution was adopted according to the record of our national convention, not like the revolutionary constitution of France on a day that ignored the Christian era, but in "*the year of our Lord* seventeen hundred and eighty-seven." Dr. Schaff's clear exposition is worthy of study by the differing classes who, misled perhaps by the foreign idea that this is a godless and heathenish country, and that the state cannot without violating its constitution teach to its children the principles of morality, have proposed to correct the alleged evil: the one class by supplying to the schools denominational teachings in defiance of the Constitution, and the other by inserting the name of God in the national Constitution. The prevalence and power of the religious sentiment in America thus recognized by the courts has not been unnoticed by the most observant and impartial critics of American institutions.

Dr. Schaff also shows that the United States supreme court in *Reynolds vs. The United States*, in a recent case affirming the right of congress to prohibit polygamy in the territories, held that "congress cannot pass a law for the government of the territories which prohibits the free exercise of religion. The first amendment to the Constitution expressly prohibits such legislation." And the court quoted Mr. Thomas Jefferson's reply to an address from the Dunbury Baptist Association, when he said: "Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between man and his God; that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship; that the legislative powers of the government reach actions only and not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the American people which declared that the legislature should make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, thus building a wall of separation between church and state."

Another paper, by Dr. Blackmar, on federal and state aid to higher

education in the United States, gave a complete historical sketch of national grants in aid of state education, which appeared soon after the denial of these grants had been made with such persistency and emphasis as to confuse the public and the press despite the able argument of Dr. White on "National and State Governments and Advanced Education." Dr. Blackmar quoted Huxley's dictum: "No system of public education is worth the name of national unless it creates a great educational ladder with one end in the gutter and the other in the university"—which recalls Washington's desire for a universal education and a national university; and he spoke of the first educational grants of the general government, in 1787, to support schools and advance the cause of education. Of that ordinance which declared that "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged," Webster said: "I doubt whether one single law of any lawgiver, ancient or modern, has produced effects of more distinct, marked, and lasting character." Next in educational importance to the ordinance of 1787 comes the congressional grant of 1862 providing for mechanical and agricultural schools, with the supplemental act of March 2, 1887, with its far-reaching results, by which forty-six colleges and universities have benefited, thirty-three of which were called into existence by the act.

In 1803 congress extended the privileges of the ordinance of 1787 to the states in the Mississippi territory, granting the sixteenth of every township for the purposes of common-school education, and one entire township for the support of a seminary of learning. The distribution of the surplus in the national treasury in 1836 was in its aim, as far as the national government was concerned, financial and not educational, but in sixteen states it was devoted wholly or in part to educational purposes. Among the states that were specially benefited by national aid to education was Connecticut, which received about twenty-three thousand acres for the education of the deaf and dumb.

A chief point of historic interest prominently noted by Dr. Blackmar was the effect of national aid in developing and strengthening the educational spirit of the states, and since the results of the congressional grants of 1862 have begun to be seen, there has been an upward tendency of state education. Of the last grant Dr. Blackmar says: "Far-reaching results have already been attained from this well-timed donation, . . . but its chief excellence consists in the stimulation which it gave to state and local enterprise." This historic fact confirming the profound wisdom of the framers of the ordinance of 1787, and of the successive congresses

for an hundred years, is one happily recalled to the country, although, as the Hon. N. H. R. Dawson, commissioner of education, said in his letter transmitting Dr. Blackmar's monograph to Secretary Vilas: "The monograph was written with an earnest desire to present facts and not with a view to prove any particular thesis."

It may be difficult to understand how the country should have required this exposition of our ancient and continuous policy of national aid to state education on a scale without a parallel in history, and with a beneficent effect so marvelous as to astonish the world, but the recent discussion of the subject by a large part of the press showed a singular misapprehension on both of these prominent historic facts with which every citizen should be familiar. It was gravely said that a bill to grant national aid to state education would be a violation of the national Constitution and without precedent in congressional history; that the ultimate effect of such aid would be "a paralysis of local effort;" that the offer of national aid to a state would be an affront; that its acceptance would be an act of humiliation, inconsistent with manly spirit and state pride; and that national aid if accepted would weaken the national spirit of the states, and tend to the neglect of their state schools and the promotion of ignorance and mendicancy.

The secretary of the interior has done much to enlighten the American people in regard to the history of national aid to education by the work of Dr. Blackmar, reminding them of the opinions of Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, and the framers generally of the Constitution, on the subject and the action for more than a century of the continental and constitutional congresses. Additional information in regard to the views of Jefferson on this subject is furnished by a separate work on his views on public education* published this year by Mr. John C. Henderson. Jefferson believed, as shown by one of his letters to Lafayette, that "ignorance and bigotry, like other insanities, are incapable of self-government." In writing (April 28, 1814) to the Chevalier de Oris, the Spanish printer of the constitution which had been adopted by the Spanish patriots, and regretting the union of church and state, he continued: "But there is one provision which will immortalize its inventors. It is that which after a certain epoch disfranchises every citizen who cannot read and write. . . . This will give you an enlightened people and an energetic public opinion." To Wythe he wrote from Paris, April 13, 1786: "Preach, my dear sir, a crusade against ignorance. Establish and improve the law for educating the common people. Let our countrymen know that the people alone

* *Thomas Jefferson's Views on Public Education.* By John C. Henderson.

can protect us against these evils, and that the tax which will be paid for this purpose is not more than the thousandth part of what will be paid to kings, priests, and nobles who will rise up amongst us if we leave the people in ignorance."

Dr. White, with his large scholarly and diplomatic experience in the various countries of Europe, and his most skillful application of European experience to ourselves, has presented to the country a field of inquiry of great interest, and all true Americans will accept his proposition that "the demand of the nation for men trained in history, political and social science, and general jurisprudence can hardly be overstated." He reminded us that in addition to congress acting for sixty-three millions of people who are increasing in great part by immigration at an appalling rate, with some forty state legislatures, and county, town, and municipal boards innumerable; with executive officers and constitutional conventions and judges of every grade discussing political and social questions and fixing the grooves in which our political and social development will largely run; with the grave questions of the relation of capital and labor, production and distribution, education, taxation, general, municipal, and international law—pauperism, crime, insanity, and what-not policies are being fixed, institutions created, laws made with reference to these questions, policies, institutions, and laws in which lie the germs of glory and anarchy, of growth or revolution.

Dr. White quotes an able and devoted foreigner, that it saddened him to see so many of the same lines of policy adopted in America that had brought misery upon Europe. "In various constituted bodies theories have been proposed which were long ago extinguished in blood; plans solemnly considered which have led without exception, wherever tried, to ruin moral and financial; systems adopted which have sometimes the tragedies, sometimes the farces, upon the stage of human affairs"—an expression that recalls the warning of Madison more than an hundred years ago, that popular government without popular education or the means of obtaining it is "but a prologue to a farce or a tragedy, or to both." After referring to the prodigious amount of waste and error in dealing with political and social questions, Dr. White remarked that abuses found in France under Louis XIV., and in England under George III., seem to find their counterpart in our own land, with criminal high schools taking large numbers of novices and graduating them masters of criminal arts, and this not from want of integrity but from lack of adequate training. He based on the same and similar facts the demand for a close study of the political and social history of those people who have had the

most important experience, and especially of our own; and he supplemented his powerful argument with a startling reminder of the fearful price that has been paid hitherto for the simplest advances in political and social science when achieved by the gradual growth of the human mind. The entire paper of Dr. White, to some of the chief points of which I have ventured to allude, deserves the most careful study as an argument, based on acknowledged facts and enforced by the testimony of scholars, for the general and thorough incorporation of the improved methods of historic study with American education.

There is one point on which the history, especially of England and America, is regarded as teaching a lesson of confidence in their basis of national character and national stability. In England the age of corruption in the time of Walpole was marked, as Professor Goldwin Smith observes, by the still darker records of faction, misgovernment, and iniquity in the high places both of church and state, and in the political evils and fiscal burdens which have been bequeathed by those bad rulers even to our own times. The English historian reminds us that if corruption had been universal the people might never have lifted up its head again, but that the people received the religion which the gentry and even some of the clergy had rejected. The people preserved the traditions of English morality and English study, and repaired by their unflagging industry and their sturdy integrity, the waste and demoralization of the classes about them.

Thus far public corruption, however flagrant, is but partial, even when it may sometimes seem to be almost universal. Goldwin Smith says: "Effort is the law, if law it is to be called, of history. History is a series of struggles to elevate the character of humanity in all its aspects—religious, intellectual, social, and political—sometimes rising in an agony of aspiration and exertion, and frequently followed by lassitude and relapses as great moral efforts are in the case of individual men." The revolution in England, so full of inspiring thoughts and noble deeds that were to fix on a firm foundation the constitutional liberties of the empire, was followed by a relapse into political corruption that indicated a complete swing of the pendulum from the highest to the lowest point of English patriotism. Of this Macaulay said, and our own history may furnish examples of its truth: "Public opinion has its natural flux and reflux; after a violent burst there is commonly a reaction." Goldwin Smith further remarks: "If public life is the noblest of all callings, it is the vilest of all trades," and "the real current of a great nation's life may run calmly beneath the seething and frothy surface which alone meets our eyes."

The question that seems to be forcibly suggested by the paper of Dr. White, and enforced by the teachings of our chief experts in historic studies, American and German, is whether the olden methods of teaching history now prevailing in our common schools and academies should not be at once improved by the general adoption of the scientific method, to the great advantage of American youth, whether their education is to end with the common school or the academy, or whether it is to be continued to the highest course of the university. Nothing could more tend to strengthen and confirm the American character of our common schools, so absolutely essential in fitting our youth for their duties as American citizens, and the historic training to that end will no longer be confined to the select few who enjoy the higher education given in our colleges and universities, but will be shared by the masses, "the plain people," who constitute the great majority, whose character and life are to raise or to lower the standard of our civilization, and whose votes are to elect the rulers and determine the destiny of the republic.

Our common schools are intended to fit the youth of America for what Arnold calls "the highest earthly work—the work of government;" and that work is becoming more complex and difficult with the advance of our civilization to the Pacific, and with the problems political and industrial, financial and commercial, educational and social, that in succession or in joint array arise and confront us. To these are added a continuing wave of immigration of unexpected magnitude, and representing frequently civilizations inferior, alien, and hostile to our own. It is true that the more intelligent and better part come to appreciate and cherish American institutions, and to welcome for their children the common school that will fit them for American citizenship, and raise them politically and socially to a higher plane of civilization; but there comes also a vast multitude who in their ignorance are ready to subvert our institutions, to supersede our national principles and rights, which they do not understand, and even in some cases to force into our public schools not only un-American ideas but a foreign tongue.

During the last century, when there was little danger from such influences at home, Washington, desiring for American youth an American character, objected to foreign education as encouraging "not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to republican government and to the true and generous liberation of mankind." The simple and sure mode of inculcating these American principles and ideas is the scientific study of American history. Our great authorities on history-teaching are agreed that rightly to understand, appreciate, and

defend American institutions, the true plan is to know their origin and their history, and so to learn the true policy required for our safety ; and in this light history appears as the true basis of national character and of national wisdom, and there seems no reason to suppose that lessons in history may not be given in our common schools in a way to influence the ideas and character of our children.

Dr. Diesterweg, who speaks with so much authority for the scholarship of Germany and of the world, dwells upon the importance of making historical ideas understood by showing their effect and developing ideal impulses in the pupils, and refers to the regrettable position of Germany, in a time not long past, when the most scholarly institutions had no special instructor in history, and when a place was made for history the pupils were burdened with a load of facts. The learned author says : " It is clear that the same impulse and the same dangers threaten *the public school* of to-day. . . . The most important subjects must be given with sufficient detail to make them interesting." If a question should be raised as to the feasibility of applying to children the improved method, on this point both German and American experts express no doubt. Dr. Diesterweg, in expressing his unwillingness to agree to any plan that purposes to exclude the " silent work of civilization " from an elementary course, quotes Benke as saying : " During the same period, from the eighth to the fourteenth year, the power of understanding, comprehending, thinking, the faculty of developing general truths from special ones, begins to awaken and assert itself." Mr. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, who has happily illustrated his views by his own delightful volumes, said in a paper entitled " Why Children Dislike History " : " The moral of all is that the fault is not in the child, but in us who write the books and teach the lessons. History is but a series of tales of human beings ; human beings form the theme which is of all things the most congenial to the child's mind. If the subject loses all its charms by our handling, the fault is ours and we should not blame the child."

We are reminded that the first step in geography is to know thoroughly the district wherein we live, and that American local history should be first studied as a contribution to national history ; and President Adams suggested that " the development of local consciousness can perhaps be best stimulated through the common school," with the usual adjuncts of the academy and local libraries, the local press, local societies, and local clubs. It would seem clear from such testimony that there is no reason why the elementary principles of the improved methods of teaching history may not be wisely introduced into the education of our common schools ;

that there, as well as in our colleges and universities, history may become, in President Adams's words, "an active instead of a passive process—an increasing joy instead of a depressing burden."

Of the fascination which the varied European origin of our early colonists will have for American youth, perhaps no better example can be cited than the remarkable address of Dr. Richard S. Storrs in 1876 before the New York Historical Society, on "The Early American Spirit and the Genesis of it." I have before quoted this address in connection with American education, but I may be pardoned for a brief reference to it on this occasion as illustrating the point, and as an historic sketch parts of which might be advantageously introduced into every normal school of the republic, in view of the truth never to be forgotten, that for good education we must have good educators. Regarding histories as the biographies of communities, and recognizing the fact that we are in the presence of a commanding past, tracing the outlines of the fascinating history of our Revolution showing that it was the spirit behind our little forces that compelled the events and gave them importance in history, Dr. Storrs recalled the fact that the early settlers of this country were not of one stock but of many, and that they brought with them a power and a promise from the greatest age of European advancement. With a rapid and masterly pen he portrayed that brilliant century which saw at its beginning the coronation of Elizabeth and at its end the death of Cromwell—a century marked by extraordinary genius, amazing achievements, the decay of authority and the swift advance of popular power; the age of Raleigh, Drake, Bacon, Shakespeare, and Milton; illumined by printing, and stirred with tumultuous force by the Reformation. Glancing at the vehement public life of Northern Europe, in England, the Netherlands, Germany, and Sweden, he showed that out of this century, so full of enterprise and productive force, came the early settlers of America, bringing with them the energies of the continent, and with the push of a century behind them, forming in their constituent moral life one people, fearless, reflective, energetic, constructive, industrious, and martial; intensely practical, politically active, religiously free, with successful labor as their primary teacher. Hence came the early American spirit in whose light arose the republic "which interlinks our annals with those of the noblest time in Europe, and makes us heirs to the greatness of its history."

Is there any good reason to believe that the American boy with his bright intelligence and active imagination is incapable of understanding the two historic ideas of the continuous and changing movement of human affairs and the permanence of principles? that he cannot learn to trace the

connection between Runnymede, the battle of the Boyne, Bunker Hill, and Yorktown; the constitutional establishment of civil and religious freedom in the last century, and the constitutional emancipation in our own day? As he reads of the Magna Charta extorted from King John in 1215, and of its confirmation in England some thirty times as was deemed conducive to the liberties of Englishmen; when he recognizes that Charta as the basis of the Petition of Right in 1628, and of the Bill of Rights in 1688, will he not the more appreciate the fact that it was the basis of our Declaration of Independence in 1776, and of the first and latest amendments to our national Constitution?

Already school committees have begun to provide new historic and constitutional histories, primers for children, such as Nordhoff's *Politics for Young Americans*, and of elementary works, Jevons's *Primer of Political Economy* and the *Origin of New England Towns*; and what a field is opened for new histories for children by Professor Jameson's announcement that the most neglected field of American history is the field of states, with the suggestion that boys should be early taught "the real, homely facts of government," to which the local color added by the annals of the neighborhood would add a homelike and inspiring interest. Upon the integrity and efficiency of the common school depend not only the right conduct of our affairs social, industrial, and political, but the public opinion of the country, of which Webster said: "Moral causes come into consideration in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced; and the public opinion of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendancy over mere brute force, . . . and as it grows more intelligent and intense, it will be more and more formidable. . . . It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. . . . Until this be propitiated or ratified it is vain for power to talk of triumphs or of repose."

But the public opinion which Webster magnified and which is to subject the world to the empire of reason, is the opinion of an American people thoroughly educated in their own history and their own principles, a public opinion inspired by the intelligence and patriotism of the common school, which, while preparing the way to the college and university, can give all that the nation has a right to demand for her voters—the elements of knowledge, with a true idea of the history and the principles of the republic, and of the rights and duties of citizens. Dr. Woodrow Wilson remarks in his recent work, speaking of the convictions of our great statesmen from Washington to our own day, "No free government can last in health if it lose hold of its traditions in history; and in the

public schools these may be and should be sedulously preserved," carefully replanted in the thought and consciousness of each succeeding generation.

The necessity of a thorough and manly training to secure prosperity and strength has been forced, by our example and by the warnings presented by other nations, upon all classes in Europe, the governors and the governed; and Dr. Max Müller says that "every nation at present is trying to improve its material by national education." In this international competition for supreme excellence in the common schools, our republic should be among the first, for the necessity of educating the American children, whether native or foreign-born, for their high duties as sovereign citizens is one that impresses more and more deeply our most far-sighted and earnest thinkers.

Bishop Henry C. Potter of New York in his recent address on "The Scholar and the State" before the Phi Beta Kappa chapter of Harvard, after referring to "that eminent and gifted Englishman Professor James Bryce," and to De Tocqueville with his rare foresight, touched upon the great possibilities of a government so nobly conceived and so finely governed as our own, and upon the fact, noted by De Tocqueville, that the excellence and delicacy of a vast civil mechanism only the more demands intelligent, prudent, and reverent handling, and that "no form or combination of social polity has yet been devised to make an energetic people out of a community of pusillanimous and enfeebled citizens."

An historic view of the difference in the effect upon the strength of a people of a system of education in which the weight of authority is placed on the side of restraining, and a system that develops personal independent action, was presented by the late venerable Father Hecker of New York, the founder of the Paulists, in his last instructive work, *The Church and the Age*. After alluding to the teachings adopted by the society founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola, and to the remark, "Men whose wills never conflict with the authority of the Church *perinde cadaver*, the distinguishing traits of a perfect Jesuit form the antithesis of a thorough Protestant," * Father Hecker said, "The weight of authority was placed on the side of restraining rather than of developing personal independent action. . . . The defense of the church and the salvation of the soul were ordinarily secured at the expense necessarily of those virtues which go to make up the strength of Christian manhood. In the principles above briefly stated may be found the explanation why fifty millions of Protest-

* *The Church and the Age*. An Exposition of the Catholic Church in view of the Needs and Aspirations of the Present Age. New York: Office of the *Catholic World*. 1887. (P. 137.)

ants have had generally a controlling influence for a long period over two hundred millions of Catholics, in directing the movements and destinies of nations."

The lesson taught by the impressive warning of Father Hecker in regard to the education on which depends the strength and controlling influence of nations, as he points the American people to the statistics of history, confirms the views of the fathers of the republic and of our wisest statesmen throughout a century as presented by Dr. Blackmar to aid the states in making their school education universal and complete. "The first duty of government," says the Hon. J. L. M. Curry, our late minister to Spain, and again the chief manager of the Peabody fund, "is to develop and use to the maximum degree the brain power of the country. In the use or non-use of this intellectual power lies the difference betwixt nations and epochs." "The end for which the schools are established," says Hon. Andrew S. Draper, the able superintendent of public instruction in New York state, "is the safety of the state. . . . The schools are maintained at general expense to perpetuate the Constitution and to make citizenship safe and secure;" and President Harrison aptly asked in a speech at Galesburg, "How shall one be a safe citizen who is not intelligent?"

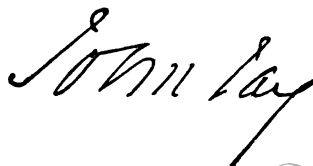
The national interest in education and the importance of a national system and a national standard of excellence are topics which abroad are being carefully studied, and Dr. Max Müller remarks: "The great principle . . . that the school belongs to the state, and that the state is responsible for its efficiency as it is responsible for the efficiency of the army, the navy, nay, even of the post-office. It is criminal to sell poison. Would it be carrying the same principle too far if parliament insisted that no one should open a private school unless the government was satisfied of the wholesomeness of the moral and intellectual food sold in these schools to helpless children? Paternal government I know has not a good sound to English ears, but if anybody has a right to a paternal government surely it is those little ones who should not perish."

Our association has an opportunity greater perhaps than ever before enjoyed by any similar institution of impressing upon the American people the profound importance of their own history, and of the example and counsels of the fathers of the republic in reference to the education of the people. The work so well begun indicates the vastness of the field to be explored and the gravity of the tasks yet to be accomplished. Dr. Blackmar's treatise on national aid to state education is still to be supplemented by the history of national aid to state education in the public

school—aid that in land alone has exceeded the area of Great Britain and Ireland, securing an American education to the children of the western states to whom is rapidly passing the controlling power of the republic. The horizon of historic inquiry, as Professor Herbert B. Adams has said, should be enlarged “until the whole field of secondary and school education is embraced in the retrospect;” and he reminded us of the truth, which recalls also the inexorable responsibility of educated Americans, that “the broadening plains are best seen from the hill-tops.” Then came the suggestion to which our countrymen will respond, and especially the accomplished educationalists of the republic, who have a right to speak with the power that belongs to knowledge and position, that with a secretary of agriculture holding a place in the cabinet, the Bureau of Instruction should become a ministry of public instruction, stimulating and strengthening the colleges and universities as well as the school system of the whole country. Then, too, comes the ardent wish of Washington, embodied in his last will and testament but still unfilled, of a national university. It is a thought to which the establishment at the capital of a foreign university with a chair devoted to the canon law, a system in antagonism with the Constitution and the common law on which the entire fabric of the republic rests, gives a new and profound significance.

On all these questions the lessons of history, American and European, throw a world of light, and especially on the point that every teacher in the common school should be well grounded in American history. Whatever the extent, the wealth, or the material power of our country, it will depend chiefly upon the state common school and its American training whether she is to retain her manly, independent American character, the chief element of her strength, the only sure guarantee of her continued greatness. Many of our countrymen have indulged the hope if not the belief that our republic was destined at no distant time to rule the world more widely than Rome in her proudest days, not by reason of her continental power, but by her example and far-extending influence, *non razione imperii, sed imperio rationis*.

If that dream be destined to fulfillment, do not the counsels of our wise citizens, from Washington and Jefferson to our martyr Presidents Lincoln and Garfield, assure us that it will be due to the force of the American idea, taught to the youth of the republic by the inspiring lessons of American history?



EMIGRATION FROM NEW ENGLAND TO NEW BRUNSWICK

1763-1764

The tide of immigration which within a few years has set in so strongly from the maritime provinces to eastern New England gives fresh interest to the early emigration which took place upon a limited scale from some of the Massachusetts towns to New Brunswick, then called Nova Scotia, about 1763 and 1764.

It appears that in 1761 Governor Bernard of Massachusetts sent Israel Perley of Boxford to explore the country bordering on the St. John river. On his return his account of the natural advantages of the region, its fertility, its abundance of game and fish, and its valuable timber, added to the knowledge which many had no doubt gained of the territory during their service in the French war, resulted in awakening an enthusiasm for emigration similar to that which half a century later turned the steps of so many New Englanders to the Ohio, the valley of the Mississippi, and the Holland purchase.

The first migration from Essex county, Massachusetts, took place in 1763; this was followed by another the next spring. A tract of land in Sunbury county, twelve miles square, known as the "Mangerville grant," was settled by these New Englanders and soon brought under cultivation. The families included in the settlement were chiefly from Byfield, Ipswich, Rowley, Boxford, and Marblehead. The names of Perley, Peabody, Barker, Estey, Burpee, Palmer, and Stickney are common among them. No doubt a search among church, town, and family records would bring to light much interesting information respecting these people and their descendants. A church appears to have been founded at an early date, as in May, 1764, the First church in Rowley dismissed Richard Eastick [Estey] and Ruth his wife, Jonathan Smith and Hannah his wife, "to form upon or near St. John's river, Nova Scotia."*

These emigrants were of a vigorous and enterprising race; they belonged to the hardy pioneers who a century before had subdued the forests of New England, founded its fisheries and its West India commerce, and fought its Indian wars. It is recorded of one of them, Daniel Palmer, who was born in Rowley in 1712, and married in 1736 Elizabeth

* *Essex Institute Hist. Coll.*, 14: 152.

Wheeler of Chebacco [Essex], that before he emigrated, on one occasion he entered a house in Old Town, Newbury, in which three hostile Indians had hidden, and opening a second-story window "one by one threw them out, regardless of life or limb, as though they were so many straws."

Although the new country proved a good one on the whole for farming, it was not without its drawbacks, one of the greatest of which was the frequent recurrence of floods which often covered the lands along the river. Fences were floated off and roads submerged and swept away. The settlers sometimes caught herring in the spring, where in the autumn they harvested potatoes. One year there was an unusually high freshet, and Daniel Palmer was surprised by seeing a cake of ice float through his log house from door to door, carrying off the "boiled dinner" which was in the pot, but which was happily rescued after a voyage in the neighboring field.

The bold and independent character of these Essex county emigrants showed itself a few years later in their outspoken loyalty to the American cause. A manifesto adopted May 21, 1776, is really of the nature of a declaration of independence, and antedates by more than a month that world-famed document. It may well be said that the action of these settlers on the St. John, considering their remoteness and isolation from their compatriots in New England, and the near neighborhood of English fortified towns, was wonderfully bold, and worthy of record by the side of the most daring deeds of those historic times.

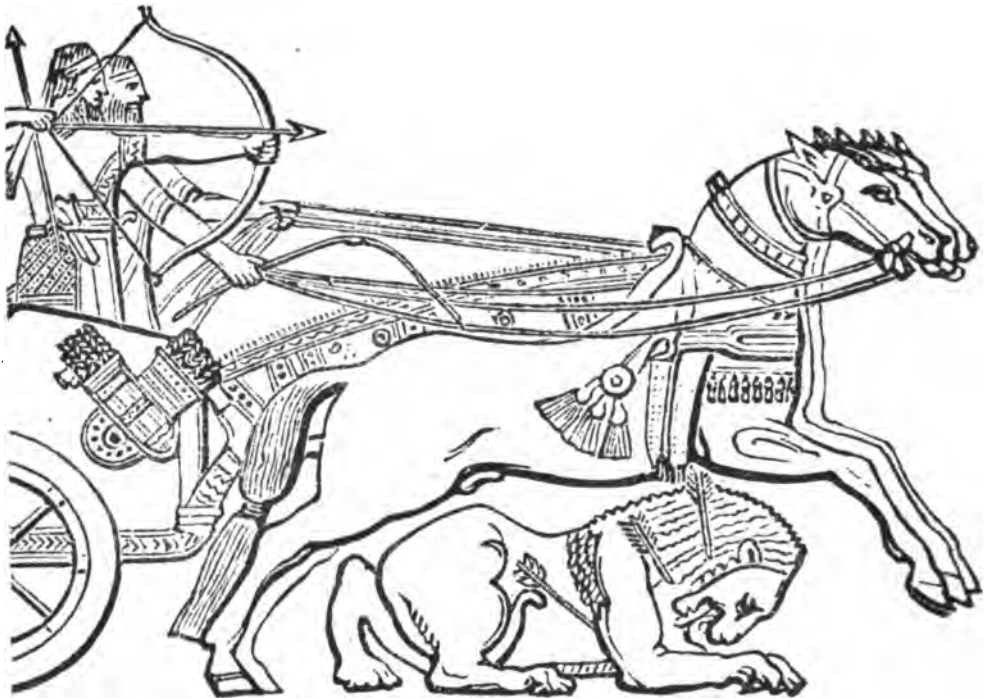
Information in regard to this early emigration which was so soon arrested by the Revolutionary war, and succeeded in a few years by a western flow of the tide, is very meagre. Something may be learned respecting it from Hathaway's *History of New Brunswick*, and there are doubtless descendants of the hardy pioneers who could supply from tradition or records valuable facts in connection with this interesting and not generally known chapter of our colonial history.

D. P. Lumsden.

MANCHESTER-BY-THE-SEA, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE ANTIQUITY OF CARRIAGES

By whom carriages were first invented it is difficult to determine. They were in Egypt in the time of the Pharaohs, of which many evidences exist. When Joseph was advanced to the second place in the kingdom Pharaoh "made him ride in the second chariot which he had." Soon after

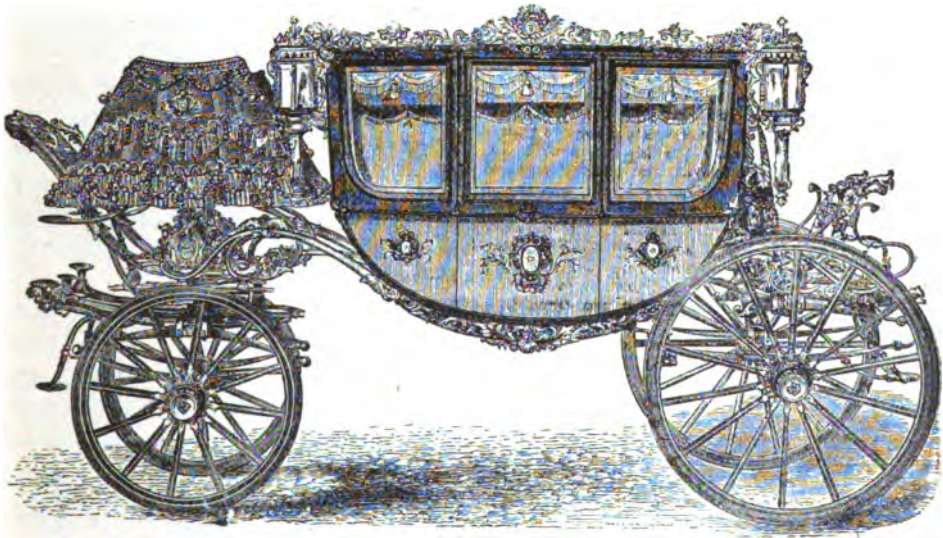


WAR-CHARIOT IN THE TIME OF THE PHARAOHS.

this we learn that Joseph sent wagons by command of the king to bring Jacob and his family into Egypt. Then again, when the funeral procession for Jacob went up out of the land of Egypt, the Bible tells us that "there went up with Joseph both chariots and horsemen." At the time of the Exodus, 1491 B. C., Pharaoh is said to have had six hundred war-chariots, which according to tradition were invented and first brought into use by Erichthonius of Athens, ninety-five years earlier, 1586 B. C.

These war-chariots were curiously constructed, with cases at the sides

for the bow and sheaf of arrows, and also for the spears and lances. An archer usually stood on either side of the charioteer hurling his spears at the enemy. For upward of one hundred and fifty years after the Exodus the kings of Canaan and Moab used war-chariots with iron or bronze scythes attached to the axles, which driven into the ranks of the foe were terribly destructive. In the time of David and Solomon the Israelites accumulated them in large numbers. Solomon is said to have had fourteen hundred, which with the horses that drew them were mostly imported from Egypt. The cloth for the chariots and the trappings for the horses were richly embroidered, and during a long period were produced from



CARRIAGE OF THE VICEROY OF EGYPT IN 1867.

the manufactories in Tyre. The Assyrian war-chariot was a two-wheeled, box-shaped vehicle, open in the rear, and was generally drawn by three horses abreast. The Persians later on drove four and often six horses. The march of civilization is forcibly illustrated by the contrast between the famous chariots of the ancient Egyptians and their neighbors, and the carriage of the viceroy of Egypt, built in Paris in 1867 at a cost of fifteen thousand dollars, as presented in the pictures.

The Romans began to construct carriages in great variety of forms and ornamentation after the Christian era; gold and precious stones were often used for decorations. Some of these vehicles had two wheels, others four; but the streets being narrow and crowded, driving was anything but a

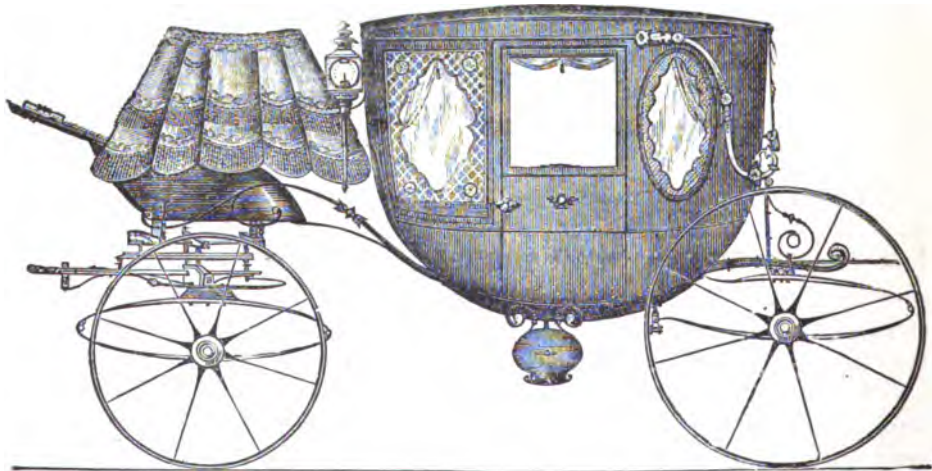


COACH OF HENRY IV.

pastime. One historian tells us that Nero took on his travels no less than a thousand carriages, to some of which four horses were yoked abreast, while others were drawn by six horses elegantly caparisoned.

The Appian Way, the most celebrated of the ancient Roman roads, was built in a very expensive manner, 313 B.C. To render it smooth, large blocks of the hardest stone, accurately fitted to each other, were solidified with a peculiar cement. Chariot races were quickly in vogue, and the nobles of Greece and Rome drove at full speed over this magnificent highway, their chariots trimmed and cushioned in the most luxurious style. During the period of the later Roman empire and the decline of its power, carriages multiplied; but their use was confined to rulers and wealthy noblemen and was an evidence of great dignity and exalted station. We read in the eighth chapter of Acts of the treasurer of Candace, queen of the Ethiopians, "who had come to Jerusalem for to worship," meeting Philip and going down into the water to be baptized.

In 1280, according to the records, Charles of Anjou and his queen entered Naples in a small but wonderfully decorated chariot. When the world was waking from the long sleep of the middle ages, and began to reproduce the books of the ancients through the newly discovered method

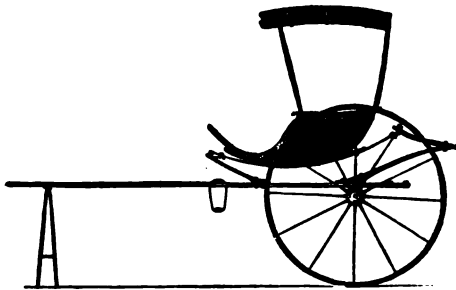


THE IMPROVED COACH, IN CONTRAST, TWO CENTURIES LATER.

of printing, the use of carriages, long practically discontinued, was revived and became more general among the wealthy classes than in the early centuries. The style was somewhat improved, with a canopy sustained by four pillars, which subsequently gave place to a close drapery concealing the occupant from view. In 1474 the Emperor Frederic III. attended the council, or diet, at Frankfort in a closely draped carriage, and again the following year "in a magnificent covered carriage." In 1509 we read of a tournament in Rappin, where the Electress of Bradenburg's carriage "was completely covered with gold," and those of the other duchesses were ornamented with crimson and purple curtains and draperies of the richest satin. For several decades about this time the use of carriages was confined to ladies of the first rank, and it was accounted a reproach for men to ride in them; the latter must always be mounted



"CHARE" OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.



THE "DEACON'S ONE-HORSE SHAY."

on fine horses. In 1550 it is said there were only three coaches in Paris. Henry IV. of France, who in 1598 published the edict of Nantes and restored toleration, was in 1610 assassinated in his carriage, which was a low, heavy, and broad-wheeled vehicle, as shown in the illustration, the wretched roads rendering a light carriage useless.

Meanwhile the feudal lords in continental Europe had supplied themselves with handsome private carriages, and there was great rivalry in the attempt to outshine one another. In 1611, when Cardinal Dietridstein made his entrance into Vienna, forty carriages went out to meet him. In the same year the consort of the Emperor Matthias made her public entrance, on her marriage, in a carriage covered with perfumed leather. Later in the century the wedding carriage of the first wife of the German emperor Leopold, who was a Spanish princess, cost, together with the harness, thirty-eight thousand florins.

Wheeled vehicles were used to some extent in England during the middle ages. Chaucer describes a "chare" in one of his poems. Richard II. of England—1377-1399—was obliged in 1399 to fly before his rebel-



THE STATE CARRIAGE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[From an old print.]

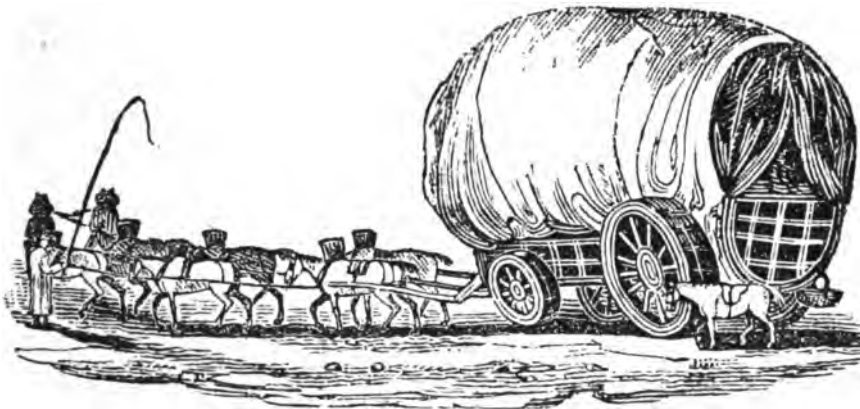
lions subjects; he and his followers were on horseback, while his mother was alone in a carriage. The reign of Richard II. is a remarkable period in the constitutional history of England, and still more so in literature and religion, for it was the time of Wycliffe, Chaucer, and Gower, whom Richard patronized, and the modern English language is usually dated from his reign. The oldest English vehicles were known as chares, chariots, coaches, and whirlicotes; these latter being two-wheeled, without straps or springs, to which the horses were attached by ropes. All these, however, became unfashionable in the time of Anne of Bohemia, daughter of Emperor Charles IV., and wife of Richard II., who taught the ladies how gracefully she could ride on the side saddle. She died in 1394.

It was not until the time of Queen Elizabeth, about 1558, that the state coach was introduced into use in England. One Walter Ripon, a Dutchman, built one for her majesty, and she made him her coachman. The same carriage-maker also built a carriage of different pattern for Queen Elizabeth when she should be attended by her maids, as shown in the illustration, copied from an old print. The English nobility were speedily supplied with private carriages, and as Buckingham says, "within twentie years there became a great trade of coach-making." In 1601 the use of coaches had become so prevalent that a bill was introduced into parliament for their suppression; in other words, "to restrain the excessive use of coaching," which singular bill, however, was rejected on second reading. The use of wheeled vehicles took away the business of the Thames watermen, and Taylor, the poet and waterman, complained bitterly both in prose and verse against the new-fangled practice:

"Carroaches, coaches, jades, and Flanders mares
Doe rob us of our shares, our wares, our fares,
Against the ground we stand and knock our heels,
Whilst all our profit runs away on wheels."

Coaches, however, continued in favor, and became so common that in the early part of the century following there were more than six thousand in London and the surrounding country.

But these grand and costly equipages were of no practical use to the common people, whose mode of traveling was crude, slow, and inconvenient. Wagons clumsily made for moving goods from one great town to another—broad-wheeled, with a quaint hooped top and movable covering, drawn by six, eight, or twelve great Normandy horses, as the case required—were utilized for carrying passengers by partitioning off space in the rear end and covering the floor with straw for the people to sit upon. This was called riding “in the tail of the wagon.” The facilities for the accom-



AN OLD ENGLISH MOVING-WAGON.

[From an old print.]

modation of travelers who did not own horses or carriages were then so meagre, confined to a few hackney coaches, post-chaises, and lumbering stage-coaches, until past the middle of the eighteenth century, that the middle classes as well as the poorer people patronized the grotesque moving-wagons, and were often seen huddled together on the straw for three or four days at a time. The driver ordinarily rode on a pony alongside the vehicle, carrying a long whip which he was industrious in applying to his team.

All carriages, private as well as public, were absolutely springless until about 1750, and the leather thorough-braces which preceded steel springs did not come into use until near the end of that century. The private carriages introduced into the American colonies were about the same as those used in England, and prior to the Revolution not exceedingly



THE BEEKMAN CARRIAGE, NEW YORK.

numerous. They belonged to wealthy and aristocratic families, and were heavy lumbering affairs, drawn by six large horses. In New York and Virginia, and in some of the other colonies, specimens of these have been handed down to us which are well worth preserving. Washington's historic carriage has been viewed with interest by thousands of

the present generation, and the old Beekman carriage which figured in New York at an early period is shown in the illustration. The moving-wagons in America, drawn sometimes by horses and sometimes by four or six yokes of oxen, are similar to those of old England. They were built before the times of railroads to transport goods and families to the West, and are still used in wilderness regions where public conveyances have not yet penetrated. A chapter might be written on the old stage-coaches of early America and on the modern carriage, but neither comes within the scope of this paper and must be reserved for a future study.

Emmanuel Spencer

RALEIGH'S SETTLEMENTS ON ROANOKE ISLAND*

AN HISTORICAL SURVIVAL

The English race has had three homes. Old England was to be found amid the primitive forests of Germany; Middle England is Britain; New England is America. We revere the region which nourished our ancestors during the childhood of the race and developed in them the qualities of bravery, purity, and patriotism. No spot in Britain, remarks



S^R WALTER RALEGH.

an English historian, can be so sacred to Englishmen as that which first felt the tread of English feet; and to Americans no spot should be so sacred as Roanoke Island in Dare county, North Carolina, within sight and sound of the stormy Atlantic, where the first English settlement in the new world was made. Here landed in 1585 the first forerunners of

* Evidence from tradition and history in regard to the colony of 1587.



THE INTRODUCTION OF TOBACCO INTO ENGLAND BY SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

[From a rare antique print.]

the English-speaking millions now in America; here was turned the first spade of earth to receive English seed; here the first English house was built; and here on the 18th of August, 1587, Virginia Dare, the first of Anglo-Americans, was born.

In the spring of 1584, under a patent from the queen, Sir Walter Raleigh sent out two ships to make discoveries. They reached the coast of North Carolina in July, made some explorations, and returned with two natives and flattering reports to England. In April, 1585, a fleet of seven vessels under the command of Sir Richard Grenville sailed for America. A settlement was made on Roanoke Island and Ralph Lane was placed in command. The colonists explored almost the whole coast of the state. They traversed the whole length of Pamlico and Albemarle sounds. They explored the Chowan and Roanoke rivers and penetrated Virginia nearly as far as the site of Norfolk. In June, 1586, because of trouble with the Indians, shortness of provisions, and the gloomy prospect of affairs in Europe, the whole colony returned to England with the fleet of Sir Francis Drake. Thus ended the first English settlement in America.

In 1587 Raleigh sent out a second colony under the command of John White. The settlement was fixed on the site occupied by the first colony and White returned to England at once for further supplies. He did not then revisit the colony, nor was the effort to reach it in 1588 successful. The war for religious liberty was now coming on; Protestant England was struggling against Catholic Spain, and all the valor of Raleigh, Grenville, and Lane was needed by their royal mistress to meet the Invincible Armada.

The colony was forgotten for the time, but in February, 1590 (1591), through the influence of Raleigh, White secured the release of three merchantmen bound for the West Indies, then detained by an embargo, on condition that they bear supplies and passengers to Virginia. These conditions were not fulfilled. White went out alone, unaccompanied by even a servant. The vessels sailed March 20, 1591, but the seamen thought more of plundering than planting. They cruised for some months in the Spanish main, took a number of rich prizes, and reached Virginia in August. Here they encountered heavy gales and lost seven of their best seamen in trying to reach Roanoke. At last a boat was anchored off the fort. They sounded a trumpet call and many familiar English tunes, but received no answer. At daybreak they landed; as they stepped upon the sandy beach they saw carved in the very brow of a tree the "fair Roman letters C. R. O." They advanced to the fort. The houses had been taken down, and the place had been inclosed with a palisado of

great trees. They saw many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, iron fowlers, iron-locker shot, and similar heavy things scattered here and there and overgrown with grass. They found where some chests had been buried and then dug up again, their contents spoiled and scattered. White saw some of his own chests broken open, his books torn from their covers, his pictures and maps rotten from the rain, and his armor almost eaten through with rust. One of the principal posts at the right side of the entrance to the fort had the bark taken off, and five feet above the ground, in "fair capital letters, was graven CROATOAN." No other memorials remained. The colonists had vanished. White returned to the ships, bidding a sad farewell to his colony, to his daughter, and his grandchild. The captain agreed to carry him to Croatan, but after delays he plead shortness of supplies and sailed to the West Indies. The colony left on Roanoke Island in 1587 was seen no more by Europeans.

Such was the unfortunate end of the efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh to found a new empire in the western world. His patent had cost him £40,000 and had not paid him a shilling. His fairest hopes ended in sadness and disappointment; but his failure even gained him immortality, and to-day the capital city of the fair commonwealth that is proud to have been the scene of his labors bears the honored name of Raleigh.

It is now believed that the colonists of 1587 removed to Croatan soon after the return of Governor White to England, that they intermarried with the Croatan or Hatteras Indians, that their wanderings westward can be definitely traced, and that their descendants can be identified to-day. There can be no doubt that the colonists removed to Croatan; when White left them they were already preparing to remove from Roanoke. He agreed with them that they should carve in some conspicuous place the name of the section to which they went, and if they went in distress a sign of the cross was to be carved above. The name Croatan was found, but there was no sign of distress. The colonists must have gone on the invitation of Manteo and his friends, and the fact that their chests and other heavy articles were buried, indicates that it was their intention to revisit the island of Roanoke at some future time. Where was Croatan? Croatan, or more properly Croatoan, is an Indian word, and was applied by the Hatteras Indians to the place of their residence. Here Manteo, who had been carried to England by the first explorers in 1584, and who always remained the firm friend of the English, was born, and here his relatives were living when he first met the English; the latter soon began to apply the name to the Indians themselves. The island of Roanoke was not at that time regularly inhabited, but was used as a hunt-

ing ground by the tribe to which Manteo belonged, and also by their enemies who lived on the main and were the subjects of Wingina. The name Croatan first appears in the account of Grenville's voyage of 1585. It is there made an island; Lane says that it was an island, and White also bears witness to this; for he says, when describing his discovery of the deserted and dismantled fort: "I greatly joyed that I had found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born and the savages of the island our friends." From these facts it is perfectly clear that the adventurers believed Croatan to be an island. The map of 1666 is the first to use the name. This and the Nuremberg map make it a part of the banks lying between Cape Hatteras and Cape Lookout, perhaps what is now known as Core Banks, and consequently an island; but later maps have located Croatan on the mainland, just opposite Roanoke island, in the present counties of Dare, Tyrrell, and Hyde. It is marked thus on Ogilby's map, published by the Lords Proprietors in 1671, and on Lawson's map, published in 1709, while the sound between this section and Roanoke island still bears the name of Croatan. On the Nuremberg map and on the map of 1666 this peninsula is called Dasamonguepeuk. Now we know that in 1587 Manteo was baptized as lord of Roanoke and Dasamonguepeuk. This title clearly indicates that the Hatteras tribe, to which Manteo belonged, laid claims to the peninsula. They doubtless made use of it for the cultivation of corn, as well as for hunting and fishing, while their principal seat was some eighty miles to the south on the island of Croatan. The English colonists have left us unimpeachable testimony that they removed from Roanoke island to Croatan. The Croatan of the early explorers and maps was a long, narrow, storm-beaten sand-bank, incapable in itself of supporting savage life, much less the lives of men and women living in the agricultural stage. It is not reasonable to suppose that the colonists would have gone from a fertile soil to a sterile one. It is probable then, that, in accordance with an understanding between themselves, the Hatteras Indians having abandoned their residence on Croatan island, and the English colonists having given up their settlements on Roanoke island, both settled on the fertile peninsula of Dasamonguepeuk, which the Hatteras tribe had already claimed and partly occupied, but which they had not been able to defend against enemies. The name of their former place of residence followed the tribe, was applied to their new home, and thus got into the later maps. If this theory is accepted, it is easy to see how the Hatteras tribe may have come into communication with kindred tribes on the Chowan and Roanoke rivers, to which they seem to have gone at a later

period. This is one end of the chain of evidence in this history of survivals.

The other end of the chain is to be found in a tribe of Indians now living in Robeson county and the adjacent sections of North Carolina, and recognized officially by the state in 1885 as Croatan Indians. These Indians are believed to be the lineal descendants of the colonists left by John White on Roanoke island in 1587. The migrations of the Croatan tribe from former homes farther to the east can be traced. It is pretty clear that the tribe removed to their present home from former settlements on Black river, in Sampson county. The time of their removal is uncertain, but all traditions point to a time anterior to the Tuscarora war in 1711, and it is probable that they were fixed in their present homes as early as 1650.* During the eighteenth century they occupied the country as far west as the Pee Dee, but their principal seats were on Lumber river, in Robeson county, and extended along it for twenty miles. They held their lands in common, and titles became known only on the approach of white men. The first known grant made to any member of this tribe is located on the Lowrie swamp east of Lumber river, and was made by George II. in 1732 to Henry Berry and James Lowrie.† Another grant was made to James Lowrie in 1738. Traditions point to still older deeds that are not known to now exist. The tribe has never ceased to be migratory in their disposition. When the main body had settled in Robeson, for many years after scattered detachments would join them from their old homes further to the east, while other parts would remove further toward the west. They are now to be found all over western North Carolina. After the coming of the white people a part of the tribe removed to the region of the Great Lakes, and their descendants are still living in Canada, west of Lake Ontario. At a later period another company went to the northwest and became incorporated with a tribe near Lake Michigan; within the present year (1890) a party has removed to Kansas.

The Croatans fought under Colonel Barnwell against the Tuscaroras in 1711, and the tribe of to-day speak with pride of the stand taken by their ancestors under "Bonnul" for the cause of the whites.‡ In this war

* McMillan: Sir Walter Raleigh's *Lost Colony* (p. 20).

† Ibid. p. 14. The deeds for these grants are still extant and are in the possession of Hon. D. P. McEachin of Robeson county, North Carolina.

‡ The traditions of the tribe that they fought in the Tuscarora war are verified by the Colonial Records of North Carolina. In Vol. II., p. 129, we find an entry: "Whereas, report has been made to this board that the Hatteress Indyans have lately made their escape from the enemy Indyans," i. e., Tuscaroras. Again, on p. 171, we find: "Upon petition of the Hatterass Indyans praying some small relief from the country for their services," etc.

they took some of the Matamuskeet Indians prisoners and made them slaves. Many of the Croatans were in the continental army; in the war of 1812 a company was mustered into the army of the United States, and members of the tribe received pensions for their services within the memory of the present generation; they also fought in the armies of the Confederate States. Politically they have had little chance for development. From 1783 to 1835 they had the right to vote, performed military duties, encouraged schools, and built churches; but by the constituent convention of 1835 the franchise was denied to all "free persons of color," and to effect a political purpose it was contended that the Croatans came under this category. The convention of 1868 removed this ban, but as they had long been classed as mulattoes they were obliged to patronize the negro schools. This they refused to do as a rule, preferring that their children should grow up in ignorance, for they hold the negro in utmost contempt.

Finally, in 1885, through the efforts of Mr. Hamilton McMillan, who has lived near them and knows their history, justice long delayed was granted them by the general assembly of North Carolina. They were officially recognized as Croatan Indians; separate schools were provided for them and intermarriage with negroes was forbidden.*

Their population in Robeson county of school age—from six to twenty-one years—is about eleven hundred. Their whole population in this county is about twenty-five hundred, and their connections in other counties will perhaps swell this number to five thousand. The state has provided them a normal school for the training of teachers, and this action will go very far toward their mental and moral elevation. Their school-houses have been built entirely by private means; they are all frame buildings and are provided far better than those for the negro race. They are Methodists and Baptists in religion, and own sixteen churches. They are almost universally land-owners, occupying about sixty thousand acres in Robeson county. They are industrious and frugal, and anxious to improve their condition. They are found of all colors from black to white, and in some cases cannot be distinguished from white people. They have the prominent cheek-bones, the steel-gray eyes, the straight black hair of the Indian. Their women are frequently beautiful;

* It has been suggested that the name "Croatan" was invented to strengthen the theory of their origin as here presented, but this is not the case. As we have seen, Croatan was the name of a locality and not of a tribe. The tribal name was Hattoras or Hatorask, or, as we now spell it, Hatteras. Lawson calls the Indians by this name. Dr. Hawks remarks on the error of the explorers in calling them Croatans; and when the act of the North Carolina assembly recognizing them as Croatans was read to them, an intelligent Indian remarked that he had always heard that they were called Hatteras Indians. (*McMillan*, p. 20.)

their movements are graceful; their dresses becoming; their figures superb, and as voluptuous as houris. Naturally they are quick-witted and are capable of great expansion. One of their number has already reached the senate of the United States, for Hon. Hiram R. Revels, who was born in Fayetteville, North Carolina, in 1822, and who was senator from Mississippi in 1870-71, is not a negro, but a Croatan Indian.

This is the other end of the chain. To connect the two parts and show that the Croatan Indians of to-day are the descendants of the Hatteras Indians of 1587 and of the English colony left on Roanoke island by John White in that year, we must examine, first, the evidence of historians and explorers on the subject; and second, the traditions, character and disposition, language and family names of the Croatan Indians themselves. We hear no more of the colonists left on Roanoke island from the time of the departure of White in 1591 until the settlement at Jamestown. There are several passages in Smith's *True Relation*, which, when viewed in the light of other evidence, tend to show that the colonists had not entirely disappeared. Opechancanough, one of the Indian kings, informed Captain Smith "of certaine men cloathed at a place called Ocanahonan, cloathed like me" (Arber's ed., 17). "The people cloathed at Ocamahowan, he also confirmed" (p. 20). Again: "We had agreed with the king of Paspahugh, to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke, beyond Roonok, where he reported many men to be apparelled" (p. 23).

These vague rumors were confirmed by Strachey in his *History of Travaile into Virginia Britannia*, published by the Hakluyt Society in 1849. Strachey says: "At Peccarecamek and Ochanahoen . . . the people have houses built with stone walls, and one story above another, so taught them by those English who escaped the slaughter at Roanoak, at what time this our colony, under the conduct of Captain Newport, landed within the Chesapeake Bay." Powhatan had been instigated to this massacre by his priests. Seven persons escaped, four men, two boys, and a young maid. These fled up the Chowan river and were preserved at Ritanoe by a chief named Eyanoco, and, in return for protection, began to teach the savages the arts of civilized life. Strachey came to Virginia as early as 1610 and became secretary of the council. His history is put by Mr. R. H. Major, his editor, between 1612 and 1616. It demands, then, all the respect due to contemporary authority. His statements are vague and unsatisfactory, but doubtless contain a modicum of truth. The Indian who was his informant was perhaps in error in regard to the number actually massacred, as other evidence goes to show, but his statements must have been founded on fact. That this report did not reach James-

town, however, until after the arrival of Strachey in 1610, is evident from a passage in Captain John Smith's condensation of White's narrative for his *General History of Virginia*, where he says: "And thus we left seeking our colony, that was never any of them found nor seen to this day 1622;" which shows that nothing was known of the fate of the lost colony in 1609, when Smith had given up the search and returned to England.

It seems reasonable to suppose, then, that the colonists left on Roanoke island by White heard of the arrival of Captain Newport in Chesapeake bay in 1607, and that some of them made an effort to reach the colony at Jamestown. It is not necessary to suppose that there was a general migration of the whole Croatan tribe toward the Chowan. We may conclude that most of the original colonists who were then alive and some of the half-breeds undertook the journey. They were met with hostility by the emissaries of Powhatan and some were slain; the survivors turned toward the south and rejoined those who had remained in their old homes, as the traditions of the Croatans of to-day would indicate.

This view of the case is strengthened by two maps recently found in England by Professor Alexander Brown, the author of *The Genesis of the United States*. These maps throw some light on the subject, and modify the statements of Strachey somewhat, but in the main confirm his account. They were made in 1608 and 1610 by later parties sent out by Raleigh on another search for the long-lost colony. These explorers learned that the chief of the Hatteras or Croatan tribe was named Eyanoco. They learned further that he led the colonists up the Roanoke to a town called Ohanahowan, which is evidently the same as the town called by Strachey Ochana-hoen. It is to be remembered, also, that when Lane explored these regions in 1585 he found tribes whose language Manteo could understand without an interpreter, which indicates that the tribe of Manteo bore some relation to the tribes in this section. From the region of the Roanoke, according to the maps, Eyanoco led his followers to a town on the Neuse called Passarapanick, which bears a very close resemblance to the form given in Strachey as Peccarecamek.

It is evident from this testimony that the massacre of Powhatan could not have been as extensive as is stated by Strachey, for the date of the maps is later than the time of the supposed massacre. Strachey himself seems to bear witness that the colonists and their Indian partners were now traveling toward the southwest, and this apparent evidence is strengthened by the direct testimony of the maps.

These maps will strengthen also the testimony of the next historical reference we have to the tribe. This is by John Lederer, a German, who

made some explorations in eastern North Carolina, perhaps in the region south of the Roanoke river, in 1669-70. He mentions a powerful nation of bearded men two and one-half days' journey to the southwest, "which I suppose to be the Spaniards, because the Indians never have any" [beards]. Dr. Hawks thinks that these "bearded men" may have been the settlers on the Cape Fear, but we know that this colony was disbanded in 1667. We have no records of any Spanish settlements as far north as this; and according to Mr. Hamilton McMillan, whom we have already quoted, the mongrel tribe now known as Croatan Indians were occupying their present homes as early as 1650. The statement of Lederer can only refer to the Croatan tribe.

The next account that we have of the tribe is in 1704, when Rev. John Blair, then traveling as a missionary through the Albemarle settlements, tells of a powerful tribe of Indians living to the south of what is now Albemarle sound, "computed to be no less than 100,000, many of which live amongst the English, and all, as I can understand, a very civilized people." This account is very vague and indefinite, and the numbers are largely overestimated; but it can refer to no other tribe than the Croatans. They were then living southwest of Pamlico sound and they alone had had civilized influences to bear upon them.

The next reference to the tribe is more definite. John Lawson, the historian of North Carolina, while making explorations to the southwest of Pamlico sound met a body of Croatans who were then revisiting their old hunting grounds from their homes lying further to the west, in the present counties of Sampson and Robeson. Lawson interviewed this party and writes as follows in his history concerning them and the Roanoke colony: "The Hatteras (Croatan) Indians who lived on Roanoke island, or much frequented it, tell us that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being frequently found amongst these Indians, and no others. They value themselves extremely for their affinity to the English, and are ready to do them all friendly offices. It is probable that this settlement miscarried for want of timely supplies from England; or through the treachery of the natives, for we may reasonably suppose that the English were forced to cohabit with them 'for relief and conservation,' and that in process of time they conformed themselves to the manners of their Indian relations, and thus we see how apt human nature is to degenerate." Lawson wrote these words not later than 1709, as his book was first published in that year. It is impossible for the story told by Lawson to be a tradition not founded on the truth, for he wrote within

one hundred and twenty years of the original settlements at Roanoke, and he may have talked with men whose grandfathers had been among the original colonists.

The next witnesses in this chain of evidence are the early settlers in the Cape Fear section of North Carolina. Scotch settlements were made in Fayetteville as early as 1715.* In 1730 Scotchmen began to arrive in what is now Richmond county, and French Huguenots were at the same time pressing up from South Carolina. The universal tradition among the descendants of these settlers is that their ancestors found a large tribe of Indians located on Lumber river in Robeson county, who were tilling the soil, owning slaves, and speaking English. The descendants of *this* tribe are known to be the Croatan Indians of to-day.

We see then that the historical arguments which tend to identify the Croatans of to-day as the descendants of the colonists of 1587 possess an historical continuity from 1591 to the present time. There is also a threefold internal argument, based (1) on the traditions of the Groatan Indians of to-day; (2) from their character and disposition; (3) from their forms of language and family names.


I. *Traditions.* The Croatan Indians believe themselves to be the descendants of the colonists of 1587, and boast of their mixed English and Indian blood. They always refer to eastern North Carolina as Virginia, and say their former home was in Roanoke in Virginia, which means the present counties of Dare, Tyrrell, Hyde, Craven, Carteret, and Jones, and of this residence their traditions are sufficiently clear. They say that they held communication with the east long after their removal toward the west, and it was doubtless one of these parties that was met by Lawson about 1709. They know that one of their leaders was made lord of Roanoke and went to England, but his name has been lost, the nearest approach to it being in the forms Maino and Mainor. They have a word "mayno," which means a very quiet, law-abiding people, and this by a kind of metonymy may be a survival of Manteo. When an old chronicler was told the story of Virginia Dare he recognized it, but her name is preserved only as Darr, Durr, Dorr. They say that according to their traditions, Mattamuskeet lake in Hyde county is a burnt lake, and so it is; but they have no traditions in regard to the Roanoke river. They say, also, that some of the earlier settlers intermarried with them, and this may explain the presence of such names among them as Chavis (Cheves), Goins (D'Guin), Leary (O'Leary).

* A house torn down in Fayetteville in 1889 fixes this date. This places the first settlements in this section at an earlier date than has been assigned them hitherto. (*H. McMillan, in a letter to the author.*)

II. *Character and Disposition.* These Indians are hospitable to strangers and are ever ready to do a favor for the white people. They show a fondness for gay colors, march in Indian file, live retired from highways, never forget a kindness, an injury, nor a debt. They are the best of friends and the most dangerous of enemies. They are reticent until their confidence is gained, and when aroused are perfect devils, exhibiting all the hatred, malice, cunning, and endurance of their Indian ancestors. At the same time they are remarkably clean in their habits, a characteristic not found in the pure-blooded Indian. Physicians who practice among them say that they never hesitate to sleep or eat in the house of a Croatan. They are also great road-builders, something unknown to the savage. They have some of the best roads in the state, and by this means connect their more distant settlements with those on Lumber river. One of these, the Lowrie road, has been open for more than a hundred years and is still in use. It extends southwest from Fayetteville, through Cumberland and Robeson counties, to a settlement on the Pee Dee. It was over this road that a special courier bore to General Jackson in 1815 the news of the treaty of Ghent.

III. *Language and Family Names.* The speech of the Croatans is very pure English; no classical terms are used. It differs from that of the whites and from that of the blacks among whom they live. They have preserved many forms in good use three hundred years ago, but which are now obsolete. They have but two sounds for *a*; the short sound is represented by short, open *o* (*Q*), as in old English. They regularly use the word *mon* for man; *mension* is used for measurement; *aks* for ask; *hit* for it; *hosen* for hose; *housen* for houses; *lovend* for loving; *fayther* for father; *crone* is to push down; *knowledge* is wit; and James is called *Jeams*. The strongest evidence of all is seen in their family names. The settlers left on Roanoke island in 1587 were one hundred and seventeen in number and had ninety-five different surnames; out of these surnames forty-one, or more than forty-three per cent., including such names as Dare, Cooper, Stevens, Sampson, Harvie, Howe, Cage, Willes, Gramme, Viccars, Berry, Chapman, Lasie, and Chevin, which are now rarely met with in North Carolina, are reproduced by a tribe living hundreds of miles from Roanoke island, and after a lapse of three hundred years. The chroniclers of the tribe say that the Dares, the Coopers, the Harvies, and others retained their purity of blood and were generally the pioneers in emigration. And still more remarkable evidence is furnished us by the fact that the traditions of every family bearing the name of one of the lost colonists point to Roanoke island as the home of their ancestors.

To summarize: Smith and Strachey heard that the colonists of 1587 were in the region of the Chowan and Roanoke rivers about 1607. The explorers sent out by Raleigh in 1608 and 1610 found that the colony had joined the Croatan Indians and removed first to the Roanoke and then to the interior. John Lederer heard of them in 1670 and remarked on their beards, which were never worn by full-blooded Indians. Rev. John Blair heard of them in 1704. John Lawson met some of the Croatan Indians about 1709, and was told that their ancestors were white men. White settlers came into the middle section of North Carolina as early as 1715 and found the ancestors of the present tribe of Croatan Indians tilling the soil, holding slaves, and speaking English. The Croatans of to-day claim descent from the lost colony. Their habits, disposition, and mental characteristics show traces both of savage and civilized ancestry. Their language is the English of three hundred years ago and their names are in many cases the same as those borne by the original colonists. No other theory of their origin has been advanced, and it is confidently believed that the one here proposed is logically and historically the best, supported as it is both by external and internal evidence. If this theory is rejected, then the critic must explain in some other way the origin of an Indian tribe which after the lapse of three hundred years shows the characteristics, speaks the language, and possesses the family names of the second English colony planted in the western world. *

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Stephen D. Micks." The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE, MD.

* This paper was read by its author before the American Historical Association at its meeting in Washington, D. C., December 29-31, 1890.

EXPLORING LOUISIANA

In the autumn of the year 1806 Zebulon M. Pike, having explored the headwaters of the Mississippi the previous year, went on an expedition to the Rocky mountains to explore still further the *interior of the territory of Louisiana*, which the United States had recently purchased from Napoleon. On the 15th of November, at two o'clock in the afternoon, while marching near the Arkansas river, he thought he could distinguish a mountain to his right. It appeared like a small blue cloud. Looking at it through his spy-glass he was still more confirmed in his opinion that it was a mountain. He mentioned it, however, only to Dr. Robinson, who was riding in front with him. Half an hour later all doubt was removed. Pike's Peak range appeared in full view. Its sides were white, "as if covered with snow or a white stone." When the remainder of the company came to the hilltop they gave three cheers for the "Mexican mountains."

Lieutenant Pike says in his journal that these mountains are a natural boundary between Louisiana and New Mexico. On that day and the next they marched about twenty miles toward the mountains, which were so distinct that on the following day, Monday, they pushed forward, confidently expecting to reach them before night; but after passing over about twenty-four miles there was still no visible difference in the distance yet to travel. On Tuesday, Pike made a sketch of the mountains before him, while his men killed seventeen buffalo, so that they had "one hundred and thirty-six marrow bones to eat." On Thursday they marched eighteen miles, on Friday twenty-one miles, and on Saturday seventeen miles, having an encounter on that day with some thieving Indians, and still the coveted mountains were far away.

Building a rude fort near where the city of Pueblo now stands, and leaving the supplies and most of the men, Pike started at one o'clock in the afternoon, thinking he could surely reach the foot of the blue mountain (Pike's Peak) that night. But after he had proceeded up the valley twelve or more miles he camped with his men under a cedar tree on the prairie, having no water and suffering much from the cold. The next day, November 25, they marched early in the morning, hoping to reach the mountain and to ascend it, but after tramping twenty-two miles they were content to camp at its base.

The next day, November 26, they left their provisions and blankets, expecting probably to return by noon, and commenced the ascent of what is now known as Cheyenne mountain. They climbed all day and then slept in a cave without blankets, food, or water. The sky was clear but it was snowing below them. The next morning they stood on the summit, hungry, dry, and sore, "but amply compensated by the sublimity of the prospect below. The unbounded prairie was overhung with clouds, which appeared like the ocean in a storm, wave piled on wave, and foaming." They found the snow middle deep. The summit of the "Grand Peak" now appeared fifteen miles or more distant, bare of vegetation, and covered with snow. It seemed as high again as the mountain they had climbed. Pike thought it would take another day to reach its base, and it was his opinion that no human being could reach its summit. His men had no stockings; he had only thin overalls, so they descended, and found to their discomfort their provisions all destroyed. It was snowing, and they all four huddled under a rock and made a meal out of a partridge, their first food for forty-eight hours.

A few days later Pike took the altitude of the peak and made it 18,581 feet. It is now known to be 14,147. His chief error was in supposing that his camp was 8,000 feet above the sea, instead of about 5,000. People ride now to the summit of Pike's Peak in carriages, up and back in a day, and a railroad is being completed, similar to the one at Mount Washington.

Pike's party subsequently passed through some terrible experiences. In mid-winter they were eight hundred miles from the frontier. They had to cut up their blankets for stockings and make shoes out of buffalo hide. At one time they were without a mouthful of food for four days. Some of the men froze their feet and had to be temporarily left behind in the wilderness. Pike shared all hardships with his companions. When one man exclaimed that it was more than human nature could bear to go three days without eating and carry burdens fit only for horses through snow three feet deep, Pike reproved him and then pardoned him, but told his men that death would be the penalty if such seditious language was heard again. The party, after struggling around in the mountains for some time, found themselves on the Red river, as they supposed, and were going to descend it, but it proved to be the Rio Grande river in Spanish territory. The Spaniards arrested them and took them to Santa Fé and to Old Mexico, where they were detained a long time.

Pike in his journal indulges in some remarks that sound queerly enough now. He says that the Arkansas river is navigable clear to the mountains. He thinks that the best route from the Atlantic to the Pacific will be up

the Arkansas in boats to the mountain, then a land carriage of two hundred miles, then down the Colorado river. He ventured the assertion that he could find a place in the mountains from which he could march in one day to the headwaters of the Yellowstone, Platte, Colorado, Arkansas, or Rio Grande rivers. He was right except as to the Yellowstone. That place would be about where Salida now is.

He says that one great advantage of the great plains to the United States will be "the restriction of population to some certain limits. Our citizens being so prone to rambling and extending themselves on the frontier will through necessity be constrained to limit their extent on the west to the borders of the Missouri and Mississippi, while they leave the prairies, incapable of cultivation, to the wandering and uncivilized aborigines." Even Washington Irving as late as 1835 wrote in one of his books that the great plains of the far west would probably be inhabited in the future by a hybrid race made up of Indians and fugitives from justice. This is rather hard on the inhabitants of Denver and other Colorado towns.

R. V. Cross.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

THE PICKERING MANUSCRIPTS

The mass of manuscripts left by Colonel Timothy Pickering at his death in 1829, arranged by his sons, and presented by his grandson to the Massachusetts Historical Society, has been for the last two years in process of indexing; and it is hoped that the index may, before very long, be in a condition to be given to the public. It is difficult to over-estimate the value or interest of this historical work.

Beginning in the year 1763, when Pickering was a boy at Harvard college, the series is unbroken until his death—comprising, besides an enormous number of letters from and to nearly all the eminent Americans of the time, a large quantity of miscellaneous writings on all the questions in which he took a public or private interest. His biography has already been written, but his biographer, Mr. Upham, has been strangely silent on some of the most interesting points of his career; it is doubtful if the son who wrote the first volume of his father's biography would have been so timid. Colonel Pickering himself stoutly combated throughout his life the maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, declaring that it should be *De mortuis nil nisi verum*; and he would have been the last to desire that his biographer should keep out of sight any part of his history for fear that his action might be misinterpreted by superficial judges. His courage was too high and his motives too pure to fear any opinion; at the same time he would have asserted his right to justice, even at the expense of the reputation of other eminent men. Mr. Upham has ignored—it is impossible that he should have overlooked—the strong evidence contained in these volumes, that the dismissal by President Adams of Pickering from the office of secretary of state and of James McHenry from the war office, as well as the undignified and unfortunate mission to France of 1799, were the consequence of a bargain with the leaders of the anti-federalist party. These leaders, although they deceived and deserted President Adams in the end, made these measures a condition of supporting him for a re-election in 1800, on which his heart was set. As, according to a letter from John Pickering to his father, dated August 11, 1809, President Adams allowed his own family to circulate the statement that Colonel Pickering was dismissed from office for suppressing important foreign despatches, it is the more remarkable that Mr. Upham

could reconcile the concealment of these facts with the duty of an honest biographer.

Colonel Timothy Pickering was born at Salem, Mass., on the 6th of July, 1745, and graduated from Harvard college in the class of 1763. He adopted the profession of the law and practiced at Salem, serving at the same time in various public capacities until the outbreak of the Revolution, when he raised a regiment of which he was chosen colonel, and served with it through the New Jersey campaign of 1777. He was soon afterward appointed adjutant-general by Washington in 1778, a member of the board of war, and in 1780, quartermaster-general. At the close of the war he engaged in business in Philadelphia, but soon removed to Wyoming, where he was appointed by the council of Pennsylvania a commissioner to examine and confirm land claims, in the hope of composing the dissensions arising out of the conflicting claims of that state and Connecticut. In 1791 he was made postmaster-general by Washington, who intrusted him while in that office with several important missions to the Indians. Appointed successively secretary of war and secretary of state, he remained a cabinet officer until removed from office by President Adams in 1800. Returning to Massachusetts, his native state, he was immediately chosen a member of the United States senate, and served as senator and representative until 1816, when he declined a re-election, and retired to Salem, where he filled various offices of public trust until his death.

No one who merely reads Colonel Pickering's published biography, high as may be the opinion of him formed thereby, can have such an idea of the many-sided excellences of his character as has impressed itself on the mind of the compiler of this index, who has plodded patiently through every word of every letter of this voluminous correspondence, and to whom it soon became a labor of love. Without the literary attainments or brilliant abilities of some of his contemporaries, his honesty and sincerity of character, his entire disinterestedness, his courage, patience and generosity, made him equal to every occasion. In one of the most trying situations of his life, in the summer of 1788, taken from his bed at Wyoming, away from his terrified wife and family by a gang of the adherents of John Franklin, then in prison for treason at Philadelphia, and carried off led by a chain into the woods, his life threatened in the hope of compelling him to promise to exert himself for Franklin's release, he repeatedly refused to be set at liberty on that condition; saying that "the executive council of Pennsylvania knew their duty better than to discharge a traitor to procure the release of an innocent man." And while wandering about in the woods with his captors, dragged from place to place to avoid the

parties of militia who were sure to be sent upon their track, we find him coolly recording in his journal various bits of agricultural information obtained from the countrymen who held him prisoner, whose confidence he appears speedily to have won by his courage and cheerful equanimity; and writing to his wife, that "the dignity and safety of the state cannot be sacrificed to the interests of an individual family." How many men after suffering such an outrage would have consented under certain conditions to intercede for the pardon of the "poor wretches," as he calls them, whom he considered to be deceived and misguided men, abandoned by the leaders who had instigated them to violence? And how many would, like him in his later years, have forgiven the miserable newspaper slanderers who circulated falsehoods about him, because he learned that their families were in want while the criminals themselves were in jail until the damages adjudged in the libel suits decided against them should be paid?

As a public officer he seems to have enjoyed the entire confidence of congress, of the two Presidents under whom he held office, and indeed of every one with whom he came in contact, if we are to judge by their letters; although he had several times to suffer the mortification, intense to a man of his honest and straightforward disposition, of being disavowed and deserted by the government which had given him full discretionary powers, in virtue of which he pledged his personal faith for the fulfillment of promises which were afterward broken. In his office of quartermaster general he was authorized by congress to issue specie certificates in payment for the supplies of provisions and forage of which the army stood in most pressing need, with the assurance that they should be redeemed in coin. When the certificates became due congress was unable or unwilling to redeem them, and Colonel Pickering was once, if not more, sued by the public creditors, and, until laws forbidding such suits were passed by the state legislatures, was continually in danger of arrest. In the Wyoming land controversy, invested with power by the government of Pennsylvania to examine and confirm the claims of the old Connecticut settlers, he had the disappointment of seeing all his labors set at naught by the repeal of the confirming law, through the influence of Pennsylvania land-jobbers and of those political adventurers whose aim was to fish in the troubled waters of anarchy, and to carve out from the territory of Pennsylvania a new state in which they should be the great men. And in the matter of his ratification as Indian commissioner of the lease given by the Cayugas to John Richardson in 1791, after giving in his report to General Knox, then secretary of war, the most convincing proof that the ratification was in exact accordance with his orders "to leave nothing un-

done which could serve to allay the jealousy of the Indians," we find him recording the fact that President Washington himself, worked upon apparently by Governor George Clinton and other mighty land-jobbers, wrote to Clinton officially "that the commissioner to treat with the Indians misunderstood and exceeded his instructions."

Colonel Pickering's letters as secretary of state have the dignity of perfect simplicity and directness. There is no diplomatic beating about the bush to make the same combination of words mean yes or no, as shall suit future expediencies; there is never the slightest doubt as to what he means. On occasions when severity was necessary, that severity, though clothed in terms entirely courteous, is scathing, as is shown in various letters to insolent and assuming French and Spanish officers; in one in particular, addressed to M. Létombe, the French consul-general in the United States, who demanded exemption, by virtue of his office, from all civil processes, such as had been impertinently brought against him for payment of a debt. Another very characteristic letter is to one Colonel Beriah Norton, who had been so misguided as to hint that it should not be for Colonel Pickering's disadvantage if a certain piece of business, in which Colonel Norton was interested, could be hurried through the state department. Colonel Pickering replied as follows:

"April 20, 1800.

Sir,—I have received your letter, and herewith return it. I do not choose to have such a letter in my possession. You entirely mistake my character in imagining that any prospect or hope of future gain will at all incite me to do whatever my special duty requires. I disdain the assurance you give me, that in case you succeed in your claim, I shall not be forgotten; that 'you will deal honorably with me for such extra service' as you suppose I must perform in your behalf. By your smooth, insinuating manners, I thought you well calculated for the business you had undertaken—soliciting compensation from the British government. But I am sorry that you should believe an indirect course requisite in your own. However much reason I have to resent the promise you make me of reward, I shall perform what my official situation calls for in behalf of the citizens who have just claims on the British government; but do not again insult me by any tender or promise of reward.

My clerks are and will be too much engaged while congress continues in session to proceed in your business; when it adjourns your papers shall be taken up.

I am, sir, Your h'ble servant,

TIMOTHY PICKERING."

Was it any wonder that a man like this retired to private life poor? A secretary of state of our day, even a speaker of the House of Representatives, would have known better how to make use of his opportunities.

To the earnest and thorough student of American history, the documentary evidence contained in these volumes must throw light upon many doubtful points. If the ease with which a misstatement is refuted bore any proportion to the ease with which it is made, these documents would be of equal value in disproving many misrepresentations and absolute falsehoods. But, as the wise man has said: "A lie will travel from Maine to Georgia, while sober truth is putting on his boots;" and a celebrated Massachusetts politician is said to have made a powerful political weapon of the fact that as he said; "For ten people that listen to a lie about a man, there won't five listen to the contradiction of it." A work like *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography* will be within the reach of and consulted by ten thousand times as many people as will ever read the contents of these coming volumes; and it is surprising that in a work of such importance, which must influence who knows how distant a future, more trustworthy writers should not have been employed. A specimen or two of their accuracy in regard to the subject of this paper may be cited. Under the heading "Franklin, John," it is stated that Franklin, who was one of the ringleaders in the Wyoming land troubles, was kidnapped by Timothy Pickering with a band of frontier roughs, and taken to Philadelphia, loaded with irons, where he was kept fourteen months in jail without trial. The original chief-justice's warrant for Franklin's arrest on a charge of treason is bound up in this collection. Pickering had nothing whatever to do with the arrest, and his participation in the affair was confined to assisting to secure the prisoner on his passage through Wilkes-Barre, being called upon for such assistance by the officers who had him in charge. The irons appear to have consisted in tying Franklin's feet together under his horse to overcome his violent resistance, and the inference is strong, from Pickering's correspondence with his friends in Philadelphia, although it is nowhere distinctly so stated, that the delay of his trial was at his own request. He was finally released on bail, and never tried at all.

Another misstatement, one which does not need the evidence of these volumes to disprove it, is under the name of Samuel White, a senator, who the writer states defended Timothy Pickering at his trial in 1809 for embezzling the public funds. Timothy Pickering! of whom it was said by his assistant quartermaster, Peter Anspach: "I believe there is no other

such case known of a quartermaster-general and his assistants voluntarily applying money justly due to themselves to support the public credit, and leaving themselves moneyless." And the same Peter Anspach afterward complains that one great source of confusion in the accounts which he was employed to settle was Colonel Pickering's practice of assuming other men to be as honest as himself. The most superficial research into the history of his subject would have shown the writer in *Appleton's Cyclopædia* that the person defended by Senator White was John Pickering, judge of the United States district court in New Hampshire, and a distant relation of the Salem family, who was impeached for misconduct in office attributed by his friends to insanity.

To return to more doubtful points in our history which are illustrated by these manuscripts. The federalist party has been described as determined in 1798 on war with France at all hazards, and only overpowered by the coming into power of Mr. Jefferson in 1801. In all the letters of the period between 1795 and 1800, most of them the confidential correspondence of Pickering, as well with Washington as with Jay, Cabot, Fisher, Ames, Stephen Higginson, Rufus King, Hamilton, and Pinckney, all federalist leaders, there is only one instance of any such expressed desire for war, when Stephen Higginson writes, January 1, 1799: "It is thought that we ought to become openly parties to the war, that we may also become parties to a general peace." The prevailing spirit of the letters is: "We must be thoroughly prepared for an invasion, our merchant ships must be armed for defence, and the men-of-war sweep the coast clear of these insolent privateers; then let France declare war if she dare!" One cannot avoid a conjecture as to how far the relations between America, France, and England would have been changed, had this dignified attitude been persisted in ten years longer.

Again, the war of 1812 is called "Mr. Madison's war," and that gentleman is said to have been determined on war with England. Mr. Schurz, in his life of Henry Clay, Vol. I., pages 83, 84, says that Clay was supposed to have influenced Mr. Madison by threats of desertion to declare war, but always denied the fact, and that there is no evidence to discredit his denial. In a letter from Captain Abraham Shepherd to Colonel Pickering, dated February 20, 1814, Vol. XXX., page 227, Captain Shepherd says that his friend, General Thomas Worthington of Ohio, also an intimate friend of Mr. Madison, on his departure from Washington just before the declaration, left Mr. Madison fully determined on sending Mr. Bayard on a peace mission to England. On his return a few weeks later, he found to his surprise and sorrow that war had been declared. On waiting upon

the president to inquire the reason of the change, he was told that a committee of Mr. Madison's supporters, among whom was Henry Clay, had visited him, and threatened to withdraw their adherence unless he complied with their desire for war; and he was compelled (after privately endeavoring, according to another correspondent, to induce Senator Smith of Maryland to vote against the measure, which Smith refused to do) to accede to their demands.

Enough has been revealed to demonstrate the variety of interesting and valuable documents contained in this collection, though much more might be stated here. The index is rather a catalogue than a simple index, abstracts of all the letters being given with entries under all subjects of any importance. If one half the interest which it deserves should be excited by this compendium of the history of fifty years, the compiler will not have toiled in vain.

J. B. E. Green

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CAPTAIN ROBERT BRIDGES

FOUNDER OF THE FIRST IRON WORKS IN AMERICA *

Among the Puritan worthies who planted the colony of Massachusetts bay and were first as to public service in the settlement of Lynn was a man known to his contemporaries, in the stately language of the times, as the Worshipful Captain Robert Bridges. His home was on the west bank of Saugus river, upon what is now Central street in Saugus Centre, southwest from "the Cinder Banks." His years in Lynn were not many in number, but crowded with activities public and private. He took the freeman's oath June 2, 1641, the form of which, as prescribed by the general court as early as 1634, is significant of the intentions of the settlers from the absence of any reference to the government of the king. It reads as follows :

"I, A. B., being by God's providence an inhabitant and freeman within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth, do freely acknowledge myself to be subject to the government thereof, and therefore do swear by the great and dreadful name of the ever-living God that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support thereunto, with my person and estate, as in equity I am bound, and will also truly endeavor to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome laws and orders made and established by the same ; and further, that I will not plot nor practice any evil against it, nor consent to any that shall do so, but will timely discover and reveal the same to lawful authority now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof. Moreover, I do solemnly bind myself, in the sight of God, that when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matter of this state, wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons or favor of any man. So help me God, in the Lord Jesus Christ."

In the same year that Mr. Bridges took the oath he became a member of the " Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," and also was made captain of the Lynn militia company. In 1642 he went to London and formed the Iron Works Company as related elsewhere. He returned with the younger Winthrop whom he had interested in the cause. In 1644 he became a member of the quarterly court at Salem and was elected a deputy to the general court from Lynn—also in 1645 and 1646, in which latter year he was made speaker.

* *Magazine of American History* for November, 1889 [vol. xxii. 404].

Under the colonial charter a very large portion of the governing power of the colony was vested in a select and limited body of influential men known as the governor and assistants. During the whole of what is called the colonial period, from 1630 to 1692, Lynn was only represented in this board by two persons. The first was John Humfrey, one of the men to whom the charter was granted, who had come over with his wife—the daughter of the great Puritan nobleman, Earl of Lincoln—as a promoter of the colony rather than as a permanent settler. After the success of the movement was assured he returned to England. Captain Bridges was chosen an assistant in 1646, and remained in the office till his death in 1656. He went to the board of assistants directly from the speakership of the house of deputies or representatives. As speaker he stands alone as the only Lynn man who was advanced to that honorable post during the colonial period.

John Burrill, "the beloved speaker," subsequently held similar positions, but his service was after the Puritan experiment of a free commonwealth had been suspended by the charter of William and Mary, and Massachusetts was ruled by governors appointed by the king instead of chosen by the people. Speaker Burrill's house on the southern slope of Tower Hill also looked out upon the river where the tides covered the great marshes upon its banks.

A paper somewhat noted in our local annals, bearing the autographs of many of the first settlers, called the "Armitage petition," appears in Mr. Bridges' handwriting and shows him to have been an elegant penman. The document is a prayer of the leading citizens:

That Jane Armitage may be licensed to keep the ordinary, instead of her husband Joseph, whose "labours & indeauors have beene blasted, and his aims & ends frustrated by a just hand, beinge also made incapable of such other ymploym^t as hee is personally fitted for by reason of the sensure vnder w^{ch} for the p^sent he lyeth & alsoe being outed of such trade & comerce as might have afforded supportacon to his familie consistinge of Diuers p^{er}sons & small Children in comiseracon of whom, together with yo^r peticonesse, the inhabitants of o^r town were pleased (as farr as in them lay) to continue yo^r poore peticonesse in the Custodie of the said Ordinary, & that benefit w^{ch} might accrew from the same to take towards makeinge of theire liues the more comfortable; wherevpon & by reason whereof yo^r peticonesse said husband procured the most convenient bowse in Lynn for the purpose albeit itt was very ruinous & much cost bestowed respectinge his p^sent condition in repaireinge & fittinge vp of the same accordingly."

The first signers were Samuel Whiting, pastor, and Thomas Cobbett, teacher, of the church of Lynn; then, at a respectful distance, follow the names of the laymen, led by the clear signature of Robert Bridges. It

would make a modern board of aldermen or selectmen amazed to receive a petition for a tavern license signed by the clergymen of the place. The tavern was the old "Anchor," a noted hostelry for many generations down to the time when landlord Jacob Newhall kept it, and occupied the best pew in the third parish meeting-house by virtue of paying the largest parish tax. If the saintly Whiting and the astute Bridges had lived in these days the whole pack of wiseacre agitators would have been barking at their heels. They were accounted godly and wise men in their day and generation. Is it not possible that their conservatism and regulation were the fruit of deep observation of human nature—which human nature is about the same now as then?

We know less of the manner of life of Mr. Bridges than of many of his contemporaries who were not half as influential, because he lacked certain angular points that marked them. We hear much about his neighbor Farmer Dexter, because his temper brought him into trouble as a reviler of dignitaries. We are familiar with Bennet because he was a common sleeper in meeting, and by reason of his litigation with the Iron Works Company. We get an idea of what manner of man Captain Marshall was from the yarns he spun about his service with Cromwell—which stories his guests recorded in their note-books and then printed. Others are pictured to us through family tradition. Yet we can without any of these aids form a fair estimate of the daily life of this Puritan pioneer. That he walked in straitest Puritan ways his constant service in the board of assistants testifies.

Historians are fond of enlarging upon the power of the Puritan clergy. In one very important matter they had absolutely no authority. John Winthrop and his followers regarded marriage as a purely civil contract. Speaking of them Governor Hutchinson says: "I suppose there had been no instance of a marriage lawfully celebrated by a layman in England when they left it. I believe there was no instance of marriage by a clergyman after they arrived, during their charter, but the service was always performed by a magistrate, or by persons specially appointed in particular towns or districts." The magistrates were the governor, the deputy governor, and the assistants. For ten years, from 1646 to 1656, one of the functions of Mr. Bridges was the legalizing the union of the young people of Lynn in the state of matrimony.

The colonial statute regarding the ceremony of marriage was passed in the year that Captain Bridges became a member of the court of assistants. As an illustration of Puritan views the following is copied from "The Book of the General Laws and Libertyes concerning the Inhabitants of the Massa-

chusets, collected out of the Records of the General Court, for the years wherein they were made and established," and printed at Cambridge in 1660:

"As the Ordinance of Marriage is honourable amongst all, so should it be accordingly solemnized. It is therefore Ordered by this Court and Authority thereof. That no person whatsoever in this jurisdiction, shall joyne any persons together in Marriage, but the magistrate, or such other as the General Court, or Court of Assistants shal Authorize in such place, where no Magistrate is near. Nor shal any joyne themselves in marriage, but before some magistrate or person authorized as aforesaid. Nor shal any magistrate, or other person authorized as aforesaid, joyne any persons together in marriage, or suffer them to joyne together in marriage in their presence, before the parties to be marryed have been published according to Law."

After the death of Captain Bridges Lynn was one of the places described as "where no magistrate is near." It may seem strange to those who have been taught that our fathers were a stern race to learn that the man selected to succeed Mr. Bridges in tying the nuptial knot was the redoubtable Thomas Marshall, formerly parliamentary soldier, transformed into the jolly Boniface of the Blew Anchor. Yet he was thus empowered by the general court on the 18th of October, 1659. The records of the quarterly court also state that during the next month, November, "Thomas Marshall, of Lynn, is allowed by this Court, to sell strong water to travellers, and also other meet provisions." Thus all the inhabitants of Lynn who dared the perils of either matrimony or of "strong water" thereafter applied at the door of the old tavern which has been so lovingly immortalized by our local historians.

With his other accomplishments Captain Bridges was a skillful diplomat. From 1632 to 1654, the famed land of Acadia, extending from Nova Scotia to the cloud-covered domes of the isle of the desert mountains, was in possession of France. Two rival French governors, D'Aulnay and La Tour, fought for supremacy. La Tour sought aid from Massachusetts. It required shrewd management to avoid entanglement with the crafty Frenchmen, and consequent war with the offended party. Finally in 1645 a treaty was signed, pledging the colonists to neutrality. Captain Bridges was the Massachusetts commissioner. He was accompanied by Richard Walker and Thomas Marshall, both valiant soldiers, whose homes were upon the shores of Saugus river. Pecuniary compensation was then exceedingly modest; for "good services" in this mission Captain Bridges was allowed ten pounds, Lieutenant Walker four pounds, and Sergeant Marshall forty shillings. In the young Puritan commonwealth public service was a duty to be freely rendered.

Even in the present age when the shrill whistle of the mammoth steamer echoes against the rock-ribbed headlands of Maine, and the muffled response of distant lighthouse bells peals mournfully across the sullen waters from Boone island or Monhegan or Owlshead, the voyage to the Acadia of song and history is weird and exciting. When Robert Bridges and his companions skirted the grim coast in clumsy sailing-vessels, the only sounds that broke upon the ear were the flapping sails, the splash of waters cut by the sharp prow, or the sombre waves beating upon some dangerous reef. The land to which they journeyed was filled with their hereditary enemies—the murderous Indian and the Jesuit Frenchman. Although nearly two and a half centuries ago, and the actors all gone, the scenes remain almost as they were then—the uneasy, ever-moving sea, Mount Agamenticus against the sky, the blue hills of Camden, and above all that calm, steady guide of mariners, the north star, still and forever pointing onward. Bridges and his colleagues diplomatically steered their bark between Scylla and Charybdis. The confederacy of New England held aloof from the contestants; D'Aulnay captured La Tour's fort at St. Johns, and the fortune of war went against La Tour, who was apparently ruined. D'Aulnay, however, opportunely died, whereupon La Tour married his widow and recovered his lost possessions.

As a fit sequel to this episode Cromwell, who was ever watchful of the colonies, sent secret instructions to Boston which resulted in the subjugation of the whole of Acadia by Massachusetts in 1654. It remained in possession of the English while Cromwell lived; then by the treaty of Breda in 1667 Charles II. ceded Acadia with its vast and undefined limits to France, to become a foot-ball of European intrigues for a century.

Mr. Newhall in his history of Lynn, while giving Mr. Bridges full credit for his talents and strong character, seems to think he was hard and masterful in his relations with inferiors. It is to be remembered that he was a magistrate in a new country where it was considered necessary to hold a tight rein over the conduct of adventurers who disturbed the well-ordered plan of the Puritan theocracy. Violators of established rules naturally complained of those who restrained them. His associates found nothing in him to condemn. Robert Keayne, the eminent merchant of Boston, the first commander of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, unconsciously put on record testimony of his domestic life, when he wrote in his will these words: "I have forgott one Loveing Couple more that came not to my minde till I was shutting vp; that is Cap^t Bridges & wife to whom I give forty shillings."

No man who lacked suavity and winning social manners could have persuaded calculating London merchants to have ventured their dearly loved funds in an iron works experiment across the Atlantic, in a savage and unknown land. To negotiate a successful treaty with subtle Frenchmen required all the powers of a keen and polished man of affairs. The uniform success of Mr. Bridges in everything he undertook, his continued advancement in places of trust and power, are better witnesses for our judgment of his character than the whine of those who felt his righteous discipline.

Edward Johnson in his *Wonder-Working Providence* thus tersely sums up the character of Mr. Bridges: "He was endued with able parts, and forward to improve them to the Glory of God and his people's good."

Nathan M. Hawkes

LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE FRENCH ARMY IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

COUNT DE FERSEN'S PRIVATE LETTERS TO HIS FATHER, 1780-81

[CONCLUSION.]

NEWPORT, 3d *April*, 1781.

It is impossible to determine yet what part we are to take in this war. It cannot last long. For the past ten months, we have been but a mere handful of men on this island. We have done absolutely nothing. The south is being devastated by the British, and we are powerless to stop it because of our limited forces. Should the English continue to be successful, the entire south will inevitably be theirs. Utter discouragement will be the result of such a loss, and peace the certain consequence.

We are still awaiting news from that part of the states. It is said that Lord Cornwallis, who has command of the British troops in that section of country, had imprudently advanced inland and been obliged to retreat, that he had fallen back on a very favorable position but was surrounded now by the militia of the country, and that according to all appearances, he will either be captured or cut all to pieces if he attempts a retreat. A month has passed, however, and the rumor has not been confirmed. I myself could scarcely credit it at the time. The first bit of news we shall receive will be interesting indeed.

I informed you, my dear father, that Arnold had been sent by the enemy to commit as many depredations as possible around Chesapeake bay. He had been stationed there since January. A plan was formed to undertake his capture. We made a junction with fifteen hundred Americans under the command of Lafayette; seventeen hundred of us were embarked on a fleet under the leadership of Baron Vioménil. They left on the 18th of March. Enclosed in this you will find an account of the engagement that took place. You will see that we were fairly successful, although we did not obtain what we started out to get, because the British forces are occupying the very spot we were anxious to capture, so that we have been obliged to return here. I had always thought that a victory alone could be claimed when the object aimed for had been achieved. Two of our vessels were so roughly handled that when Monsieur Destouches signaled to begin hostilities they ran up flags of distress. There were only four

English sail actively engaged in this combat; the others fired from a distance. The number of our wounded or our dead amounts to nearly three hundred. The account I enclose only reports *two hundred*. I have only been able to correct the grossest of the errors, for, if I were to attempt to correct all, I should have to rewrite it.

NEWPORT, 11th *April*, 1781.

In the south the British under the command of Cornwallis have just gained no inconsiderable victory over General Greene, who is at the head of the American forces there. We do not know what the result of this victory will be. I think perhaps it will assure Lord Cornwallis's safe retreat. Daily I hear this leader so accused of thoughtlessness and incapacity that I can scarcely believe a man can be a poor general who up to the present has always been successful, and who penetrating too far into an enemy's country, and being surrounded on all sides, with capture staring him inevitably in the face, begins a well-ordered retreat, halts when he finds an advantageous position, beats the enemy and forces them to retire some twenty miles from the field of action. This war does honor to the English, although their generals have behaved very badly in America. As for ourselves we shall not reap any glory, I fear. The winter is entirely over, and we are having the most delightful weather: it is even sometimes very warm. We are daily expecting a merchant ship with the second division aboard. Of course the arrival of these troops will decide our future plan of action for the coming campaign.

NEWPORT, 13th *May*, 1781.

Nothing has occurred since my last missive. We are still quietly occupying Newport, the English New York, and General Washington New Windsor on the Hudson. Heaven only knows when we shall leave this port where we have been so long stationed. The campaign in the south is about over; we are nearing the summer solstice, a season during which all war operations are impossible without considerable loss of life through heat and malaria. Lord Cornwallis has pushed on to Camden, from thence to Charlestown where he will spend the summer, to begin operations again in the fall. We are actually preparing for the march; every one is busy with his equipments. I have already told you what mine consist of. My comrades are provided with sutlers' stores, but I thought these quite a heavy and useless expense for me. I shall not be quite as comfortably off, perhaps, as they are, but it is too costly.

NEWPORT, 17th *May*, 1781.

It is impossible to form any conjectures about the campaign which we will soon be engaged in ; what news the general has received from France we are in ignorance of, nor the strength of the reinforcements which are to be sent. Some say six hundred and twenty, others fifteen hundred men ; others again pretend that Monsieur de Grasse, who set sail for the West Indies with twenty-one ships and ten thousand men, will be here with a part of these as soon as all traces of winter disappear and make it possible to begin operations in this part of the country. That will be about July or August. Should this be true we could then undertake the siege of New York at once, where we might reasonably expect success. Without these heavy reinforcements, however, this would be indeed a chimera, a dream to which we have sacrificed much. Should these forces not arrive, we shall evacuate Rhode Island and establish our military stores at Providence, whither we have already dispatched a part of our artillery and equipments. We shall march to the North river, from whence we shall make our approach to New York, which we shall threaten, thus preventing General Clinton from sending off detachments and give General Washington time to go to Virginia to dislodge Arnold and destroy the British post which seems to be settling there with a view to remain. Perhaps the Americans will camp before New York, and possibly we may undertake the Virginia expedition. I should certainly prefer this. Such was, indeed, the plan of action before the arrival of the frigate which brought us the new admiral and the court dispatches. Since then I have not the slightest idea what changes have been made in the first plan. I think, however, it will be carried out as it is unless Monsieur de Grasse arrives. A conference is to take place shortly between General Washington and Monsieur de Rochambeau. They are to meet at Hartford as they did last year, forty miles from here. Probably a campaign plan will then be decided upon. If it is only an active one and something accomplished in the end, I shall be satisfied. We have long enough been inactive and shamefully so. It would have certainly been wiser to have sent America at the outset the money it has cost the king for our maintenance here ; they would have made better use of it. What was needed here was an army, say, of fifteen thousand men or nothing. Only five thousand men were sent, and these have been garrisoned in Newport ever since, of no earthly use to the Americans except to consume their provisions and raise the market prices. I do hope we shall at last shake off this lethargy and become actively engaged.

I have nothing new to tell you about my own affairs, dear father, as

nothing has been done about them since last I mentioned them to you. I wish something were settled for me, as I begin to weary of being with Monsieur de Rochambeau. He seems to single me out, to be sure, with his attention, for all of which I am grateful, of course; but his manner is defiant, insultingly so. He seems to have more confidence in me than in my comrades, but that is not saying much. He does not trust his officers either, who are quite displeased, as are the superior army officers; but they have the tact to hide their feelings and to work for the good of the cause.

We push economy to such an extreme that we keep no spies in New York because this would be an outlay of some fifty louis a month. We have to depend therefore entirely on General Washington for all our information, leaving the Americans to provide the spies when they can ill afford to pay them; consequently these latter have to sacrifice themselves for love of country. By these means we always have belated news. The result will be that we will some day have no news at all, for men who work for nothing will soon get tired of being hung for nothing!

We are still preparing to march, but when we leave here for good I do not know. A part of our artillery and camp furniture is stored at Providence. The general officers are completing their military arrangements.

Our army, unfortunately, is as little disciplined as the French army always is under ordinary circumstances. Our chiefs are very strict, and not a day passes that there are not some two or three of the officers placed under arrest. I have myself seen some lamentable scenes where a whole corps of men ought to have been cashiered, but as we only number five thousand we cannot afford to lose one man.

Yesterday the fleet was ordered to sail, and we furnished a contingent of five hundred men to complete the crews of these vessels, which have scarcely any sailors left and which our own land forces are compelled to replace. Our colonels are indignant at this, and with reason, for it grieves me. This makes us five hundred men short, and we really need all our soldiers. I think the squadron is to sail out to meet the French convoy which is to help us. We were told that the British had sent out two vessels and a frigate to try and intercept ours.

NEWPORT, 3d *June*, 1781.

At last we leave. Our army will be on the march in about eight to ten days. This is the result of the conference between the generals. What their campaign plan is, where we are to be sent to, is a secret as yet, and will remain so. I hope we will see active service and not be garrisoned again in some small town. Our fleet stays here protected by the American

militia and four hundred of our troops. I pity those who are to serve in that detachment. Our army is delighted to leave.

Nothing of importance has happened since my last letter. The English are making further inroads in the south; they burn and plunder wherever they go, but they sow money broadcast and thus make "friends unto themselves." In a short while all that part of America will be conquered; then the British will recognize the independence of the northern and keep the southern states for themselves. I leave you to judge how glorious that will be for the royal arms. What confirms me in this idea is that everything tends to a complete evacuation of New York. They have sent off several detachments, and just an hour ago twenty-five hundred men were dispatched; a great many things are being shipped off during the night. After the evacuation the inhabitants will not be permitted to leave. Should they take all their forces from New York to carry them south, they will act wisely. I am obliged to close.

YORK, 23d *October*, 1781.

As I have no time to give you the slightest account of the siege I enclose in this a small diary of our operations. The campaign is over for this year and we are to take up our winter quarters in this neighborhood; our headquarters will be in Williamsburg, an ugly little town that looks like a village. To all appearances we shall open a campaign next year on Charlestown which we shall complete by a siege and capture. The English will assuredly not fail to send troops from New York to this southern section of America, where we shall have active warfare. It appears that there is nothing else left for General Clinton to do. Monsieur de Rochambeau has asked for reinforcements; De Grasse will touch here on his return from the Antilles with his twenty-eight vessels. If he is left in command he will bring troops with him, and our united forces ought to be able to make a lively campaign by first capturing Savannah (which Monsieur d'Estaing failed to do), then Charlestown, to crown the work.

I have no doubt whatever that the troops Monsieur de Rochambeau solicited will be sent him, as he knows so well how to make use of them, and he has rendered such signal services already that it seems almost impossible that he should be refused so just a demand. I only fear that peace may be declared. My most ardent wish is that this may not happen yet (for) a while. All our young court colonels are leaving for Paris to spend the winter. Some of them will return here, others will remain behind; these latter will be very much surprised at not having been promoted brigadiers for having assisted at the siege of York, which they think was the finest thing in the world. I shall remain here, as my only reason for

returning to Paris would be for personal gratification and pleasure: so I make the sacrifice. My own affairs have to get along without me. I should only spend my money uselessly; this I ought to economize, as I would rather use my means to carry on the campaign here and complete what I have begun. When I came here I foresaw all the *ennui* I should have to endure; it is but just I should pay for the lessons I have received. △

Diary of military operations annexed to the letter:

After spending eleven months in Newport in complete inactivity the army left it on the 12th of June, 1781, leaving some six hundred men and one thousand of the militia, under the command of Brigadier Choisy, to defend the works we had made there, and to protect our little squadron of eight vessels, which have to stay behind to cover, if need be, our stores in Providence, where are all our siege pieces. The army crossed over from Newport to Providence, and from thence marched by land as far as Philippsburg, fifteen miles from Kingsbridge, where it arrived on the 6th of July and camped to the left of the Americans. The legion of Lauzun had always covered our left flank. They generally kept some ten or twelve miles distant from us, following the coast. Our army was five thousand strong. The Americans numbered some three thousand. Whilst we were at Philippsbourg we made several reconnoissances about Kingsbridge and laid in a considerable supply of provisions. On the 14th of August we received the news of the arrival of Monsieur de Grasse; he had left the Antilles about the 24th of July. I was sent to Newport to hasten the departure of our fleet and the shipping of our artillery to Providence; on the 17th the army left Philippsbourg and arrived the 21st at Kingsbridge on the banks of the North river (or the Hudson) which we took four days to cross; on the 25th inst. we began our march. Two thousand Americans were with us; three thousand of their men were left to guard the defiles near Philippsbourg. Everything had been prepared for the siege of New York; a bakery and other provision stores had been established some four miles from Staten island, at Chatham. Our crossing the North river and march to Morristown seemed to indicate that we were going to attack Sandy Hook to facilitate the entry of our ships into the harbor. It was not long before we perceived that it was not for an attack on New York that we were concentrating our forces. General Clinton, however, was completely deceived, which was just exactly what we wanted. We made our march through New Jersey, which is one of the most beautiful as well as one of the best cultivated states of America, and the army arrived in Philadelphia on the 3d of September. We paraded the streets to the great admiration of the

citizens, who had never before seen so many well-uniformed and well-disciplined men. We remained two days here, when we marched, September 5, to the head of Elk river at the head of Chesapeake bay. On the 6th we were informed that Monsieur de Grasse had arrived on the 3d with twenty-eight vessels in Chesapeake bay, and that three thousand men under the command of Major-General de Saint Simon had landed and joined Lafayette's forces of eighteen hundred at Williamsburg. The movement of our troops being hastened, the whole army met at the head of Elk on the 7th. It was resolved to embark, but the dearth of vessels which the English had captured or destroyed, only allowed the embarkation of eight hundred of our men and seven hundred of the continentals. The remainder with their wagons went to Annapolis and embarked in frigates. The whole force landed and were camped at Williamsburg on the 26th. De Grasse, two days after his arrival in the bay, on the 5th of September discovered a large English fleet of twenty sail. Admiral Hood with his twelve vessels had joined Graves with his eight. De Grasse immediately sailed out with his twenty-four vessels, leaving four ships to guard the York and James rivers. After an engagement which was not over-exciting, the British retired; De Barras then joined De Grasse with his eight sail, and on the 8th of the month all were in the bay.

As soon as we arrived at Williamsburg we set to work to land our campaign pieces and our equipments. All was completed by the 28th, and the army proceeded to besiege Yorktown where Lord Cornwallis was stationed. This town occupies the right bank of the river, with Gloucester on the left. The river is a mile wide, that is to say, the third of a French league. We began to invest the city that very day; the Americans did not complete their arrangements till the day following, as they had a marsh to cross and were delayed by having to rebuild a broken bridge. On the 29th the work was finished and we busied ourselves landing our siege pieces and placing the necessary fascines, sand-bags, hurdles, and musket baskets which we would need for the siege. On the 30th the enemy evacuated their outworks and retired to the body of the place. These outworks consisted of two large redoubts and a battery of two pieces of cannon, separated from the town by a large ravine some sixteen hundred yards. We took it and facilitated our work, as this gave us an opportunity of establishing our first parallel on the other side of the ravine. If this move seemed a gross error on the part of Lord Cornwallis, he must be entirely exonerated, as it was by General Clinton's express orders that he retired to the body of the place, with a promise that General Clinton would assist him.

On the 6th of October at 8 o'clock in the evening we opened a trench some six hundred yards from the outworks ; our right wing leaned toward the river, our left toward the ravine which fell perpendicularly to the town at a third to the right of the works, and which leads to the river to the right of the town. Our trench had been developed about a thousand yards ; it was defended by four palisaded redoubts and five batteries. The ground, which was much cut up by little gullies, facilitated our approach and covered us as we made our way through the trench without forcing us to make a branch one. To our left we had opened another trench leaning toward the river still to the left, and to a wood on the right. We had here a battery of four mortars, two howitzers, and two twenty-four pounders which we used for firing on the river, thus rendering communication between Yorktown and Gloucester very perilous indeed, and which served to keep the enemy's vessels in a constant state of alarm. The British did not keep up much firing after nightfall. For several days we were kept busy palisading the trench, completing the redoubts, and placing our batteries in good order. On the 10th inst. we kept up our firing all day. We had forty-one pieces—cannon, mortars, and howitzers. Our artillery, though skillfully manned and well pointed, did not produce the effect on the sand-works which it would have done on higher ground. We learned through deserters from the enemy's camp that our bombs did efficient work, as the number of the killed and the wounded were considerably on the increase. The besieged fired little, as they had but small pieces of cannon, the largest only an eighteen pounder ; their mortars even were only six to eight inches in diameter, whilst ours measured twelve. During the day they threw a great many bombs and royal hand-grenades, and at night they only used their flying batteries. In the daytime they would mask their pieces behind the parapets. On the night of the 11th inst. we opened our second parallel of two hundred and forty yards ; the left leaning like the first one toward the same ravine, the right toward the redoubt. We could not extend our parallel to the river because of the British redoubts which were within half a range of our guns to the right. We resolved to attack these to complete our parallel. The 14th inst. at 8 o'clock in the evening four hundred riflemen, backed by a thousand men, attacked the redoubt and carried it sword in hand. There were one hundred and sixty men in the place, as many Germans as English. We only made thirty-four prisoners and took three officers. The continentals carried the other redoubt. We worked all night to continue our trench, and on the 15th were under cover ; the English raining down on us, meanwhile, bombs during the night and the whole day.

On the 16th our batteries were completed and we were busy forming our pieces in a battery. On this same morning the besieged, numbering some six hundred men, made a sortie, and entering one of our batteries spiked four guns. They were immediately repulsed, but we met with a loss of twenty killed and wounded, besides having seventeen men carried off as prisoners, amongst whom was an officer. Our soldiers, worn out by the tedious preparations of the siege, had fallen asleep; hence the surprise. On the 17th Lord Cornwallis sent us a flag of truce, begging to surrender. On the 18th the articles of capitulation were drawn up, and on the 19th of October it was duly signed, the troops laid down their arms. There were only ten cannon balls and one bomb in the place. We had in our second parallel six batteries and sixty pieces which were to have kept up the firing during the 17th, 18th, and 19th inst., on which date we had hoped to make the assault.

The legion of Lauzun, with eight hundred troops, ships, and one thousand of the militia, had been stationed at Gloucester to prevent any surprise in that quarter. During the night of the 14th Lord Cornwallis secretly dispatched some two thousand men to Gloucester with orders to force a passage out that way, and in case of success to march directly on to New York, thus crossing some two hundred leagues of an enemy's country! The enterprise was bold, but foolish. He would have perhaps arrived with one hundred men. Lord Cornwallis's only error was remaining in Yorktown at all. This was General Clinton's fault, who ordered him there, and he simply obeyed orders.

We took seven thousand six hundred prisoners, two thousand of whom were sick, and four hundred of whom were wounded. We captured four hundred beautiful dragoon horses; one hundred and seventy-four pieces of cannon, seventy-four of which were bronze; the most of these little artillery pieces were small mortars, measuring only four to six inches in diameter. Then there were some forty ships of no possible account whatever, as they were mostly damaged or sunk. One ship of fifty guns had been set on fire by our own batteries' shelling it with red-hot balls.

Our army was composed of eight thousand men; the continentals numbered nearly the same, making in all between fifteen and sixteen thousand men. We had two hundred and seventy-four killed and wounded, and lost ten officers.

WILLIAMSBURG, 25th *March*, 1782.

The last missive I had the honor of writing you, dear father, was dated the 4th of the month, from Philadelphia. I left there on the 9th inst.

with the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and we arrived here on the 17th. We had a most agreeable journey, for he was so well provided with provisions of all kinds—viz., patés, wine, ham, and bread—that we never realized what miserable fare is to be found at the inns, where nothing but salt meat is to be had, and no bread. In Virginia they eat a cake made of corn-meal which is baked in front of an open fire. This process forms a kind of crust, but the inside of the cake is raw like dough. Their chief drink is "rhum," which is a kind of brandy made from sugar, which when mixed with water is called "grog." As the apple crop was a failure this year, they had no cider. About two hundred and fifty miles from here, in a part of Virginia which is called "the mountains," the character of the country is totally different, the soil is richer, tobacco is extensively cultivated, and not only is wheat grown but all other kinds of fruits. That section which is near the seaboard is called "the plains," and it only grows corn. The chief produce of Virginia is tobacco. This state (the largest of the thirteen) could grow other staples if she wished, but the indolence and pride of the natives are stumbling-blocks to all progressive industry. It really seems as if the Virginians belonged to a totally different race of people, for instead of personally managing their farms, or attending to the business part of it, each land-owner wants to be a lord. No white man ever labors, but the work is all done by black slaves, guarded by white men who in their turn are under an overseer or superintendent, like in the West Indies. In Virginia there are about twenty blacks to one white man. That is the reason this state sends so few soldiers to the field. Business men, of course, are looked upon and considered quite an inferior order of being by the lordly planters, who, not looking on them as gentlemen, preclude them from their society. They (the planters) have mostly aristocratic tendencies; the only wonder is how they were ever induced to form part of a confederation or accept a government founded on perfect equality of rights. That same spirit, however, which prompted them to throw off the British yoke might lead them some day to other (rebellious) outbreaks, and I should not be at all surprised to see Virginia free herself from the other states, once peace is signed.

I am even prepared to see the American government become a perfectly aristocratic one. We have no political news of any importance here. You have no doubt heard of the capture of Saint Christopher; it is a beautiful possession the English have lost. The evacuation of Charlestown is much talked of here, as thirty transport ships had arrived there from New York to carry off the troops. Some forty or fifty sail had been sent there for the same purpose some time ago. Our political wiseacres differ as to the

purport of this evacuation. Some think it is to concentrate all their forces at New York (this appears scarcely probable to me), others think it is to go to the rescue of Jamaica should she be in need of assistance. Since the capture and total dispersion of Monsieur de Guichen's fleet there can be no possible danger to apprehend in that quarter. I am strongly on the side of those who believe that Charlestown is not to be evacuated at all, as I doubt that General Clinton would so hastily decide on so important a matter without orders from the home government, which orders would be the result of a preconceived plan of action that could not possibly have reached here yet.

The capture of a part of Monsieur de Guichen's convoy is a terrible loss to us, for, besides all the ammunition and stores with which his ships were laden (all of which can to a certain extent be replaced), we have lost what is more precious still—*time* which never can be made up, and we have failed totally in the expedition to Jamaica. Admiral Rodney arrived in the West Indies with ten ships of troops; this of course makes his position infinitely superior to that of De Grasse, and may change the state of things considerably in that quarter of the globe.

YORKTOWN, 27th *March*, 1782.

We left Williamsburg this morning—the Chevalier de la Luzerne, Monsieur de Rochambeau, and I—for a little journey of some five or six days' duration. We are going to Portsmouth, situated on the other side of the James river, and from thence we go to Cape Henry. On arriving here, as I learned that a little vessel was leaving to-morrow for Europe, I could not help sending this.

To-day a ship arrived from Martinique, and by it we are told that no engagement has taken place between our fleet and the British, that this latter passed right through our lines to assist at Saint Christopher, but their efforts being repulsed they set fire to their transport ships, which were carried by the wind toward our line directly stationed ahead of them, forced us to weigh anchor, thus affording the British fleet an opportunity to escape. This certainly was a very clever trick on the part of Admiral Hood, but I cannot vouch for the authenticity of the bit of news. I have no doubt you have the *facts* by this time. The same ship assures us that Rodney has not yet arrived in the West Indies.

WILLIAMSBURG, 27th *May*, 1782.

We are fearfully concerned over the news of an engagement between our two fleets off the Antilles. Our first information was of victory, but

yesterday the news came through the English lines—that is to say, by a *New York Gazette*—that the *Ville de Paris*, a vessel carrying one hundred and ten guns, commanded by De Grasse, had been captured with six others, and that we had been entirely routed; which information seems to be authentic, for all the details are given, the ships are all named, and there is a list of the killed and the wounded. It surely cannot be a forgery on the part of the gazetteer. Such a defeat is hard to bear, and I note how easily discouraged we are. Our extreme joy over a victory or our sorrow at the slightest reverse tempts one to believe that we are little accustomed to any success whatever. The defeat is a serious one, and renders our whole campaign apparently useless. It gives the English a signal advantage over us in the West Indies, where, should they continue to be successful, they can do us much damage, and should a reinforcement of troops be sent them from Europe we might lose all our conquests. It is a defeat that sadly weighs on us, and will make us spend the balance of the campaign in entire inactivity. The heat is oppressive, and I leave you to imagine what it will be here during the months of July and August. We have no news from Monsieur de Lauzun; we all await him with the greatest impatience (myself especially), and we begin to be seriously alarmed about him.

PHILADELPHIA, 8th August, 1782.

O The last time I had the honor of writing to you was on the 16th of July (also from Philadelphia). I was then with Rochambeau, who had given "rendezvous" there to General Washington, as he wished to confer with him as to their future plan of operations. The result of this conference was that I was sent to Yorktown in Virginia on the 19th on a mission which was a secret then, but which now has become public property. I was to have our siege artillery shipped at once from West Point (eight miles higher up than Yorktown on the same river) to Baltimore by the Chesapeake bay. This operation demanded great secrecy as well as promptness in execution, as we only had one vessel of forty guns to escort the convoy under the eyes of the English, who with two frigates would not only have prevented our sailing out of the York river, but would have seized some of our vessels besides. I had a very heavy cold at the time I left, and all this heat and fatigue have rather added to it. As soon as I had everything in working order and the vessels started, I returned to report to Rochambeau who was stationed with his army at Baltimore, where I remained but a couple of days; after that I left in the company of the Chevalier de Chatelna for this place (Philadelphia),

where De la Luzerne loads me with attentions, with kindnesses, and affectionate courtesy. The army leaves Baltimore on the 15th and passes here to reach the North river. I shall await it here. I need the *rest*, and I really do not know a more agreeable or more comfortable house than this one to find it in. Our campaign this year will not be so brilliant as last year's. The defeat of Grasse, the dispersion of De Guichen's fleet, the capture of the vessels intended for the West Indies expedition—all these disasters combined to make our plans fall through and disturb our prospects. The siege of New York is all that is left us to do in this country, and we are too weak to attempt such an enterprise, the success of which depends so much on our maritime superiority. We have not that. Admiral Rodney has settled that for us, for when chance gave it to us we did not know how to profit by it. We are expecting news from France at any moment. We have been told that the siege of Gibraltar is being projected; until now only an unsuccessful blockade has been attempted. Should this difficult enterprise be persisted in, I am afraid that our campaign will be an inactive one, perhaps a few long and painfully fatiguing marches. I doubt me whether we shall take Gibraltar, as I fear that the Spaniards will justify the witty answer one of them made when he was told that this siege was like a second Troy: "Oh! but the Spaniards are not Greeks."

Although the heat here is great I seem to stand it very well. The drought this year has been extraordinary, so much so that all the little streams are dry and our soldiers have had the hardest time to find fresh water, which of course becomes a greater necessity than ever during the hot weather.

PHILADELPHIA, 17th August, 1782.

On the 8th of this month the army was in Baltimore, a little town situated at the head of Chesapeake bay. It was to have marched on the 15th to the Hudson river, but the news which reached us from England by way of New York of the probability of peace has put off our march, and now we shall only start on the 20th to reach our first destination; this is the result of a correspondence between our generals. To all appearances now we shall have but a fatiguing, hard campaign. The marches and the campings here in the fall are simply terrible; as it rains almost incessantly, the roads are impassable. These difficulties will perhaps be the only enemies we shall have to fight this year. The news we have from England (for we have had none yet from France) announces that peace is imminent. England leans strongly in that direction, if France is only moderate in her demands. This country asks

nothing better, especially since the king of England has declared the independence of the states, and Holland I think is not strong enough to wish to keep up the war. The English show less hostility toward America than they did, since they have forbidden their partisans called the Tories or refugees to make incursions or inroads into the country without a permit signed by the officer in command of the place. All the prisoners have been sent back from England without any explanation as to their exchange. General Carlton, who is in command at New York, has apprised General Washington by a very polite letter that the king his master has granted the independence of the states, and that he has sent to Paris a negotiator with full powers to make a treaty, and proposes to General Washington to enter into an agreement concerning the exchange of prisoners. All this seems strongly to indicate peace. We all think that if it is not already signed it will surely be during the course of the winter, which will permit us to sail in the spring. These expectations cause universal satisfaction; they give me a pleasure I cannot express. The hope of seeing you, my dear father, again is a deepfelt one.

CAMP CROMPOND, 3d of *October*, 1782.

We have been continually on the march since I last wrote you, and I have had no opportunity to send you any news. The army crossed the Delaware and the Hudson, and encamped about ten miles from the latter and twenty-four miles from the island of New York. To all appearances we shall finish our campaign here and leave for winter quarters; it is not generally known where, and I have no authority to tell you.

Charlestown is evacuated, and consequently the English are not masters any more in the south. Their present possessions are limited, in fact, to Long Island, Staten Island, and New York. The evacuation of this latter place is much talked about. I do not think they have left it as yet. During Lord Rockingham's lifetime such a decisive step had been resolved upon, but everything seems changed. Our generals, though, believe that the evacuation has taken place, but I do not agree with them. I think two thousand men have been sent to the Antilles, and that their German allies, with the remainder of their forces, amounting to some ten thousand men, have been left in New York. Should the evacuation actually have taken place we have nothing more to do than to return to France.

Although we have met with no foes to fight with, this campaign has been a very rough one. After suffering much with the heat we are beginning now to feel the winter cold very keenly. I myself am very fortunate in being able to stand the change of temperature; in fact, I am

all the heartier. I have a tent this year and a straw mattress, but am poorly supplied with blankets. My cloak, however, makes up for these deficiencies.

BOSTON, 30th *November*, 1782.

We left Hartford the 4th and arrived in Providence the 10th, where our stay was prolonged till the fleet could take us on board. I profited by this delay to make a run over to Newport (which is only ten leagues from Providence) to take leave of some acquaintances there. We left Providence on the 4th and arrived here the 6th, and embarked at once. I am on board the "Brave," seventy-four guns, with Count Deux Ponts and our three first companies. Chevalier d'Amblemont, who is in command of the vessel, behaved very badly during the engagement of the 12th of April; instead of obeying signaled orders he ran away, and when Monsieur de Bonzainville hailed him to make him give an account of so extraordinary a behavior, his answer was, "The fleet was lost, and *one* vessel at least was going to be saved for the king." D'Amblemont is very amiable and very courteous, and has a splendid vessel; and as I have a comfortable berth, and the table is capital, why should I complain because his bravery is the only thing at fault?

It now appears that we are going to the Cape to be placed under the command of Don Galvez. Surely it must be to attempt an expedition to Jamaica. Should the one to Gibraltar fail or succeed (as it has been lasting some five years), this Jamaica affair will be more expeditious, as it will be all settled before July, and on it depends our return to France. A very trustworthy person, who has had every opportunity of knowing, assured me that we shall not stay very long in the Antilles, and that in all probability we shall be in France next summer. We have no certain news as to whether the English have evacuated Charlestown or not. The uncertainty in this matter must appear very strange. It does seem extraordinary that having our army stationed only ten leagues from there we should be kept in ignorance of so interesting an event; but the inter-communication in this country is so slow and so uncertain that we have to depend mostly on the *New York Gazette* for news. A mail express here bravely makes its eight leagues a day, but it really should make twelve or thirteen were the arrangements and the roads better. The evacuation of New York is still much talked of; the British themselves mention it, but I do not credit it. The rendition of such an important place will, of course, have its weight when it comes to treaties of peace.

* There is a discrepancy in the text which makes it impossible to say whether the 14th or the 24th is meant.

Rochambeau left us at Providence ; all the army regret him and with reason. He left for Philadelphia where he is to embark on the frigate *La Gloire*. I have handed him a duplicate of this letter, which no doubt you will be reading by the time this reaches you. It leaves by the frigate *Iris*. Baron Viomesnil commands the army now, and is to take us to the Antilles. He leaves us there and returns to France. I had already told you in my last that the Duke of Lanzun will remain in America with his legion. I had been told that the siege pieces were to have been shipped, but this plan is now altered ; they will still be stored in Baltimore where there are some four hundred men (detached from various regiments) stationed there, and another four hundred sick in camp who hope to be well before spring sets in. There are about fourteen hundred under Lanzun's command who will probably have nothing to do till peace is declared. The duke and his legion are to be quartered at Wilmington, which is nine leagues south of Philadelphia.

I cannot tell you, dear father, how much attached I am to the duke : he is the noblest and the most honorable man I have ever met. Amongst the equipments he had brought with him (and which by the bye have all been lost) were several things he knew I sorely needed, and which I had begged him to bring at least part of. He has never even told me what these articles cost him ; he merely says they were trifles, and not worth mentioning. If I should begin to enumerate all the polite and delicate acts of which I know of his, I should never finish.

The whole army seems vexed at being ordered off to the Antilles. I do not like the idea myself. We were quite sorry to part with Rochambeau, who was well liked by his men. They do not seem to feel that same attachment for Viomesnil. I *ought* to like him, because he shows me the utmost courtesy and regard. But the baron is a quick-tempered, passionate man ; he has not that precious gift of self-control which characterized Rochambeau, who was the only man fit to command here, and thoroughly capable of maintaining that perfect order and harmony which has always existed between two nations which are so different in their customs and language, and who at bottom, let it be said, do not really like each other. There has never been the slightest misunderstanding between our armies during the whole time that we have been together, though we have often had just cause of complaint. Our allies have not always acted nicely toward us, and our sojourn amongst them has neither heightened our love nor our esteem for them. Rochambeau himself has often had occasion to be vexed with them, but he never varied in his conduct toward them. His example has been a powerful check on the army, and the severe discipline

he maintained has kept every one within bounds, so that even the English and the Americans who have been witnesses of his strictness could not help but admire it. The wise, prudent stand Rochambeau had taken has contributed more to conciliate America toward us than four brilliant victories could ever have done.

Our fleet at Boston consists of thirteen vessels, the list of which I enclose; they are to sail as soon as the wind changes. The English fleet of twenty-three ships left New York in two divisions: the first, consisting of twelve vessels under Admiral Pigot, left the 27th of October; the other division, consisting of eleven, left, it is said, on the 21st of the month. Now whether these will await us and capture us, or whether they will carry the troops garrisoned in Charlestown off to the Antilles, are questions none of us can decide. Time alone will unravel all this.

BOSTON, 21st of *December*, 1782.

We do not know yet whether Charlestown has been evacuated. A Philadelphia gazette which has just come informs us that the English are building two new redoubts there, and the truce that had been asked for, which had been considered as a sign of the approaching evacuation, has been broken and the city still held. We go aboard to-night; all the ships are in readiness, and if the winds are favorable we sail to-morrow morning. As soon as I reach the West Indies I shall send you news, and shall again have the pleasure of assuring you of my respectful attachment.

PORTO CABELLO, SOUTH AMERICA, S. E. OF CURAÇOA,
13th *February*, 1783.

I am very well, although the trip was long and wearisome; it reacted more on my mental than my physical condition. The utter impossibility of finding an occupation, and of being shut up in the same narrow space with forty-five people was dreadful. A sailor's life is certainly a tiresome one, especially in the French navy. We lost the *Bourgoyne* carrying seventy-four guns, who went down with four hundred men aboard.

The country we now are in belongs to the Spaniards. It is peopled with negroes, Indians, and Spaniards who are as dark-skinned as the Indians. We arrived here the night of the 10th, but with a scattered fleet. We have five ships here which came in four different arrivals several days apart. Three ships sought shelter in Curaçoa, thirty leagues from here; they could get no farther. There are three of them, Heaven knows where. We have not laid eyes on them for ten days. The first convoy of thirty-two sail that left Boston with us was lost by bad steering during

three heavy windstorms off the coast of America. Of a second convoy of ten sail which we took at Porto Rico, only *five* entered the harbor of Curaçoa; the other five have no doubt been wrecked. They had followed in our wake till we reached the western point of this island; then, when we made for this place, Porto Cabello, the wind was dead against us, so that they no doubt were obliged to go to leeward. The ocean currents here are so strong that in one night we were carried some thirteen leagues from the spot we were in at sundown. It took us thirteen days to reach *terra firma* after leaving Curaçoa, only a distance of thirty-five leagues! It was just within sight of Curaçoa that the *Bourgoyne* went down. We arrived here safe and sound at last, and that is saying a good deal. I could not have believed it possible, it seems so like a miracle. I do not know the reason, but the English never have the losses we do.

PORTO CABELLO, 10th *March*, 1783.

Porto Cabello is an ugly place, with no resources whatever. The port is superb, as vessels carrying eighty guns can safely enter her docks. It shelters fifty vessels, though with a little industry some one hundred could be accommodated. If Porto Cabello were in the hands of any other nation than the Spanish, it could be made into one of the finest harbors of South America, but the government willfully closes its eyes to its own interest. There is not a single instance where it has not hindered and stood in the way of its commercial prosperity. Business here only asks to be let alone, and it would soon be in a very flourishing condition. The government, they say, in order to attract settlers to the interior of the country, established the capital at Caracas, thirty-five leagues from here. It has a population of twenty-five to thirty thousand souls, and is a rather pretty town; but the surrounding country remains as it was before inhabited solely by negroes and Indians, and in order to prevent Porto Cabello from making any further progress a law was passed that no building should be more than a story in height.

Translated from the French by

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Geymour Watson". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The first name "Geymour" is written in a large, flowing script, and the last name "Watson" is written in a slightly smaller, more compact script. The signature is followed by a long, horizontal flourish that extends to the right.

MINOR TOPICS

ORIGINAL WILL OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN WASHINGTON

Editor of Magazine of American History :

It may interest some of the patrons of your excellent *Magazine of American History* to know that the National Museum has recently received some original books and papers pertaining to the home life of General Washington. There are a number of account books of the manager and overseers of Mount Vernon estate during the last ten years of Washington's life, several of them having indorsements in the handwriting of General Washington. In looking over the papers I was much pleased to find the original will of Lieutenant-Colonel John Washington, who with his brother Lawrence came to America in 1657. He was General Washington's great-grandfather. The will, supposed to have been irrevocably lost, is dated September 11, 1675, and is witnessed by John Lord and John Appleton. The paper is so old and tender that most of the seal of John Washington has broken off and been lost, only a small piece of the lower left-hand corner remaining. There are two closely written pages 13½ by 9 inches each, and three lines on the third page followed by the signatures of John Washington and the witnesses, and beneath the signatures the words, "Proved by the oath of John Lord, John Appleton being deceased." On the fourth page, when folded, is the indorsement in the handwriting of General Washington, "Will—L^t. Col^o. John Washington."

A. HOWARD CLARK,

Curator of Historical Collection in National Museum.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

TWO HISTORIC LETTERS

CONGRATULATIONS TO MR. AND MRS. CYRUS W. FIELD ON THE OCCASION OF THEIR GOLDEN WEDDING, DECEMBER 2, 1890, FROM THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, MR. AND MRS. GLADSTONE, AND OTHERS.

"CYRUS W. FIELD, ESQ., Gramercy Park, New York.

Dear Sir : We, the undersigned, who have known you for many years, and some of whom have been long and intimately associated with you, desire to express to you and to your amiable and devoted wife our earnest and heartfelt congratulations on your golden wedding day, December 2, 1890. We earnestly wish you both many years of health and happiness, enjoying the fruits of your useful and well-spent lives, and seeing on every side the wide-spreading development of the submarine telegraph enterprise, in which you, Mr. Field, have labored so long, so zealously, and so successfully.

This great work, pursued by you with unflagging energy and perseverance for many years, through the greatest difficulties and hindrances, has now become a first

necessity of national and commercial life, and you have the profound satisfaction of knowing that its objects and its results are and ever have been peaceable and beneficent in their character.

We ask you to accept this message of our good will and good wishes, which will be sent to you both over and under the sea.

Very faithfully yours,

DUKE OF ARGYLL,
ARCHDEACON FREDERIC W. FARRAR,
LORD MONCK,
W. E. GLADSTONE,
W. H. RUSSELL,
DOUGLAS GALTON,
MARQUIS TWEEDDALE,
F. A. BEVAN,
SIR H. D. GOOCH,
PROFESSOR SIR W. THOMSON,
Late P. M. GEN. G. SHAW LEFEVRE,
J. RUSSELL REYNOLDS,
SIR JOHN PENDER,
SIR JAMES ANDERSON,
W. CUNARD,
WILLIAM FORD,
SIR GEORGE ELLIOT;
SIR GEORGE HENRY RICHARDS,
W. SHUTER,
HENRY CLIFFORD,
WILLOUGHBY SMITH,
C. W. EARLE,
CATHERINE GLADSTONE,
J. S. FORBES,
CAROLINE R. VAN WART,
G. W. SMALLEY,
GERALD HARPER,
WILLIAM BARBER,
SIR GEORGE GROVE,
JANE COBDEN,
THOMAS B. POTTER,
CHARLES BURT,
LADY MARGARET ANDERSON,
ROBERT C. HALPIN,
EDWARD SATTERTHWAITE,
FRANK H. HILL,
J. C. PARKINSON,
WILLIAM PAYTON,
HENRY DEVER,
KENNETH L. M. ANDERSON,
CHARLES W. STRONGE,
L. M. RATE,

HENRY C. FORDE,
W. ANDREWS,
H. WEAVER,
G. VON CHAUVIN,
J. H. CARSON,
SIR SAMUEL CANNING,
ADMIRAL SIR RICHARD C. MAYNE,
W. S. CUNARD,
BARON JULIUS REUTER,
H. A. C. SAUNDERS,
G. W. CAMPBELL,
LORD H. M. STANLEY of Alderley,
SIR J. H. PULESTON, M. P.,
GEORGE COX BOMPAS,
JAMES STERN,
H. L. BISCHOFFSHEIM,
LOUIS FLOERSHEIM,
T. H. WELLS,
J. H. TRITTON,
W. H. PREECE,
C. V. DE SAUTY,
JOHN MUIRHEAD,
GEORGE DRAPER,
RICHARD COLLETT,
W. LEATHAM BRIGHT,
LATIMER CLARK,
R. T. BROWN,
LEWIS WELLS,
JOHN G. GRIFFITHS,
ROBERT DUDLEY,
EMILY F. LLOYD,
CH. GERHARDI,
W. T. ANSELL,
SIR JULIAN GOLDSMID,
JOHN CHATTERTON,
LADY FRANCIS BAILLIE,
CONSTANCE WILDE,
B. SMITH,
JOHN TEMPLE,
GENERAL SIR MONTAGUE MCMURDO,
PHILIP RAWSON,
OSCAR WILDE."

REPLY OF MR. FIELD

" TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF ARGYLL, and others :

Permit me to thank you for your congratulations to my wife and myself on the occasion of our golden wedding. It is very gratifying to know that our friends in the United Kingdom, whose many kindnesses in former years we can never forget, retain for us such a cordial remembrance. As you refer to the part I had in promoting telegraphic communication across the Atlantic, I may say that it has been the great satisfaction of my life to have done something to bring our two countries together. The ocean no longer separates us.

Every hour of day and night messages are passing to and fro between England and America. This constant intercourse brings us into the relation of neighbors. In our daily conversations we seem to hear your voices under the sea, which, as they speak in the tongue wherein we were born, we recognize as the voices of our kindred, those of the same blood, to whom we are bound by the ties of nature itself. To have had a part in this work of peace and good will is indeed a grateful recollection. May this brotherhood of nations be continued when we are gone, and grow stronger from generation to generation.

Thanking you again, and wishing you every good gift,

Faithfully yours,

CYRUS W. FIELD "

SALA BOSWORTH, 1805-1890

Sala Bosworth, who died in Ohio on Monday, December 22, 1890, was born in Halifax, Plymouth county, Massachusetts, September 15, 1805. He went to Ohio with his father in 1816, and settled on a farm four and a half miles east of Marietta. He had only a common-school education, but his natural fondness for books and study made him a good classical scholar, and through his native artistic talent and studies he became an excellent portrait painter. To him we are indebted for the portraits of General Rufus Putnam, Judge Ephraim Cutler, Colonel Joseph Barker, and many others of the pioneers of Ohio, the most of which paintings are to be found in the city of Marietta. While taking lessons in painting in Philadelphia he saw the first locomotive brought to that city, and probably the first ever brought to America. The pictures of "Campus Martius," "Farmer's Castle at Belpre," "Wolf Creek Mills," "The Blennerhassett Mansion," and "Marietta at the Point in 1792," originally published in *Hildreth's Pioneer History*, and in other pioneer histories of Ohio, were all copied from drawings made by Mr. Bosworth from data furnished him by the pioneers. These pictures have been variously credited in later works, but rarely if ever to their real author. In 1833, his health becoming

impaired, he gave up painting and engaged in mercantile business in Marietta, in which he continued for some years. In 1839 he married Miss Joanna Shipman, daughter of Mr. Charles Shipman of Marietta, and but a short time ago Mr. and Mrs. Bosworth celebrated their golden wedding. In 1846 he was elected auditor of Washington county, which office he filled by successive reëlections until 1854. He was postmaster at Marietta nine years, from 1861 to 1870, receiving his appointment from President Lincoln. Mr. Bosworth was for half a century a member of the Presbyterian Church, and filled successfully the office of elder and other responsible positions. His Christian character, gentle manner, genial and unselfish temperament endeared him to all who knew him.

Mr. Bosworth's life in Cincinnati during the past eight years has been particularly pleasant, both from family associations and from city life in general, which seemed to have a charm for him in the advantages it afforded for sketching and painting, and observation. He was exceedingly fond of reading, and always well informed on all the topics of the day. Within a week prior to his decease he was engaged in his favorite pursuit, and had just finished with his accustomed skill two landscape paintings in water-colors. Mr. Bosworth leaves a widow, a daughter the wife of Major E. C. Dawes, and a son Mr. C. H. Bosworth, vice-president of the Illinois North and South Railway Company.

CINCINNATI, OHIO.

VOL. XXV.—No. 2.—12

NOTES

WILLIAM CULLEN BRYANT'S LETTER TO HIS MOTHER ANNOUNCING HIS MARRIAGE IN 1821—"Dear mother: I hasten to send you the melancholy intelligence of what has lately happened to me. Early in the evening of the eleventh day of the present month I was at a neighboring house in this village. Several people of both sexes were assembled in one of the apartments, and three or four others with myself were in another. At last came in a little elderly gentleman—pale, thin, with a solemn countenance, pleuritic voice, hooked nose, and hollow eyes. We went in and took our seats. The little elderly gentleman with the hooked nose prayed, and we all stood up. When he had finished most of us sat down. The gentleman with the hooked nose then muttered certain cabalistical expressions which I was too much frightened to remember, but I recollect that at the conclusion I was given to understand that I was married to a young lady of the name of Frances Fairchild, whom I perceived standing by my side, and I hope in the course of a few months to have the pleasure of introducing to you as your daughter-in-law, which is a matter of some interest to the poor girl, who has neither father or mother in the world. I have not 'played the fool and married an Ethiop for the jewel in her ear.' I looked only for goodness of heart, an ingenuous and affectionate disposition, and a good understanding, etc., and the character of my wife is too frank and single-hearted to suffer me to fear that I may be disappointed. I do myself wrong—I

did not look for these nor any other qualities, but they trapped me before I was aware, and now I am married in spite of myself. Thus the current of destiny carries us all along. None but a madman would swim against the stream, and none but a fool would exert himself to swim with it. The best way is to float quietly with the tide. So much for philosophy. . . .

Your affectionate son,

WILLIAM."

—*From Parke Godwin's Biography of Bryant.*

THE PRESIDENTIAL DINNER PARTY—Senator William Maclay in his *Journal*, recently published by the Appletons, describes one of Washington's dinners in New York in 1789: "First was the soup; fish roasted and boiled; meats, gammon, fowls, etc. This was the dinner. The middle of the table was garnished in the usual tasty way, with small images, flowers (artificial), etc. The dessert was, first, apple-pies, pudding, etc.; then iced creams, jellies, etc.; then watermelons, apples, peaches, nuts. It was the most solemn dinner ever I sat at. Not a health drank; scarce a word said until the cloth was taken away. Then the President, filling a glass of wine, with great formality drank to the health of every individual by name round the table. Everybody imitated him, charged glasses, and such a buzz of 'Health, sir,' and 'Health, madam,' and 'Thank you, sir,' and 'Thank you, madam,' never had I heard before. Indeed, I had liked to be thrown out in

the hurry, but I got a little wine in my glass and passed the ceremony. The ladies sat a good while, and the bottles passed about; but there was a dead silence almost. Mrs. Washington at last withdrew with the ladies. I expected the men would now begin, but the same stillness remained. The President told of a New England clergyman who had lost his hat and wig in passing a river called the Brunks. He smiled and everybody else laughed. He now and then said a sentence or two on some common subject, and what he said was not amiss. Mr. Jay tried to make laugh by mentioning the circumstance of the Duchess of Devonshire leaving no stone

unturnd to carry Fox's election. There was a Mr. Smith who mentioned how *Homer* described *Aeneas* leaving his wife and carrying his father out of flaming Troy. He had heard somebody (I suppose) witty on the occasion; but if he had ever read it he would have said *Virgil*. The President kept a fork in his hand when the cloth was taken away—I thought for the purpose of picking nuts. He ate no nuts, however, but played with the fork, striking on the edge of the table with it. We did not sit long after the ladies retired. The President rose, went up-stairs to drink coffee; the company followed. I took my hat and came home."

QUERIES

ORIGIN OF THE WORD "YANKEE"—It has always been understood by the writer that this word originated with the North American Indian's attempt to pronounce the word "English." In their *patois* they called the foreigners who arrived in the New England states the "Ynglys," which word was finally corrupted still further into "Yangys," and in our own vernacular became "Yankees." This version is now disputed in an English newspaper, but no more satisfactory solution has been given. Can any of your historical readers throw light upon the matter? If I mistake not it was once discussed in the note and query page of the *Magazine of American History* some years back. Washington Irving is quoted as giving its origin in the "Knickerbocker;" but the explanation that it was the Dutch way of pronouncing the

name of a certain fish must have been intended as a joke.

O. P. Q.

FLORENCE, ITALY.

JULIUS RODMAN—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Information is desired of Julius Rodman and his journey to the Rocky mountains in 1792, alleged to be the first white man to make the trip. An account of this appears in the early numbers of Burton's *Gentleman's Magazine*, published by William E. Burton and Edgar Allan Poe (vol. vi.), Philadelphia, 1840.

A. S. HUBBARD,
Secretary California Historical Society.
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

PENNSYLVANIA FAMILIES—Would I. C. or some other Pennsylvania historian kindly furnish some information in re-

gard to the Bausman family of Allegheny and Washington counties, the Beltzhooover family of Allegheny county, and the Antis or Antes family of Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania? Would some

correspondent kindly furnish the names of the officers of the United States gunboat *Louisville*, at the battle of Fort Donelson?

J. E. R.

CARONDELET, MO.

REPLIES

THE BLADENSBURG DUELING GROUND [xxv. 18]—The brief account of the Graves and Cilley duel, in the January (1891) number of this magazine, is perfectly correct except the statement that the second of Mr. Cilley was George W. Jones, a member of congress from Tennessee. There was for many years before the war a member of congress of that name from Tennessee; but Mr. Cilley's second was George W. Jones, a delegate in congress from what was then (February 24, 1838) the territory of Iowa, where he has ever since resided. He is the sole survivor among those who took any part whatever in that frightful tragedy. He must be nearly if not quite ninety years old.

HORATIO KING

MOTHER GOOSE [xxiv. 482; xxv. 89, 90]—Your correspondents who in the January issue write of *Mother Goose's Melodies* omit, as one man, any mention of the book which Mr. Whitmore has recently published through Damrell & Upham of Boston. He claims to show thereby that the common tradition on the subject is all wrong, and that the *Melodies* can be traced back to a far distant epoch.

W. ABBOTT

MOTHER GOOSE [xxiv. 482; xxv. 89, 90]—Those who replied to this query in the January issue are respectfully referred to the little book published in October by Mr. W. H. Whitmore of Boston, giving the history of the *Mother Goose Melodies*. Mrs. Elizabeth (Foster) Vergoose was born in Charlestown in 1665, and when she was a grandmother may have sung, or hummed, or whistled the Mother Goose nursery jingles to her grandchildren; but the book of the *Mother Goose Melodies* printed in Boston in 1825 by Munroe & Francis, who copyrighted it in 1833, was an enlargement of one printed in or about 1785 by Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, whose book was almost an exact reprint of one published by John Newbery of London about 1765. Newbery was the printer of *Mother Goose's Tales*, which was a translation of Perrault's *Contes de mère l'Oye*, originally issued at Paris in 1697. These and many interesting facts bearing upon the absurd though flattering story that the original of Mother Goose and the originator of her rhymes was a Boston woman may be read in the *Boston Commonwealth* for December 27.

DINAH STURGIS

BOSTON, MASS.

SOCIETIES

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION held its seventh annual meeting on the 29th, 30th, and 31st days of December, 1890, at Washington, D. C. There were present one hundred and seven members from different parts of the country, the largest number yet recorded; last year there were eighty-seven. There was also a large and sympathetic Washington audience at each of the six sessions of the association. While this convention was in progress four others of importance were also in session at the national capital—the American Society of Church History, the American Economic Association, the American Forestry Association, and the Geological Society of America. After every evening meeting the gentlemen members of the five conventions met socially in the pleasant rooms of the Cosmos Club, and there were other reunions of special interest and significance.

At the Historical Association some thirty-two well-considered papers were read, many of them followed by spirited discussions which were among the most interesting and valuable features of the occasion. The inaugural address of the president, Hon. John Jay, LL.D., which appears in another part of this magazine, was read by the vice-president Hon. William Wirt Henry, Mr. Jay having been prevented from attending the meeting, through an accident. Dr. J. G. Bourinot of Ottawa presented at the opening session a spirited historical paper entitled "Canada and the United States," and in the animated discussion which ensued Senator Hoar paid a

generous and eloquent tribute to the people of Canada, and in an impressive manner stated his American conviction that Canada would come not by constraint but by her own free will into the American Union, if she should ever come at all. The titles of all the papers read during the six sessions of the association would be given here but for want of space. At the annual election the Hon. William Wirt Henry of Richmond, Virginia, was made president, the old board of officers was retained, and Mr. Henry Adams the historian chosen one of the vice-presidents. Felicitous speeches upon the progress of the association were made in closing by President Welling of Columbian university, Dr. Harris, and Dr. Edward Eggleston.

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on Tuesday evening, January 6. The annual reports of the executive committee, treasurer, and librarian were read. The society has no debts, no mortgage on its building or collections, and no outstanding bills; the invested funds aggregated \$75,973.29. The fund for the purchase of a new site and the erection thereon of a suitable building amounted to \$264,090.41. During the year 3,359 volumes of books, 3,585 pamphlets, 16 volumes of newspapers, 97 manuscripts, 43 maps, 144 engravings, 15 photographs, 227 broadsides had been added to the library. It was resolved to take measures to celebrate in 1893 the two hundredth anniversary of the introduction of printing into New York.

A curious commonplace-book kept by Samuel Sewall of Boston was presented to the society. This book has forty-eight pages of verse, consisting of anagrams, epitaphs, and elegies on distinguished men of New England, with an occasional amatory rhyme.

The following board of officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, John A. King; first vice-president, John A. Weekes; second vice-president, John S. Kennedy; foreign corresponding secretary, John Bigelow; domestic corresponding secretary, Edward F. De Lancey; recording secretary, Andrew Warner; treasurer, Robert Schell; librarian, Charles Isham.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the evening of the 18th of December, President James P. Baxter in the chair. The first paper, entitled "A Lost Manuscript," was read by the president, in which a most interesting account of the burning of Falmouth and the punishment of Captain Mowat was given. The second paper was read by Hon. George F. Emery, giving a full account of the political career of Hon. John Appleton when he was minister to Russia. Dr. John S. H. Fogg contributed a letter of General Peleg Wadsworth, giving data about the Penobscot expedition of 1779; and the Hon. James W. Bradbury, a brief biographical sketch of James Loring Child.

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY, at its annual meeting, Friday evening, January 9, elected the following officers: president, General James Grant Wilson; first vice-president, Ellsworth Eliot, M. D.; second vice-president, Samuel S. Purple, M. D.; secretary, Thomas C. Evans; corresponding secretary, Rev. Roswell Randel Hoes, U.S.N.; treasurer, George H. Butler, M. D.; librarian, Gerrit H. Van Wagenen; registrar of pedigrees, J. C. Pumpelly. Mr. Philip R. Voorhees of New York read a paper on "New Jersey's Revolutionary Flotillamen in New York's Waters," recounting the exploits of Colonels Elias Dayton and William Alexander (Lord Stirling) and Captain Adam Huyler and their men, in cutting out and capturing armed vessels and storeships from under the guns of the enemy's fleet and batteries; also containing an account of similar exploits by Colonel William Crane, among them his captures of the armed ship *Eagle* and armed storeship, sloop *Katy*, lying within pistol shot of the Battery. The address was received with a cordial vote of thanks. William Rhinelander, Judge Horace Russell, Captain Richard Henry Greene, and others were elected resident members, and the Comte de Paris an honorary member. It was reported that two hundred and forty-three volumes had been added to the library during the past year.

BOOK NOTICES

POLITICAL AMERICANISMS. A glossary of terms and phrases current at different periods in American politics. By CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON. 16mo, pp. 134. New York and London : Longmans, Green & Co.

A reduced but expressive copy of the real original "Gerrymander" on the cover of this attractive little volume is no misleading hint at the contents. Our readers will recall the publication in our columns of Colonel Norton's *Political Americanisms* as at first prepared by him. The articles formed a series that ran through several successive numbers of the *Magazine of American History*, and attracted wide attention and correspondence. They received the compliment of a long notice in the London *Saturday Review*, and were extensively pirated on both sides the Atlantic. The idea of making a dictionary exclusively of political slang was new, and involved a great deal of exploration where there were no guide-posts. The present volume does not by any means exhaust the field. No one who is at all familiar with politics can read it without finding suggestions of long-forgotten words and phrases, and it is to be hoped that future editions will preserve for ready reference the many odd and witty sayings that attain at least a passing popularity in every political campaign.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH DRAMA. From the earliest to the latest times. By WILLIAM ECHARD GOLDEN, A.M. 12mo, pp. 227. New York : Welch, Fraker & Co.

Many a reader of the English dramatists will thank Mr. Golden for this concise treatment of a subject that might fill a dozen quartos in the hands of a verbose writer. The average newspaper reader generally knows that there was such a dramatist as Shakespeare, possibly he may have known of Ben Jonson; but of Beaumont and Fletcher, Heywood, Massinger, Ford, Congreve, and scores of others, the chances are he never has heard, though the names of most of them have long been carved in the dusky niches of Westminster Abbey. The volumes are arranged in the form of six lectures, treating successively of the era of magic or passion plays; of Shakespeare's predecessors; of the great dramatist himself; of Ben Jonson and his fellows; and of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The last chapter touches somewhat tenderly upon more recent dramas and dramatists, and contains a deal of trustworthy information that one cannot readily find elsewhere.

RACES AND PEOPLES. Lectures on the Science of Ethnography. By DANIEL G. BRINTON, A.M., M.D. 12mo, pp. 313. New York : N. D. C. Hodges. 1890.

The lectures which appear in this volume were delivered at the Academy of Science in Philadelphia, in the early months of the year 1890. Dr. Brinton has wisely gathered them into compact form for a wider audience. He aims to present the results of the latest and most accurate researches on the subjects treated, and has added references in foot-notes to a number of works and articles, which will enable the student to pursue his readings on any point in which he may be interested. There are many problems, discussed in a clear and able manner, and the book will be found an exceedingly important contribution to the literature of science.

THE CANADIANS OF OLD. An Historical Romance. By PHILIPPE AUBERT DE GASPÉ. Translated by Charles G. D. Roberts. 12mo, pp. 287. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1890.

The scene of this historical romance is laid in the eighteenth century, and gives many picturesque phases of life in the *seigniories* of Quebec. The style is quaint and unhurried, as if the product of perfect leisure. The narrative is direct and to the point, and yet digresses into delightful cross-channels of highly colored local tradition; it pictures the French Canadian people as they were in their early days, and throws a strong side-light upon the motives and aspirations of the race. In a literary point of view it is one of the best works of its character so far produced in French Canada. It gathers up and preserves in permanent form the songs and legends, the characteristic customs, the phases of thought and feeling, the very local and personal aroma of a rapidly changing civilization.

THE PRELUDE TO MODERN HISTORY. Being a brief sketch of the World's History from the third to the ninth century. By J. E. SYMES, M. A. 16mo, pp. 139. Rivingtons, London (now Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York).

It is interesting to know that the publishers of this useful treatise can point to an honorable business record, older and longer than that of any other English publishing house. The Longmans, under their own style and title,

date far backward and are the lawful and traditional heirs of the Rivingtons, whose "booke shop" antedated theirs by near a generation. Professor Symes's work deals with the historical period that is rarely included in any educational curriculum; namely, the decline of Rome, the rise of Christianity, and the beginnings of modern Europe. There are, of course, abundant sources of information regarding these periods in the larger works of Gibbon and his successors, and to them the present author acknowledges his obligations. His special task has been to bring the more important facts within reach of the average student in a condensed form. The fourteen chapters average about ten pages each and are models of condensed writing, and each is followed by a summary still further condensed, which admirably serves the purpose of review, and when used as a class-book must prove very useful to the instructor. At the end of the volume are five maps, showing the changes in the geography of Europe during the period under consideration.

THE STORY OF MY HOUSE. By GEORGE ELLWANGER, author of "The Garden's Story." 18mo, pp. 286. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Something in the line of Ik Marvel's *Reveries of a Bachelor*, and Frederick Saunders's *Salad for the Solitary*, is this dainty volume, with its frontispiece etched by S. L. Smith, and its fourteen essays on the varied phases of an ideal home life. There is withal much that is practical mingled with the author's excursions into the realm of fancy. "If you leave the house to the architect, he builds merely for himself—he builds his house, not yours." "One must build at least thrice to obtain the perfected dwelling." "To the most of mankind a single venture is sufficient: only architects build more than once for a pastime." Such are some of the excellent hints which the reader finds in perusing chapters that upon the whole are glimpses into dreamland. The title "Old Oriental Masters," for instance, covers a great deal of solid information about the management of floors, and the selection and beauties of Turkish, Persian, and other products of eastern looms. But why, O dearest author, do you misquote Dr. Holmes, on page 33, in order that one of his choicest verses may fit a prayer rug? It is very easy to misquote, however—we all do it sometimes; and in view of the many other apt and correct quotations in the volume, we may cheerfully forgive this one slip.

SKETCH OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By GREEN-

OUGH WHITE, A.M. 16mo, pp. 66. Boston: Ginn & Company. 1891.

The author of this treatise tells us in his preface that it is an endeavor to prove the independent and organic development of American literature. He says he has often heard persons "otherwise well informed, speak apologetically, even contemptuously, of their country's literature, as a mere pallid reflection of literary fashions beyond the Atlantic." He then proceeds to explain the origin of this misconception, and declares that "our literature has really developed with admirable freedom, energy, and completeness. It has not been dwarfed by those influences, nor have its epochs been cut short by those political and international complications that have so often thwarted mental progress in other lands. It shows the natural unfolding of intellect freed from old-world trammels, yet limited by the necessities of practical life." The aim of the study is evidently to show the intimate connection between our country's literature and history, and the necessity of a knowledge of each in order to interpret the other. The author makes no attempt to give details concerning the lives of American authors, but devotes his work to discovering their position in our general literary history.

MURVALE EASTMAN, Christian Socialist. A novel. By ALBION W. TOURGÉE. 12mo, pp. 545. New York: Fords, Howard & Hurlbert. 1891.

This book is full of incident and felicitous interchange of thought and opinion in conversation, while borne along naturally on the moving current of the story is a powerful discussion of Christianity and its relations to the turbulent questionings of the time, such as wealth, capital, labor, speculation, etc. On the background of fact the author has aimed to trace certain characters, and point out a way for improving social and individual conditions; but he prescribes no panacea for all evils, demands no tearing down for reconstruction. The people of the novel are chosen to represent genuine types—yet, like many of Tourgée's characters, they are peculiar enough to pique curiosity, and hold attention while they disentangle themselves from their complicated "situations." The chief interest centres about Murvale Eastman himself, who is a manly, generous-hearted, resolute young minister of "The Church of the Golden Lilies." He studies the labor problem by driving a horse-car and living with the men, going through a strike and a riot, and who finally gets the church in commotion by applying the words of Jesus and Paul to every-day life and church work. The story is a thrilling one, abounding in love scenes and romantic episodes.

STATEMENT OF The Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York,

RICHARD A. MCCURDY, President

For the Year ending December 31st, 1889.

ASSETS,	\$136,401,328 02
Increase in Assets,	\$10,319,174 46
Surplus,	9,657,248 44
Increase in Surplus,	1,717,184 81
Receipts,	31,119,019 62
Increase during year,	4,903,087 10
Paid Policy Holders,	15,200,608 38
Increase during year,	473,058 16
Risks Assumed,	151,602,483 37
Increase during year,	48,388,222 05
Risks in force,	565,949,933 92
Increase during year,	83,824,749 56
Policies in force,	182,310
Increase during year,	23,941
Policies written in 1889,	44,577
Increase over 1888,	11,971

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Real Estate and Bond and Mortgage Loans,	\$69,361,913 13
United States Bonds and other Securities,	50,323,469 81
Loans on Collateral Securities,	9,845,500 00
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	2,988,632 79
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit, etc.,	3,881,812 29
	\$136,401,328 02

Liabilities (including Reserve at 4%), \$126,744,079 58.

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Assets.	Surplus.
1884.....	\$34,681,420.....	\$351,789,285.....	\$103,876,178 51.....	\$4,743,771
1885.....	46,507,139.....	368,081,441.....	108,908,967 51.....	5,012,634
1886.....	59,832,719.....	393,809,203.....	114,181,963 24.....	5,643,568
1887.....	69,457,468.....	427,628,933.....	118,806,851 88.....	6,294,442
1888.....	103,214,261.....	482,125,184.....	126,082,153 56.....	7,940,063
1889.....	151,602,483.....	565,949,934.....	136,401,328 02.....	9,657,248

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THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

Vol. XXV.

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COTTON MATHER.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

MARCH, 1891

No. 3

GENERAL FRANCIS E. SPINNER THE FINANCIER

EVERY well-ordered government labors to throw about its financial department salutary checks as evidences of its faithfulness. In this respect the government of the United States has simply followed the example of the older nationalities, and it hardly need be added that if any new governments are to arise, having in view the welfare of their constituents, they cannot be too prompt in formulating like action.

In 1789 the Treasury Department of the United States received its organization, and the same year witnessed the appointment of its first comptroller. Soon, however, by reason of the rapid advance of the nation in material prosperity, together with the war with England in 1812, when the financial condition of the country was much disturbed, it was felt there was full need for further assistance in its monetary affairs, and another comptroller was added, entering in 1817 actively upon his duties. The subsequent increase in population, extension of commerce, and the appearance of those numerous forces which so largely contribute to the development of a nation called for a third, and still later a fourth, until now the accounting department of the United States may be said to consist of no less than four comptrollers, seven auditors, and one register, to whom with the treasurer the moneys of the nation are intrusted.

The relations existing between the several comptrollers, auditors, and registers of the government have been well understood; but what were the relations which the comptroller sustained to the secretary of the treasury for many years was a subject for wide differences of opinion. Although the comptroller was defined in the statute by which he was appointed as an independent officer, he was limited in his action to the performance of only such duties as were warranted by law. In the year 1823 Attorney-General Wirt gave it as his official opinion that the decisions of the comptroller could not be questioned even by the President. His language was: "My opinion is that the settlement made of the accounts of the individual by the accounting officer appointed by law is final and conclusive so far as the executive department of the government is concerned." This

opinion received many adverse criticisms, nor did the points at issue receive a final settlement till congress in 1868 affirmed that the position taken by Attorney-General Wirt was valid, and therefore for the future to be binding till such time as its decision should be rescinded. Accompanying this action, however, was the proviso that no comptroller was to be so independent as to decline the reopening of a decision at the request of the secretary.

Never did the nation require more wisdom, integrity, and faithfulness in the administration of its finances than in the recent civil struggle; nor was it ever called upon to devise more liberal means or face more serious embarrassments. Passing from the handling of a few million dollars anterior to the war, to the disbursing of thousands of millions before the struggle ended, was no insignificant transition. On the accession of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, the finances of the nation were literally in chaos. Some seven months before, the secretary of the treasury attempted to borrow moneys for the running expenses of the government, but unhappily the confidence of the people was so unsettled as to the possibilities of the future, that out of ten millions of dollars asked for only a fraction over seven millions was offered. The result was that the secretary was forced to tide over the period previous to his resignation by selling treasury notes, payable a year from date, from six to twelve per cent. discount. In fact, at the close of the administration of President Buchanan, the public credit had become sadly depressed. In December, 1860, when the national debt was less than sixty-five millions, proposals were solicited by the secretary for a loan to meet obligations falling due the following month for five million dollars, at such a rate of interest as might be agreed upon by lender and receiver. This request was met by the offer of less than two millions at the enormous rate of twelve per cent.; while four hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars were rejected, because for its use from fifteen to thirty-six per cent. was demanded, leaving the remaining three millions to be finally accepted at the prescribed rate of twelve per cent. Under such auspices the nation was gradually drifting into the vortex of war, and quite blind likewise to the experiences so soon to be encountered; the expedients employed later to meet the exigencies of the nation constitute the common property of history.

At the close of the session of the thirty-sixth congress, in March, 1861, Mr. Chase, who had just assumed the duties of secretary of the treasury, extended an invitation to General Spinner to take the office of treasurer of the United States, a position increasingly responsible from the peculiarly disturbed condition of the nation, intensified by the possibilities toward

which events were then rapidly drifting. At first General Spinner hesitated to assume the proffered offer, but after consulting with his more immediate friends he decided to accept. Accordingly on the 21st of March, 1861, he was confirmed and immediately entered upon the discharge of his onerous duties.

What this position then involved never can be known till the numerous conflicting forces and factions arising from rapid increase of taxation, marked advances in the cost of living, internal intrigues, the greed and selfishness of men, the oft repetition of violence, the frequent negotiations for new loans, an impaired commerce, the almost open hostility of other



THE TREASURY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

nationalities, together with those numerous uncertainties which are ever born of alternate victories and defeats, and which so surely affect the temper of a people, receive wise and judicial consideration. In reality the treasury was not only empty, but the credit of the government was far lower than that of any other great nation. For some years the annual expenditures had exceeded the revenues, and shifts were resorted to in order to make good deficiencies, which though affording temporary relief, in reality, however, merely increased the recurring embarrassments. Eight states, also, had adopted ordinances absolving themselves from further connection with the Union, three others were simply biding a favorable moment, while the loyalty of some of the border states was exceedingly questionable. What added to the darkness of the hour was the impossi-

bility of obtaining loans beyond the sea, more especially since the foreign press was almost a unit in its antagonism with the government, and in multiple ways endeavored to weaken its influence. How General Spinner met these difficulties, and assisted in bringing the nation through one of the most exciting and perilous crises in its history, should be known to every lover of our common country as well as to pupils in political science.

Governmental legislation in relation to finance at this period was beset with numerous conflicting difficulties. Schemes contemplating relief from financial pressure were frequently proposed by congress, and discussed with no little vehemence and seriousness. New conditions and complications were constantly demanding new movements, and extraordinary expenses were requiring untried efforts. Each new loan was supposed to be the last, but as events determined otherwise the succeeding loan was beset with troubles which required the devising of some new plan to satisfy the lender and provide for its final payment. The part which Mr. Chase took at this crisis in the finances of the government should endear him forever to every patriotic heart. But his coadjutor General Spinner was none the less active and efficient. Though Secretary Chase has long been regarded as the father of the "greenbacks," their appearance as national currency was more the product of his advisors, of whom General Spinner was chief, than the result of his own individual act. He not only aided in their conception, but framed them, followed up the details of their execution, and in due time placed them at the disposal of the general government. Especially was this true of the postal currency. A blank card in the centre of which a three, five cent, or more postage stamp was pasted by the hand, and on General Spinner's own desk, constituted the issue of this currency, till the engraver's skill could be sought and the printing-press utilized for its production.

The national banking system, also, and the laws thrown about its establishment were the outcome of what General Spinner conceived to be the duty of the hour as well as the requirements of the situation. Not that he was the friend of inflation and desirous of a double currency standard—this latter, in his judgment, was as illogical as a double standard for the measurement of lengths—but banks with a perfectly secured circulation made current throughout the Union were a necessity, and this a wise bank act would properly subserve. He believed national struggles should be met by national issues, based on the nation's honor and the nation's wealth.

General Spinner's devotion to the many interests now on hand in behalf of the government was exceedingly marked. Through all the years



F. E. Spinner

of the war he never left his post for a single day. Indeed, his fidelity secured for him the memorable soubriquet "the watch-dog of the treasury." Frequently he passed day and night within the treasury building, receiv-

ing his meals from without, converting a little room in the rear of his office into a chamber for sleep. As congress held him responsible not only for a faithful performance of his own duties but likewise of all the clerks in his employ, he felt that the keenest vigilance was required not only to give efficiency to his department but to meet the demands resting upon him. When he assumed his duties as treasurer he found its working force consisting of only twenty employees; and with this feeble band for months the multiplied labors incident to the war were carried on before congress provided relief. His report dated December 2, 1861, closes with this significant statement: "and the further fact that this immense business has been conducted by the ordinary force of the office with accuracy, promptness, and dispatch, and to the entire satisfaction of all having business with the office, makes it unnecessary to say that all persons now employed have done their duty, and that some have labored beyond the endurance of most men."

Preëminently was this true of himself. Owing to the immense increase and pressure of business which events were constantly occasioning, congress soon saw, however, the need of supplementing the force in his department; and in less than a year the services of three hundred and fifty were regarded in no sense as inadequate to meet the claims made upon it. One of his companions in the treasury, Hon. Hugh McCulloch, gives this testimony concerning him: "A more trustworthy, conscientious, upright man than Francis E. Spinner never held an office under this government or any other. Until I knew him I had not met a man with more disposition or capacity for hard work than myself. In General Spinner I found in this respect, as well as in many others, my superior. He worked constantly from nine to ten hours a day, and when business was unusually pressing his working hours were extended from twelve to fifteen. He liked the place, was familiar with its business to the minutest detail, and he should have remained in it until he was no longer able to perform its duties. His name should be inscribed high in the roll of honor for meritorious services at a time when the government was greatly in need of such services as he was able to render and heartily rendered." To this he adds that "his resignation was caused by a disagreement between himself and the secretary about appointments to his bureau. As he was a bonded officer, he thought, and correctly, that he should control the appointment of clerks for whose acts he was responsible. He did control them when I was secretary, and he did under Mr. Fessenden and Mr. Chase."

General Spinner resigned the treasuryship after fourteen years of ser-

vice, June 30, 1875. As the exigencies of the war made heavy drafts for men capable of bearing arms, among others who enlisted were many in his own office. Since it was difficult to fill some of these vacancies, and believing that part of the required labor could be performed by women, going to President Lincoln he suggested that wherever it was possible they be appointed. At first his proposition met with opposition; later, however, the objections were removed; from that time to the present, the labor of women has formed an important factor in the business departments of the government.

It need scarcely be said that General Spinner was a devoted friend of the Union, and labored by argument, personal appeal, example, and with a free use of his means to crown northern arms with the desired success. With the immediate cause of the war he had no sympathy whatsoever. Liberty was man's birthright; and if this birthright had been denied a race for many years, its restoration should be the more readily granted. He was far from agitating the question of slavery, though a firm believer in its abolition; but when its continuance became a national issue, and the choice lay between the preservation of the Union and the loss of involuntary servitude, there was no hesitation. As in his mind this was the real issue which the war presented, he promptly arranged himself on the side of freedom, and labored earnestly that all dwelling in the land should share its blessings, and the nation be forever freed of one of the darkest stains that has dimmed its history.

It is related of him that when the capital was severely threatened by Confederate arms, realizing what such an invasion necessarily would involve, he immediately took active steps to remove the moneys under his control and to place them beyond the reach of the enemy. Accordingly a draft was at once made upon the post-office department for every available bag, in which he proposed to place the moneys and hide them till the threatened danger had passed. Should it so happen that the line of forts protecting Washington should be taken, a tug was to be in readiness, loaded with treasure, and then headed down the Potomac, as this offered the only way out of the city. A long night was spent with his assistants in filling bag after bag with crisp greenbacks and coin till the vault of the treasury became literally exhausted; in the meantime, a squadron of cavalry was stationed at the door of the treasury to render such escort as the safe removal of the moneys demanded. The next morning, learning that the threatened invasion had been suddenly checked, the moneys were removed from the bags and returned to the vaults. This watchfulness and care are not equaled, however, by the fact that when General Spinner

resigned his office as treasurer there was need that all the moneys be counted; and a discrepancy occurring, on their recount the error was discovered, carrying with it the witness that of the millions which had been confided to his keeping not one cent had been lost.

Our distinguished subject, Francis Elias Spinner, was born at German Flats (now Mohawk), New York, on the 21st of January, 1802. His father the Rev. John Peter Spinner was a native of Werbach, Baden. Possessing unusual qualifications for the ministry, after preparing in the gymnasium at Bishopsheim he entered the university of Mentz and became a graduate of the same. In his twenty-first year he was admitted to holy orders in the Roman church, and discharged the duties of a priest for twelve years. He became somewhat distinguished for the part he took in the funeral obsequies of Joseph II. and Leopold II. In 1800 he renounced his allegiance to the Roman church, and became a Protestant. He then married, and shortly after sailed for America, finding a home as well as employment in serving alternately the churches of German Flats and Herkimer, New York, at "the yearly stipend of two hundred dollars in good and lawful money." Men still live who are proud to bear witness to his piety, integrity, scholarship, and intellectual acumen. At the close of an oration in which the liberties of America had been commemorated, he is said to have pronounced this unusual benediction: "The God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, and the God of Washington bless you all."

For some reason "Dominie Spinner" was unwilling that his son should follow him in his profession. It was accordingly arranged that he should learn a trade. But as the young man's inclinations strongly favored mercantile life, on leaving school in his sixteenth year he became an apprentice to a confectioner in the city of Albany. He did not long remain in this position, as in less than two years afterward he was employed as saddler and harness-maker in the village of Amsterdam.

As General Spinner over his own signature has given an account of his school life, and the formative experiences of so many of our honored and best men in the state and church are involved in obscurity, a free quotation may be of interest. The letter from which this extract was taken was written late in December, 1889, to his life-long friend Mr. F. G. Berry of Herkimer.

"I went to school in four different districts in the Mohawk valley . . . 'common schools' they were designated by the statutes of the state of New York, and God knows they *were common enough* in every respect. The school-house and its surroundings were of the rudest kind, in some cases built of logs with the interstices filled in with mud. The

interior appointments of it were in strict keeping with the exterior. Rough slabs with the bark turned down, with sapling clubs driven into two-inch auger holes for legs, constituted the bench-seats. Wide boards nailed against the wall served for writing-desks. A cracked, rusty box-stove, whose rusty pipe ran out through a tin plate that replaced a pane of glass in the windows, was the heater. Deficient in light, and ventilation there was—none save that which came through the cracks in the wall and through the window, where a pane of glass was missing and an old hat usually did duty in its place.

And now 'the master.' He was,



THE DOME OF THE CAPITOL.

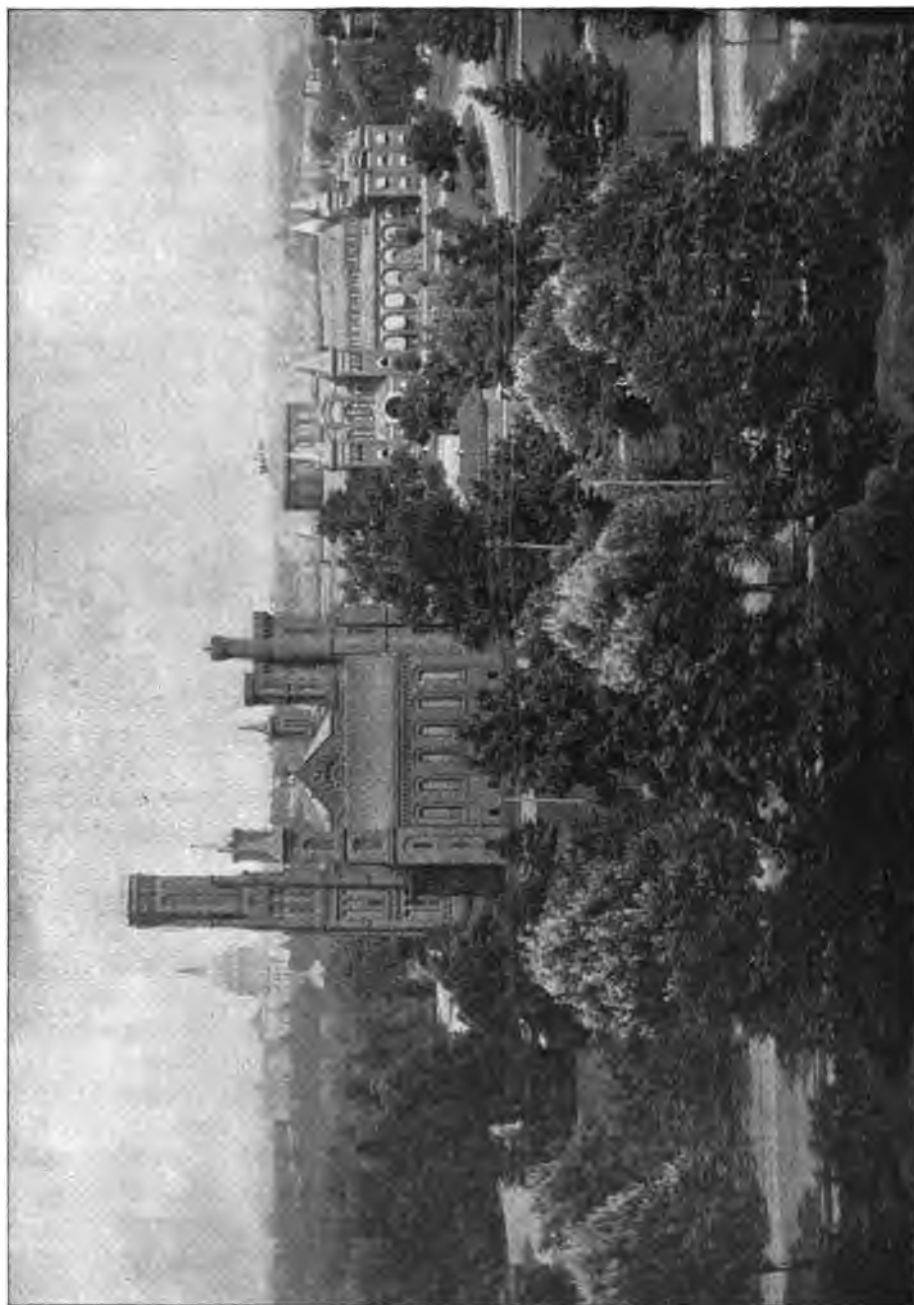
as a rule, selected from the hands who worked on a farm in the summer and taught school in the winter; not for the quantity or quality of his brains, but for his superior muscular development. His equipment consisted of a stout pair of coarse cowhide boots wherewith to discipline the big boys, a lot of rods, a heavy ferule, and a two-bladed pocket-knife—the larger blade used for the cutting and trimming of rods and switches, and the smaller one wherewith to make pens from quills out of the wings of a goose. A goose! fit emblem of all that pertained to an old-time common school in the Mohawk valley. Teaching in those days was principally by induction, and it was induced by rod and ferule from behind—a *posteriori*. Old King Solomon, 'the wisest of men,' made the law that governed the old-time common schools in the valley of the Mohawk. 'Spare not the rod,' was the edict at the home and in the school. 'Spare the rod and spoil the child,' came from the pulpit, the schoolroom, and the nursery. Perhaps this is the reason why I did not spoil, and that I am now at the age of eighty-eight years so well preserved. Farm-hands in those days received eight dollars a month and board. When employed in the winter as teachers they sometimes managed to get a little more, but they were obliged to 'board around' with the parents of their pupils. The board usually consisted of johnny-cake for breakfast; corned beef and cabbage, or pork and sauerkraut, for dinner; and sepawn and milk for supper; the lodging a 'shake-down' in the garret. Webster's spelling-book, Columbian reader, English reader, Daboll arithmetic, and Lindley Murray's grammar were the books mostly in use in those far-off days. The Bible was read in some schools where the New England sentiment was dominant. My father, a clergyman, protested against the use of the Old Testament in schools in his neighborhood, and it was thrown out as a book unfit for youth to read. The routine of the school exercises of that day was to commit to memory passages from the books, the meaning of which the pupil had no more conception of than Nicodemus had of the second birth. I recollect this was read at a school examination: 'as wise as a serpent and as harmless as a dove.' The question was asked, 'What is a serpent and what is a dove?' Not one in the class could answer either question. The little fellows were delighted when told that one was a snake and the other a pigeon. They were taught only to read, not to understand.

I remember having been taught to commit to memory this rule in grammar: 'A verb must agree with its nominative case in number and person.' Well, I wondered what kind of a case a nominative case was, and I had been taught by my pious father that the hairs of my head were numbered, but I could not comprehend why a person should have a num-

ber; and to this day the whole matter is just about as clear as mud to my mind. All that I know about English grammar I learned after I had served an apprenticeship at two different mechanical trades. After studying in several very common schools, I finally was graduated from district number one in the village of Herkimer. I had been highly educated in ignorance, for I had not learned that I did not know anything."

On leaving the village of Amsterdam General Spinner returned to Herkimer to become a clerk, and in his twenty-second year began business in his own name. Five years later, 1829, he was made deputy sheriff of the county, which position he held five years, when he was elected sheriff, holding this office three years. During this period he acquired that taste for public life which followed him all through his later life. Having a fondness for military affairs, in 1834 he became quite prominent in organizing the twenty-sixth regiment of New York state artillery, and was elected to, and held in succession, all the intermediate grades up to the rank of major-general of the third division. In 1838 his interest in public concerns led Governor Marcy to appoint him one of the commissioners for building the state hospital at Utica, a trust he discharged with unusual fidelity and acceptableness. When the Whig party came into power, shortly after the erection of this building, political influences were soon in motion questioning in a measure the faithfulness of those to whom this service had been intrusted. General Spinner courted at once an investigation, and voluntarily laid before the committee every paper and voucher to assist them in their purpose. After a month's examination in which lawyers and experts were engaged, it was discovered that not only were his accounts absolutely correct, but the state was his debtor—an amount it has yet to pay. As Herkimer was now his home, the Mohawk valley bank in the village, recognizing his integrity and business abilities, called him to its cashiership, the duties of which he filled with such acceptance as to be promoted at a later period to its presidency.

In 1845 General Spinner was appointed auditor and deputy naval officer of the port of New York, holding the position for four years. In 1854 he was elected on the Democratic ticket to represent the seventeenth district of New York in the thirty-fourth congress. In this congress he was a member of several important committees, including that of "privileges and elections." As this congress made itself somewhat memorable by failing for an entire winter to effect an organization of the house, and some of the circumstances connected with it are of unusual interest, let the general himself give this portion of its history as penned by his own hand to its surviving members, at a reunion held in March, 1888.



VIEW OF THE SMITHSONIAN, NATIONAL MUSEUM, AND THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

"By mere accident I became the humble instrument in keeping our ranks solid, and of bringing about the happy result of that election [Banks for speaker]. I desire to relate the incident through which it was effected. I was the only member of that congress who had been nominated and elected to it by the regular organization of the Democratic party who voted for Banks. Being an out-and-out Free Soiler, and hence strongly opposed to the extension of slavery into free territory, I refused to attend the Democratic congressional caucus for the nomination of the officers of the house of representatives, and thus was left free to vote for an anti-slavery extension man for speaker. For obvious reasons I declined to attend the caucuses of the opposition party. After the nomination of General Banks for speaker, I refused to go to his room, although I passed his door at Willard's, where we both boarded, many times every day during the two months' struggle for the election of a speaker. For a time I voted for several anti-slavery extension Democrats for speaker, but finally joined those who voted for General Banks. On the night of the first of February, when Governor Aiken had received three more votes than were cast for Banks, and when it was evident the plurality resolution would be adopted the next morning, in coming from my room late in the evening to mail my letters I came in contact with a number of our friends near the door of General Banks's room. Edwin B. Morgan, a member from the Cayuga district of New York, caught hold of me and urged me to go into General Banks's room. I declined to do so, but was overpowered by four or five other members from our state of New York, who joined Mr. Morgan in rushing me into General Banks's room.

I was astonished to find there quite a number of members who had for a long time voted for Banks for speaker. Stanton of Ohio had the floor. He ceased speaking on account of the noise and confusion caused by the entrance of the mob that thrust me into the room. After order was partly restored, Mr. Stanton resumed by saying: 'As I stated before, some of us think that Mr. Banks should decline to be a candidate, and should name the candidate to be supported on to-morrow.' I was aroused to the threatening danger at once, and sang out: 'What's going on here?' I knew enough of tactics to see the danger of changing front on the face of an enemy, or as Lincoln put it, 'It's dangerous to swap horses in the middle of a stream.' The thought of coming defeat made me very angry, and I said in a loud and emphatic manner: 'Let come what will, let who vote for whom he will, as for me, so help me God, I shall vote for Nathaniel P. Banks until a speaker shall be elected.' Then I forced my way out and slammed the door after me with a loud bang. . . . The so-called com-

mittee returned to the National Hotel and reported to the meeting the result of their mission to the friends of General Banks at Willard's. Thereupon many members who had voted continuously for Banks declared most emphatically that they would vote for Banks until a speaker should be elected. This quelled the rebellion, and there was no further effort to change our candidate, and it became apparent that either Banks or a Democrat would be elected. The happy result of the next day's vote is known to you."

General Spinner was a member also in the same congress of the committee on elections which had under consideration the contested Kansas seat, and of the special committee appointed to investigate the assault of Preston Brooks of South Carolina upon Senator Sumner of Massachusetts, also of the committee of conference which secured for itself a national reputation by agreeing to disagree on the army appropriation bill. Contemporaneous with the session of this congress, the Republican party came into existence; and though General Spinner had been elected to his seat by the Democratic vote, as the policy, however, which his party pursued did not accord with his sincere conviction, he withdrew from its ranks only to be renominated by the Republicans of his district for the same position, and for two consecutive terms was reelected by larger majorities, with a single exception, than were received by any of his associates. In the thirty-fifth congress General Spinner was placed on the committee of accounts, and during his membership of the thirty-sixth congress Speaker Pennington honored him with the chairmanship of this same committee. His congressional career covered the period from December 3, 1855, to March 3, 1861.

As General Spinner was thus a member of the house several years immediately preceding the civil war, he necessarily became very familiar with the numerous events that were gradually unfolding, and which finally precipitated the memorable struggle. In this contest he played no insignificant part. Not that his voice was heard frequently in debate in the house or even upon the stump; the committee room became the arena for his faithfulness, integrity, and wisdom. What others suggested he very often framed, giving points and facts which subsequently proved to be a basis for action.

In this same room no one remained in doubt either as to his purpose or conviction. If partial or class legislation was introduced, or bills affecting the unity or honor of his country, the undesirableness of such action was at once pointed out and received from him the most determined opposition. All party lines were but gossamer threads whenever they affected

principles or militated against national interests. Party had its purpose, but fundamental truth should ever be recognized, and recognized to influence and prevail. His devotion to his country came from no desire for emolument, but from a deep admiration of its Constitution and what it aimed to promote. A patriot and a politician were not correlatives; he held to the one and despised the other. American institutions were of too great value to the nation and the world at large to be used for human aggrandizement: they were ladders to a kingly service—the betterment of our common but much enslaved humanity. He believed that America was rapidly shaping the destinies of many of the downtrodden peoples of the earth, and therefore all sinister motives connected with the administration of its laws, all selfish and mere party legislation, should be promptly resisted; nor should anything whatsoever affecting her prosperity or integrity receive the least toleration.

General Spinner was a talker, not a speaker, and his judgment of men very accurate. It did not take him long to separate the false from the true and to divine a purpose as well as a principle. At times his language was vehement, but his honesty and sincerity were plainly apparent. In tenderness and sympathy his heart was in reality the heart of a child; it would sooner cease beating than conceive a wrong. The poor had in him a true friend, and his resources were always open to their honest needs. Not a few of the appointees in his office were from the large class of wounded soldiers, whose services he looked upon as worthier recommendations than simply political backing. Very few lived more truly the motto, "Do ye unto others as ye would have others do to you." In his manner he was brusque, but no one ever left his presence feeling offense. He was strong and abiding in his convictions, yet cheerfully yielded his opinion wherever he saw reason for change. At times his enthusiasm would kindle into a flame. On one occasion he rushed into the cashier's room in the treasury, and in tones quivering with emotion called out to all within the chamber, "Put that cash into the vault, boys, and get out from here as soon as you can. I want you all to yell! We've got Richmond."

Method had for him many attractions, since he found it yielding him many fruits. He made a record of every important transaction, whether public or personal in its character. When a friend was surprised at his marvelous ease in recalling events, he observed, "It has been my custom to keep a record of everything, and I have a whole garret full of note-books in which is recorded every cent that I ever received or paid out since I was a boy over eighty years ago." His signature was unique and is a marvel among autographs. The paragrapher has suggested

whether, in the absence of more active bait, it could not be utilized by the piscatorial profession in alluring the slumbering fish of the deep. Be this as it may, it has defied the skill of the forger and long since taken high rank for complicated yet symmetrical penmanship. His own history of it is : " I first practiced it while in the sheriff's office about 1835 ; I used it while commissioner for building the asylum at Utica, and as cashier and president of the Mohawk valley bank, and for franking while in congress. It was brought to its highest perfection when I was treasurer."

His desire for knowledge followed him far into age, scientific research being his favorite study. After he had entered his eightieth year he became a vigorous student in Greek, and so long as his sight remained unimpaired he passed many hours in some form of intellectual labor. But no love for knowledge was allowed to interfere with his physical well-being. He attributed his long life to systematic exercise and recreation, fishing and rowing being his special pleasures. He never lost his love for nature, in the open air, trees, shrubs ; flowers were always his friends, and he loved their silent teaching. His religious creed was very brief, but that brevity included the authority of God, and a need for other salvation than what man could devise. He passed the closing years of his life in the sunny land of Florida, living in a tent that he might the more enjoy its balmy air. The irritation of a pair of spectacles ripened into a cancer upon the nose, and after suffering most heroically, terminated his life, December 31, 1890. Had his valued life been prolonged three weeks he would have rounded out eighty-nine eventful years, a period covering nearly all the important events in the history of his country after it had become a separate nationality. He was buried with military honors, and laid away for his final rest amid the very scenes where his youth and many of his maturer years were passed—scenes to him fairly fragrant with the most valued associations.

A large, elegant handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Isaac F. Hartley". The signature is written in dark ink and features a prominent, sweeping flourish at the end.

THE HISTORIAN'S FIRST BOOK

SOME EXPERIENCES OF HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT *

The *Native Races* being my first book, persons have asked me if it paid pecuniarily; and when I answered "No" they seemed at a loss what to make of it. Samuel Johnson says: "No man but a blockhead ever wrote except for money." I will admit myself a blockhead to the extent that I did not write for money, but not so great a one as not to know, after a publishing experience of a quarter of a century, that work like mine never returns a money profit. And with due deference to the learned doctor I hold rather with John Stuart Mill, who says that "the writings by which one can live are not the writings which themselves live, and are never those in which the writer does his best. Books destined to form future thinkers take too much time to write, and when written come in general too slowly into notice and repute to be relied on for subsistence." Or as Mrs. Browning more tersely puts it, "In England no one lives by books that live."

Business experience had taught me that the immediate recognition, even of a work of merit, depends almost as much on the manner of bringing it forth as upon authorship. So easily swayed are those who pass judgment on the works of authors, so greatly are they ruled by accidental or incidental causes who form for the public their opinion, that pure substantial merit is seldom fully and alone recognized. I do not mean by this that the better class of critics are either incompetent or unfair, that they cannot distinguish a meritorious work from a worthless one, or that having determined the value of a production in their own minds they will not so write it down. Yet comparatively speaking there are few reviewers of this class. Many otherwise good journals, both in America and in Europe, publish miserable book notices.

Experience had told me that a book written, printed, and published at this date on the Pacific coast, no matter how meritorious or by whom sent forth—that is to say, if done by any one worth the castigating—would surely be condemned by some and praised coldly and critically by others. There are innumerable local prejudices abroad which prevent us from recognizing

* Extracts from the autobiographical reminiscences and comments of Hubert Howe Bancroft, in the thirty-ninth and last volume of his vast historical work.

to the fullest extent the merits of our neighbor. Least of all would a work of mine be judged solely upon its merits. Trade engenders competition, and competition creates enemies. There were hundreds in California who damned me every day, and to please this class as well as themselves there were newspaper writers who would like nothing better than by sneers and innuendoes to consign the fruits of laborious years to oblivion. "This man is getting above his business," some would say. "Because he can sell books he seems to infer a divine mission to write them. Now, it may be as well first as last for him to understand that merchandising and authorship are two distinct things; that a commercial man who has dealt in books as he would deal in bricks, by count, weight, or dollars' worth, cannot suddenly assume to know all things and set himself up as a teacher of mankind. He must be put down. Such arrogance cannot be countenanced. If writing is thus made common our occupation is gone." All did not so feel; but there was more of such sentiment behind editorial spectacles than editors would admit even to themselves.

To local fame or a literary reputation restricted to California, I did not attach much value. Not that I was indifferent to the opinions of my neighbors, or that I distrusted Pacific coast journalists as a class. I had among them many warm friends whose approbation I coveted. But at this juncture I did not desire the criticism either of enemies or friends, but of strangers; I was desirous above all that my book should be first reviewed on its merits and by disinterested and unprejudiced men. . . . By the verdict of the best men of the United States, of England, France, and Germany, the world's ripest scholars and deepest thinkers, my contributions to knowledge must stand or fall, and not by the wishes of my friends or the desire of my enemies. This is why, I say, a home reputation alone never would have satisfied me, never would have paid me for my sacrifice of time, labor, and many of the amenities of life. . . . To reach these results required a journey to the Eastern states. . . . My first work was ready for publication, and on its reception would depend in a measure my whole future. Not that the failure of the *Native Races* to sell would have discouraged me. This was the least that troubled me. It was altogether a secondary matter whether copies of the book were sold or not. I merely wished to assure myself whether mine was a good work well performed, or a useless one poorly done. I would have the book issued by first-class publishers in New York and Europe, for it must bear upon it the stamp of a first-class publication, but the people might buy it or not as they pleased. That was not what concerned me.

Crabbe was not more timorous in asking the generous Burke to look at

his verses than I in begging critics to glance at my productions. Not every one can understand the feeling. Not every one would hesitate to show a book of which one might be proud, to men interested in such books. But there was the trouble with me. I did not feel sure that my work was sufficiently meritorious to awaken their interest, that I had done anything to be proud of, and I did not know whether or not they would be interested. It came up to me as a species of beggary in which to indulge was worse than starvation. I must appear before these literary lords as a western adventurer, or at best a presumptuous *littérateur*, coveting their praise—a rôle I despised above all others. I must appear as one asking favor for a product of his brain so inferior in quality that if left to itself it could not stand. But there was behind me work piled mountain high, and for the sake of the future I would undertake the mission. . . .

I set out on my pilgrimage the 3d of August, 1874, taking with me my daughter Kate to place in school at Farmington, Connecticut. After a few days' stay at Buffalo with my two sisters, Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Trevett, I proceeded to New York. . . . Besides seeking the countenance and sympathy of scholars in my enterprise it was part of my errand to find a publisher. . . . At the New Haven railway station I encountered President Gilman, to whom I made known the nature of my mission and asked if he deemed it the proper thing for me to do. He thought that it was, and named several persons whom I must see. Further than this, he spoke of a meeting of the scientific association to be held in Hartford the following Tuesday, and advised me to attend, saying that he would be there and would take pleasure in introducing me to those whose acquaintance might be advantageous. I thanked him and we parted. . . .

In Hartford on Tuesday President Gilman introduced me to Professor Brewer of Yale, Dr. Asa Gray of Hartford, and others. He also spoke of me to several, among whom was Mr. Warner of the *Courant*, who, when I called upon him subsequently, treated me with scarcely anticipated kindness. I was then in a humor to be won for life by any man who would take the trouble. It may seem weak this super-sensitiveness, but I was in a feverish state of mind, and my nerves were all unstrung by long labor. I was callous enough to ignorance and indifference, for amongst these I had all along been working; yet intelligent sympathy touched me, and Mr. Warner's manner was so courteous, and his words so encouraging, that they sank at once into my heart where they have remained ever since. He entered warmly into my plans, gave me strong, decided letters to several persons, which proved of the greatest advantage, and on leaving his

office I carried with me the benediction which I know came from an honest pen. "God bless such workers!" . . . It was my intention to ask Eastern scholars to examine my book and give me an expression of their opinion in writing; but in talking the matter over with Dr. Gray he advised me to delay such request until the reviewers had pronounced their verdict, or at all events until such expression of opinion came naturally and voluntarily. This I concluded to do, though at the same time I could not understand what good private opinions would do me after public reviewers had spoken. Their praise I should not care to supplement with feebler praise; their disapprobation could not be averted after it had been printed.

And so it turned out. What influence my seeing these men and presenting them copies of my book had on reviewers, if any, I have no means of knowing. Directly, I should say it had none; indirectly, as for example a word dropped upon the subject, or a knowledge of the fact that the author had seen and had explained the character of his work to the chief scholars of the country, might make the reviewer regard it a little more attentively than he otherwise would. On receipt of the fifth volume of the *Native Races* Dr. Gray wrote me: "I am filled more and more with admiration of what you have done and are doing; and all I hear around me, and read from the critical judges, adds to the good opinion I had formed." Dr. Gray gave me letters to Francis Parkman, Charles Francis Adams, and others. While at Cambridge we called on Mrs. Horace Mann, but she being ill, her sister, Miss Peabody, saw us instead. With eloquence of tongue and ease and freedom she dissected the most knotty problems of the day. James Russell Lowell lived in a pleasant, plain house, common to the intellectual and refined of that locality. Longfellow's residence was the most pretentious I visited, but the plain, home-like dwellings within which was the atmosphere of genius or culture, were most attractive to me. How cold and soulless are the Stewart's marble palaces of New York beside these New England abodes of intellect with their chaste though unaffected adornments! Lowell listened without saying a word; listened for three or five minutes, I should think, without a nod or movement signifying that he heard me. I was quite ready to take offense when once the suspicion came that I was regarded as a bore.

"Perhaps I tire you," at length I suggested. "Pray go on," said he. When I had finished he entered warmly into the merits of the case, made several suggestions, and discussed points of difference. He bound me to him forever by his many acts of sympathy then and afterward, for he never seemed to lose interest in my labors, and wrote me regarding them. What,

for example, could have been more inspiring at that time than to receive from him shortly after my return to San Francisco such words as these: "I have read your first volume with so much interest that I am hungry for those to come. You have handled a complex, sometimes even tangled and tautological subject with so much clearness and discrimination as to render it not merely useful to the man of science but attractive to the general reader. The conscientious labor in collecting, and the skill shown in the convenient arrangement of such a vast body of material, deserve the highest praise." . . .

Wednesday, the 26th of August, after calling on several journalists in Boston, we took the boat for Nahant to find Mr. Longfellow, for he was absent from his home at Cambridge. Neither was he at Nahant. And so it was in many instances, until we began to suspect that most Boston people had two houses, a city and a country habitation, and lived in neither. From Nahant we went to Lynn, and thence to Salem, where we spent the night undisturbed by witches, in a charming little antique hotel. During the afternoon we visited the rooms of the scientific association, and in the evening Wendell Phillips, who gave me a welcome that did my heart good. A bright, genial face, with a keen, kindly eye, and long white hair, a fine figure, tall but a little stooped, I found him the embodiment of shrewd wisdom and practical philanthropy. There was no cant or fiction about him. His smile broke upon his features from a beaming heart, and his words were but the natural expression of healthy thoughts. He comprehended my desires and necessities on the instant, and seating himself at his table he dashed off some eight or ten letters in about as many minutes, keeping up all the time a rattling conversation, neither tongue nor pen hesitating a moment for a word; and it was about me and my work and California and whom I should see, that he was talking. Nor was this all. Next morning in Boston he handed me a package of letters addressed to persons who he thought would be interested in the work, and whose names had occurred to him after I had left. . . .

John G. Whittier was a warm personal friend of Phillips, and to him among others the latter sent me. We went to Amesbury where the poet resided, the day after meeting Phillips in Boston—a frank, warm-hearted Quaker, living in a plain, old-fashioned village house. He gave me letters to Longfellow, Emerson, and Dr. Barnard. . . . Informed that Professor Henry Adams, editor of the *North American Review*, was staying a few miles from Salem, I sought him there but unsuccessfully. Next day I met accidentally his father, Charles Francis Adams, to whom I expressed regrets at not having seen his son. He said he would speak to him for me,

and remarked that if I could get Francis Parkman to review my book in the *North American* it would be a great thing for it, but that his health and preoccupation would probably prevent. He gave me several letters, and I left full copies of my printed sheets with him. Now, of all things, "great things" for my book I coveted. So to Parkman I went. I found him at Jamaica Plains, where he resided during the summer, deep in his literary work. After all, the worker is the man to take work to, and not the man of leisure. Mr. Parkman was a tall, spare man, with a smiling face and winning manner. I noticed that all great men in the vicinity of Boston were tall and thin, and wore smiling faces, and gave indications of innate gentleness of character.

"This shows wonderful research, and I think your arrangement is good, but I should have to review it upon its merits," said Mr. Parkman. "As a matter of course," I replied. "I do not know that I am competent to do the subject justice," he now remarked. "I will trust you for that," said I. And so the matter was left, and in due time several splendid reviews appeared in this important journal as the different volumes were published.

I was told to call on the Rev. James Freeman Clarke. I did so, but he was not at home. Returning to Boston we took the train for Concord and sought Mr. Emerson. He was gracious enough and gave me some letters, one to Dr. Draper and one to Mr. Bryant; but in all his doings the great philosopher was cold and unsympathetic. He was the opposite of Wendell Phillips, who won the hearts of all that stood before him. . . . From Concord we went again to Cambridge, to see Mr. Howells of the *Atlantic Monthly*. After some conversation upon the subject it was finally arranged that Bliss was to write an article of some ten pages on my work for this magazine. There were many others we called on, some of whom were at home and some absent, among the latter much to my regret Oliver Wendell Holmes, Edward Everett Hale, and James T. Fields. From Dr. Holmes I subsequently received many letters, which brought with them a world of refreshing encouragement. So genial and hearty were his expressions of praise that the manner of bestowal doubled its value to me. Few can appreciate the worth to an author of encouraging words at such a time and from such a source. . . . I had seen all the chief literary editors of Boston, and was well enough satisfied with the results. I knew by this time that my book would receive some good reviews in that quarter. So I concluded to leave Boston.

On our way to New York we stopped at Newport and called on T. W. Higginson, who like Gilman aspired to the popular side of things. The

result of this interview was half a dozen letters, in which he took care to state—that he might show, I suspect, how guarded he was in avoiding imposition—that President Gilman had introduced me, and that Clarence King indorsed me. Afterward came a review of the *Native Races* in *Scribner's Monthly Magazine*. None were kinder or more cordial than Higginson, who on several occasions went out of his way to serve me. As I was on my way to New York I saw his letters were directed to Mr. Reid, Mr. Ripley, Curtis, Holland, Parton, Godkin, Ward, and others. The first read as follows: "I wish to introduce a gentleman whom I count it an honor to know, Mr. H. H. Bancroft of San Francisco, who has been giving wealth and time for years to a work on the wild races of the Pacific states. His first volume shows a research very rare in America, and is founded on his own remarkable library of sixteen thousand volumes collected for the purpose. The book if carried out as it is begun will be an honor to our literature. Mr. Bancroft asks nothing from us but sympathy and Godspeed. I have been most favorably impressed by what I have seen of him personally, and am assured by Mr. Clarence King that he is thoroughly respected and valued in San Francisco." . . .

It was no great achievement to visit these men and command their attention. In one sense, no. And yet in the state of mind in which I was then laboring it was one of the most disagreeable tasks of my life, and strong as I usually was physically it sent me to bed and kept me there a fortnight. I had been entirely successful; but success here was won not as in San Francisco by years of tender devotion to an ennobling cause, but by what I could not but feel an humiliating course. I sought men whom I did not wish to see, and talked with them of things about which it was most distasteful to me to converse. It was false pride, however, and my extreme sensitiveness that kept alive these feelings. Good men assured me that I was not over-stepping the bounds of literary decorum in thrusting my work forward upon the notice of the world; that my position was peculiar, and that in justice to my undertaking in San Francisco I could not do otherwise. I had met with much that was assuring, but I had likewise encountered much that was disheartening. I found here as elsewhere in the affairs of mankind hypocrisies and jealousies. Literature has its coteries and conventionalisms as well as other forms of human association. . . . From the beginning of civilization, I believe, by the East the West has been considered barbaric in learning and literature. Greece first taught Rome, Rome western Europe, Europe America, and eastern America the western. Thus the East has always held the West in some sort of contempt so far as religion and learning were concerned. The East

was the original seat of civilization, whence radiated the more refined religion, with art, science, and literature. The West has always been illiterate, infantile in learning, with crude ideas in relation to all that creates or regulates the higher intellectual life. . . .

Lest the East should become, however, too arrogant and domineering in its superior culture, it may profitably bear in mind two things: first, that as the West rises into supremacy the East decays, and that there is now no farther West for restless learning to reach. Palestine and Egypt are dead; the greatness of Athens and Rome dates two thousand years back; London is growing old; if New York and Boston do not some time die of old age, they will prove exceptions to the rule; so that if the glory of the world be not some day crowded into San Francisco, it will be by reason of new laws and new developments. In a word, Massachusetts and Connecticut may yet go to school to Michigan and California.

In New York I met George Bancroft—with whom, by the way, I am in no way related—who gave me a letter to Dr. Draper, and was kind enough afterward to write: "To me you render an inestimable benefit, for you bring within reach the information which is scattered in thousands of volumes. I am glad to see your work welcomed in Europe as well as in your own country. In the universality of your researches you occupy a field of the deepest interest to the world, and without a rival. Press on, my dear sir, in your great enterprise, and bring it to a close in the meridian of life, so that you may enjoy your well-earned honors during what I hope may be a long series of later years." Dr. Draper was a man well worth the seeing; from first to last he proved one of my warmest and most sympathizing friends. After my return to San Francisco he wrote me: "I have received your long-expected first volume of the *Native Races of the Pacific States*, and am full of admiration of the resolute manner in which you have addressed yourself to that most laborious task. Many a time I have thought if I were thirty years younger I would dedicate myself to an exploration of the political and psychological ideas of the aborigines of this continent; but you are doing not only this, but a great deal more. Your work has taught me a great many things. It needs no praise from me. It will be consulted and read centuries after you are gone." . . .

I failed to see Mr. Bryant, but was gratified by the receipt of a letter in which he expressed himself in the following words: "I am amazed at the extent and the minuteness of your researches into the history and customs of the aboriginal tribes of western North America. Your work will remain to coming ages a treasure-house of information on that subject."

The Californian journals printed many of the Eastern and European letters sent me, and Mr. Bryant's commanded their special admiration on account of its chirography, which was beautifully clear and firm for a poet, and he of eighty years. When will men of genius learn to write, and those who aspire to greatness cease to be ashamed of fair penmanship? . . .

I cannot enter more fully into the detail of reviewers and reviews; suffice it to say that two large quarto scrap-books were filled to overflowing with such notices of the *Native Races* as were sent me. Never probably was a book so generally and so favorably reviewed by the best journals in Europe and America. Never was an author more suddenly or more thoroughly brought to the attention of learned and literary men everywhere. . . .

Thus it was that I began to see in my work a success exceeding my wildest anticipations. And a first success in literature under ordinary circumstances is a most fortunate occurrence. To me it was everything. I hardly think that failure would have driven me from my purpose, but I needed more than dogged persistency to carry me through herculean undertakings. I needed confidence in my abilities, assurance, sympathy, and above all a firm and lofty enthusiasm. I felt with Lowell, that "solid success must be based on solid qualities and the honest culture of them."

Hubert H. Bancroft

REV. SAMUEL M. ISAACS

It was in picturesque Leeuwarden, in the old-time province of Friesland, Holland, where Samuel Myer Isaacs was born on January 4, 1804. The most conservative of all sections of Holland in fidelity to traditional dress and customs, Friesland has much to commend itself to the tourist, and Leeuwarden is one of the handsomest places of its size in Holland. Its streets are broad, its houses spacious, its shops are attractive, and its many book and art stores testify to the cultured taste of the community; while its inhabitants are a sturdy, temperate, well-preserved race, the women being preëminently tall and fine-looking. The subject of our sketch did not reside very long in Holland. When the French entered Friesland, and the future seemed as insecure as the present was unpropitious, his father gave up his business of banking and emigrated with his family to hospitable England, Samuel then being in early boyhood. Arrived in London, the father, being a man of scholarly attainments for his day, became a teacher, and exerted every effort to secure a good education for his children—four of his sons becoming teachers in Israel in different quarters of the globe.

Spurred on by his father's example, Mr. Isaacs was trained for the ministry, and gaining esteem as teacher was elected head of a prominent Jewish institute in London. Here his genial qualities found an excellent, although somewhat narrow, seed-field, but a change was to come. One Sabbath two Americans who were visiting London listened to his ministrations and were pleased with his genial manner. They sought an introduction and soon made known their purpose. It was to announce that the Elm street synagogue of New York extended a call for his services as minister.

If prejudice still exists in many quarters in England against everything American, how much more intense and certainly more justified must have been the sentiment half a century ago. America was regarded as an unknown continent, with the savages still in the majority, and the most crude ideas prevailed as to American life and manners. It was natural, then, for Mr. Isaacs at first to hesitate, particularly as he was about to be married, before he accepted the call. But duty, which was to be stronger than inclination throughout his whole career, made his course clear. It seemed imperative for him to enter upon a life-mission in the new world,

where the workers were but few and the work urgent. So without further delay he consented, married a young bride, and set sail for New York in 1839. The voyage lasted three months, and the packet's safety was despaired of. It is interesting to notice that Audubon the naturalist was a



REV. SAMUEL M. ISAACS.

companion on the journey. The arrival of an English Jewish preacher was indeed a novelty in those days, for in 1839 preaching in the vernacular was a rarity. The Elm street synagogue near Walker street was crowded every Sabbath to hear the new preacher, and not a few non-Israelites were attracted. There were then only two synagogues in the

city which provided for its six hundred Jewish families. The growth in fifty years from two to twenty-five large houses of worship and from three thousand to one hundred and eighty thousand Israelites is significant.

Mr. Isaacs was just the reverse of a fashionable preacher. His mission and message were simple and direct. Conservative from ancestry and training, he taught the old-time traditional Judaism, laboring earnestly to correct abuses that had impaired the purity of the service and impeded the devotion of the worshiper. As a preacher he was hampered somewhat by being educated in the English pulpit method, his discourses usually being written out and delivered from manuscript. He was at his best in his extemporaneous efforts in pulpit and on platform. His themes were generally practical and had one aim—to teach Jewish doctrine and elevate the moral life. His sermon's strength lay largely in the preacher himself, whose honest convictions were bluntly expressed and whose principles were never compromised.

Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs's activity was by no means confined to the pulpit. He was frequently heard on the lecture platform, and his services were extensively utilized throughout the country in dedicating synagogues. He used to tell an amusing story of how, when he was called to Chicago to lay the corner-stone of a synagogue, a horse was brought for him to ride to the appointed site, which was a barren tract of land now the centre of a flourishing metropolis. His amazement at seeing the horse was equaled by his consternation on a similar occasion in another city when he was asked to follow a brass band which led the procession to the new edifice. He refused the horse in the one instance, and took a short cut to the synagogue in the other.

Besides these labors which made his name widely known, Mr. Isaacs early saw the necessity of providing charitable and educational agencies for the Israelites of New York. He was one of the founders and for a time vice-president of the Jews', now the Mount Sinai hospital; the Hebrew Free School Association owes its conception largely to his foresight, while in all local and national movements for Jewish education his activity was pronounced. His love for Palestine brought him into sympathetic relations with Sir Moses Montefiore, and he was zealous in his efforts to relieve poverty and promote enlightenment in the East.

In 1857 he founded the *Jewish Messenger* as an organ of conservative Judaism. In its columns he advocated many measures of communal utility and furnished a standard of journalism which won general esteem. Besides his editorials and an occasional sermon he contributed a large number of miscellaneous articles, of which his "Leaves from the Diary of

a Jewish Minister " acquired more than local fame. These formed a partial autobiography, and the incidents were invariably founded on fact. Their chief trait was a delightful humor. Written hastily and amid diverse duties, they are readable and piquant still. He was fond, too, of writing short stories and sketches, generally in a humorous vein. Like the typical rabbi, he had an inexhaustible fund of humor, and needed it in the trials and anxieties of a minister's life.

Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs, while sincere and punctilious in his adherence to conservative Judaism, was happily free from any taint of bigotry. Without the least infusion of clerical conceit, there was no approach to narrowness. He was intensely American in his sympathies, and his standing in the community was recognized by his being asked to read a selection from the Scriptures at the Lincoln memorial service in New York in 1865. His personal habits were just the reverse of ecclesiastical—he was a family man, never brighter than in his family circle, sharing the pleasure and grief of each inmate. If he was among the earliest to attend the daily morning service in his synagogue, which after successive removals finally was established on Forty-fourth street, between Sixth and Seventh avenues, he was the promptest to visit the sick and the destitute. His parish was never restricted to his own congregation and his own creed. He was by no means an ascetic, but his life was temperate in all things. He knew only one amusement, the game of whist, and he belonged to a regular circle which met every two or three weeks at each other's homes to enjoy the pastime. Old Dr. Chandler Gilman, who used to live on Thirteenth street near Fifth avenue, was one of this whist club, and a good Catholic priest was occasionally of the party. Simple in his tastes, he found his highest happiness in his devotion to the synagogue with the self-sacrifice of the old-time clergyman. In some respects much of what Emerson writes of Ezra Ripley can be applied to him: "His brow was serene and open to his visitor, for he loved men, and he had no studies, no occupations, which company could interrupt." He knew so well the common experiences of men and "sympathized so well in these that he was excellent company and counsel to all, even the most ignorant and humble." "He gave himself up to his feelings, and said on the instant the best things in the world." "He believed, and therefore spoke." In one word: "He was a man very easy to read, for his whole life and conversation were consistent."

Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs was always a busy man. His activity was a marvel to his friends. He never took a longer vacation than a week or two in August, and then always within call. He was an early riser, and from

dawn to midnight was constantly occupied. He was systematic in his methods, punctual in his appointments, prompt in every duty, and as his nature was cheerful his tasks were rarely burdens. Besides his studies, his synagogue duties, his editorial labors, a vacant half hour was usually given to general reading. Dickens, Wilkie Collins, and Charles Reade were his favorites among English authors. Disraeli's career he followed with intense interest. In American political life the parson had not yet risen to prominence, but he was a loyal Republican from the foundation of the party, and both in the down-town (Houston and Prince streets) and the up-town (46th street and 1522 Broadway) wards voted the straight Republican tickets, national and local. When he resided in Houston street near Thompson, Rev. Dr. Morgan's church and graveyard were still at the corner of Broadway and Houston, Bleecker street was a very fashionable thoroughfare, the old Houston street stages lumbered along leisurely, Washington parade ground was a favorite resort, and the city was still wearing its primitive and provincial garb in many a street and tenement. He had firm faith in New York's great future and liked to contrast its almost rural appearance when he landed in 1839 with the character it had assumed after the war of 1861. He had no sympathy with those who justified slavery on biblical grounds, but in his pulpit and paper was a stanch Unionist. An editorial in the early days of 1861 called "Stand by the Flag" caused the defection of his entire Southern subscription list. He used to relate how he received an indignant set of resolutions from the Hebrews of a certain Southern town, launching fierce invectives at him and his paper, and stating that they would withdraw their patronage in the future. Of all the Israelites in the place, only one, however, was a subscriber, and he was in arrears. Mr. Isaacs's residence at 119 West Houston was not far from the scene of outrages in the draft-riots of 1863; the mob hung a negro to a lamp-post a block from his dwelling.

Rev. Samuel M. Isaacs died, after a few weeks' illness, May 19, 1878. His strength was unabated until the last, and his activity only ceased with his life. It is curious that his last editorial, written before his final illness, was entitled "Duties to the Dying." His last audible words, a day before the end, were, "I have endeavored to do my duty."

Abram S. Isaacs

NEW YORK CITY.

THE PENNSYLVANIA CONVENTION, 1788

There is no record of debate in the convention of Pennsylvania. All that can be surmised of objections to ratification of the Constitution must be gathered from the two arguments in favor of it and from the amendments suggested after the action of the convention. McKean, who had been governor of the state, a member of its legislature and of its judiciary, moved that the convention assent to and ratify the Constitution agreed upon by the Federal Convention, and Wilson spoke to the motion:

"The system proposed by the late convention for the government of the United States is now before you. As I am the only member of that body who has the honor to be a member of this, it may be expected that I should prepare the way for the deliberations of this assembly by unfolding the difficulties which the late convention was obliged to encounter, by pointing out the end which it was proposed to accomplish, and by tracing the general principles which it has adopted for the accomplishment of that end. The difficulty of the business was equal to its magnitude. No small share of wisdom and address is requisite to combine and reconcile the jarring interests that prevail, or seem to prevail, in a single community. The United States contain already thirteen governments, mutually independent. Those governments present to the Atlantic a front of fifteen hundred miles. Their soil, their climates, their productions, their dimensions, their numbers, are different. In many instances a difference, and even an opposition, subsists in their interests; and a difference, and even an opposition, is imagined to subsist in many more. An apparent interest produces the same attachment as a real one, and is often pursued with no less perseverance and vigor. When all these circumstances are seen and attentively considered, will any member of this body be surprised that such a diversity of things produced a proportionate diversity of sentiment? Will he be surprised that such a diversity of sentiment rendered a spirit of mutual forbearance and conciliation indispensably necessary to the success of the great work, and will he be surprised that mutual concessions and sacrifices were the consequences of mutual forbearance and conciliation? A very important difficulty arose from comparing the extent of the country to be governed, with the kind of government proper to be established in it. It has been the opinion countenanced by high authority, that the natural property of small states is to be gov-

erned as a republic; of middling ones, to be subject to a monarchy; of large empires, to be swayed by a despotic prince; that to preserve the principles of the established government the state must be supported in the extent it has acquired, and that the spirit of the state will alter in proportion as it extends or contracts its limits. Here, then, a difficulty appears in full view. On the one hand, the United States contain an immense extent of territory, and according to the foregoing opinion a despotic government is best adapted to that extent. On the other hand, it was well known that however the citizens of the United States might submit with pleasure to the legitimate restraints of a republican constitution, they would reject with indignation the fetters of despotism. What was to be done? The idea of a confederate republic presented itself. This kind of a constitution has been thought to have all the internal advantages of a republican, together with the external force of a monarchical government. Its description is a convention by which several states agree to become members of a larger one which they intend to establish. It is a kind of assemblage of societies that constitute a new one, capable of increasing by means of further association. The expanding quality of such government is peculiarly fitted for the United States, the greater part of whose territory is yet uncultivated. But while this form of government enabled us to surmount the difficulty last mentioned, it conducted us to another. It left us almost without precedent or guide, without the benefit of that instruction which in many cases may be derived from the constitution, history, and experience of other nations.

The science of government seems yet almost in a state of infancy. Governments in general have been the result of force, of fraud, and of accident. After six thousand years since the creation, the United States exhibit the first instance of a nation unattacked by external force, unconquered by domestic insurrections, assembling voluntarily, deliberating fully, and deciding calmly concerning that system of government under which they would wish that they and their posterity should live. The ancients seem scarcely to have had an idea of any other kinds of government than the simple forms, monarchical, aristocratical, and democratical. Tacitus considered a mixed government of the three forms rather to be wished than expected, and, even if instituted, not of probable long duration. One thing is certain, that representation in government was unknown to the ancients, which in my opinion is essential to every system that can possess the qualities of freedom, wisdom, and energy. For the American states were reserved the glory and happiness of diffusing this vital principle throughout the constituent parts of government. To be left without guide or prece-

dent was not the only difficulty in which the convention was involved by proposing to its constituents the plan of a confederate republic. They found themselves embarrassed with another of peculiar delicacy and importance, that of drawing the proper line between the national government and the governments of the several states. It was easy to discover a proper and satisfactory principle upon the subject. Whatever object of government is confined in its operation and effects within the bounds of a particular state should be considered as belonging to the government of that state; whatever object of government extends in its operation or effects beyond the bounds of a particular state should be considered as belonging to the government of the United States. But though this principle be sound and satisfactory, its application to particular cases would be accompanied with much difficulty, because in its application room must be allowed for great discretionary latitude of construction of the principle.

In order to lessen or remove the difficulty arising from discretionary construction on this subject, an enumeration of particular instances in which the application of the principle ought to take place has been attempted with much industry and care. It is only in mathematical science that a line can be drawn with mathematical precision, but I flatter myself that upon the strictest investigation the enumeration will be found to be safe, unexceptionable, and accurate in as great a degree as accuracy can be expected in a subject of this nature. Having enumerated some of the difficulties which the convention was obliged to encounter, I shall point out the end it proposed to accomplish. Our wants, our talents, our affections, our passions, tell us that we were made for a state of society. But a state of society could not be supported long or happily without some civil restraint. True, in a state of nature one individual may act uncontrolled by others, but others may act uncontrolled by him. Consequently each in a natural state would enjoy less liberty and suffer more interruption than he would in a regulated society. Hence the universal introduction of governments of some sort or other into the social state. The liberty of each member is increased by this introduction, for each gains more by the limitation of the freedom of every other member than he loses by the limitation of his own. The result is that civil government is necessary to the perfection and happiness of man. In forming this government and carrying it into execution, it is essential that the interest and authority of the whole community should be binding in every part of it. The foregoing principles and conclusions are generally admitted to be just and sound with regard to the nature and formation of single governments, and the duty of submission to them. In some cases they will apply with

much propriety and force to states already formed. The advantages and necessity of civil government among individuals in society are not greater nor stronger than in some situations and circumstances are the advantages and necessity of a federal government among states. Is such the situation, are such the circumstances of the United States? The United States may adopt any one of four different systems. They may become consolidated into one government in which the separate existence of the states shall be entirely absorbed. They may reject any plan of union or association, and act as separate and unconnected states. They may form two or more confederacies. They may unite in one federal republic.

To support with vigor a single government over the whole extent of the United States would demand a system of the most unqualified and the most unremitted despotism. Such a number of separate states, contiguous in situation, unconnected and disunited in government, would be at one time the prey of foreign force, foreign influence, and foreign intrigue; at another the victims of mutual rage, rancor, and revenge. Neither of those systems found advocates in the late convention. Would it be proper to divide the United States into two or more confederacies? Some aspects under which it may be viewed are far from being at first sight uninviting. Two or more confederacies would each be more compact and more manageable than a single one extending over the same territory. By dividing the United States into two or more confederacies, the great collision of interests apparently or really different and contrary in the whole extent of their dominion would be broken, and to a great extent disappear in the several parts. But these advantages discovered from certain points of view are greatly overbalanced by inconveniences that will appear upon more accurate examination. Animosities and perhaps wars would arise from assigning the extent, the limits, and the rights of the different confederacies. The expenses of government would be multiplied by the number of federal governments. The danger resulting from foreign influence and mutual dissensions would not, perhaps, be less great and alarming in the instance of different confederacies than in the instance of more numerous unassociated states. The remaining system which the American states may adopt is a union of them under one confederate republic. By adopting this system the vigor and decision of a wide-spreading monarchy may be joined to the freedom and beneficence of a contracted republic. The extent of territory, the diversity of climate and soil, and the greatness and connection of lakes and rivers with which the United States are intersected and almost surrounded, all indicate an enlarged government to be fit and advantageous for them. The principles and

dispositions of their citizens indicate that in this government liberty shall reign triumphant. Such indeed have been the general opinions and wishes entertained since the era of independence. If these opinions and wishes are as well founded as they are general, the late convention was justified in proposing to its constituents one confederate republic as the best system of a national government for the United States."

So far as Wilson stated why and how the federal convention had based a Constitution on identity of interest and balance of power,* he spoke for that convention; in all else for himself. The narrative and the comment must be considered separately.

"In forming this system it was proper to give minute attention to the interest of all the parts; but there was a duty of higher import to feel, to show a predominating regard to the superior interests of the whole. If this great principle had not prevailed, the plan before us had never made its appearance."

Less obscurely the interests of each state were carefully considered, and such as were found identical in each were made the subjects of a federal government. So Wilson meant, so he was understood to mean. "Civil government is necessary to the perfection of society; civil liberty is necessary to the perfection of civil government. Civil liberty is natural liberty itself, divested of only that part which placed in the government produces more good and happiness to the community than if it had remained in the individual.

This is not definition, it gives no boundaries. Civil liberty exists when the quantity of the natural liberty of the individual lodged in a government, and the quantity retained, are settled. The wisest basis of division is stated in the Declaration of Independence. If men desire a just government, they delegate to it so much of an inalienable sovereignty of the individual as each consents to contribute. Thus the rights and duties of its citizens to each other, and to a government, and of a government to them, are defined or made capable of definition. Whatever a citizen is entitled to under the common consent or under the natural liberty retained is civil liberty. In considering and developing the nature and end of the system before us, it is necessary to mention another kind of liberty, which has not yet, as far as I know, received a name. I shall distinguish it by the appellation of federal liberty. When a single government is insti-

* The expression of Condorcet, whose criticism of such a basis ignored the distinction between the constitution of a single state, which deals with the rights of its citizens, and the constitution of a federal republic, which deals with the rights of communities. *Esquisse des progrès de l'esprit humain.*

tuted, the individuals of which it is composed surrender to it a part of the natural independence they before enjoyed as men. When a confederate republic is instituted, the communities of which it is composed surrender to it a part of their political independence which they before enjoyed as states. The principles which directed in the former case what part of the natural liberty of the man ought to be given up, and what part ought to be retained, will give similar directions in the latter case. The states should resign to the national government that part, and that part only, of their political liberty which placed in that government will produce more good to the whole than if it had remained in the several parts."

As by an enumeration of subjects the line had been drawn between federal authority and state authority, the definition of federal liberty must be exempted from control on all but the enumerated subjects. Hobbes, starting from the same assumption of the "Rights of Man" as the Declaration of Independence, contends that when men institute a government by consent they alienate to it their will; that anterior stipulations as to its exercise of power are useless, as its will has immediately upon institution become their will, that a monarchy, an oligarchy, or a democracy must be absolute, and that a mixed government must soon resolve itself into one of the three. The theory of the Declaration of Independence and the theory of Hobbes have been running a race in the United States from the moment a Union was projected; the former had a great advance, but the latter is fast closing the gap. "Since states as well as citizens are represented in the Constitution before us, and form the objects upon which that Constitution is proposed to operate, it was necessary to notice and define federal as well as civil liberty."

Whether a state should have weight in a new Union in proportion to population, was a question which threatened the disruption of the federal convention. It was compromised by the admission of the claim in some of the agencies of government and by the denial of it in others; the principal effect of that compromise being that states in one branch of the congress had unequal weight, by representatives being apportioned among them in proportion to population; and in the other branch, equal weight. In defining population in the Constitution, negro slaves, fully one-fifth of the population of the Union, were rated as three-fifths of so many freemen; therefore the assertion that citizens, in addition to states, were represented under the Constitution, would be false in part, if it had not been false in whole. States only are represented.

"We now see the great end proposed to be accomplished—to frame

for the consideration of their constituents one federal and national Constitution which would produce the good and prevent the inconveniences of bad government; whose beneficence and energy would pervade the whole Union and insure peace, freedom, and happiness to the states and people of America."

Here inquiry apparently began: Where are we to understand that sovereignty will reside under this new system?—a question natural, as the Articles of Confederation asserted the independence and sovereignty of each state, and by them the states pledged themselves to defend the sovereignty of each other. "There necessarily exists in every government a power from which there is no appeal, and which for that reason may be termed supreme, absolute, and uncontrollable. Where does this power reside? To this question writers on different governments will give different answers. Blackstone will tell you that in Britain the power is lodged in the British parliament, that the parliament may alter the form of government, and that its power is absolute, without control. The idea of a constitution limiting and superintending the operations of legislative authority, seems not to have been accurately understood in Britain. There are at least no traces of practice conformable to such a principle. To control the power and conduct of a legislature by an over-ruling constitution, was an improvement in the science and practice of government reserved to the American states."

Perhaps some politician who has not considered with sufficient accuracy our political systems would answer, that in our governments the supreme power was vested in the constitutions. This opinion approaches a step nearer to the truth, but does not reach it. The truth is, that in our governments the supreme, absolute, and uncontrollable power remains in the people. As our constitutions are superior to our legislatures, so the people are superior to our constitutions. Indeed, the superiority in this last instance is much greater, for the people possess over our constitutions control in act as well as right. The consequence is that the people may change the constitutions whenever and however they please. This is a right of which no positive institution can ever deprive them. To the operation of these truths we are to ascribe the scene, hitherto unparalleled, which America now exhibits to the world—a gentle, a peaceful, a voluntary, a deliberate transition from one constitution of government to another. Often I have remarked with silent pleasure and admiration the prevalence through the United States of the principle that the supreme power resides in the people, and that they never part with it. It may be called the panacea in politics. There can be no disorder in the commu-

nity but may here find a radical cure. If the error be in the legislature, it may be corrected by the constitution ; if in the constitution it may be corrected by the people. There is a remedy therefore for every distemper in government, if the people are not wanting to themselves ; if they are, there is no remedy. From their power there is no appeal ; of their error there is no superior principle of correction. In this Constitution all authority is derived from the people. It opens with a solemn and practical recognition of that principle: We the people of the United States do ordain and establish this Constitution of the United States of America. The citizens of the United States appear dispensing a part of their original power, in what manner and proportion they see fit. They never part with the whole, and they retain the right of recalling what they part with.

At this stage interpellation recommenced. " You state that there are now in a union thirteen governments, except as to so much of their power and attributes of sovereignty not delegated to the congress of the United States, mutually independent of that congress and of each other. Each government necessarily must have been instituted by a people. A proposal is made to the people of Pennsylvania to be one of nine states, to withdraw from that union and conjoin in another. As you urge the acceptance of that proposal, you affirm not only such right in the people of Pennsylvania, but that the exercise of the right is consonant with honesty and with comity to other states. Upon that proposal the legislature of Pennsylvania has authorized this convention, in which the people of Pennsylvania appear by representatives. If the proposal is accepted by this convention the act must be an exercise of sovereignty. If this Constitution is accepted by and established between nine or all the states, what will the word people mean in your view ? "

" I consider the people of the United States one great community, and I consider the people of the different states as forming communities again on a lesser scale. From this great division of the people into distinct communities, it will be found necessary that different proportions of legislative powers be given to the governments, according to the nature, number, and magnitude of their objects. Unless the people are considered in these two views, we shall never be able to understand the principle on which this system was constructed. I view the states as made for the people as well as by them ; the people, therefore, have a right to form a general or state governments in what manner they please, or to accommodate them to one another, and by this means preserve them all."

The answer was equally explicit. " This convention knows whether the

state of Pennsylvania was made such by the people of the colony of Pennsylvania for itself, or whether the change from colony to state was made for it by some other agency. The proposition that the state of Pennsylvania and the inhabitants of the state are things distinct leads, if the fact, to some remarkable results. The state of Pennsylvania, accepting this as any federal constitution, will be one of the units of a federal system, of which the government—its processes disclosed, its object carefully defined—is in its operation limited to interests common to all the states; while its inhabitants will be units of another system, absolute over everything, its processes of government undisclosed and its object uncommunicated. Therefore, such assumed the effect, the acceptance of this Constitution will inaugurate two systems of government—one federal, in which the rights and duties of a federal government, of states, and of individuals, depend upon consent; and one consolidated, in which rights depend upon something undefined. Such never could have been the intention of the federal convention; that body evidently supposed that it was proposing a compact between states.”

“I am surprised at so late a stage of the debate to hear such principles maintained, to see the great leading principles of this system so very much misunderstood. The convention no doubt thought that it was framing a contract. I cannot answer for what every member thought; but I believe it cannot be said that they thought they were making a compact, because I cannot discover the least trace of compact in the system. It is a new doctrine, that one can make a compact with himself. The convention were forming compacts; with whom? I know no bargains were made then. I am unable to conceive who the parties could be. This is not a government founded upon compact, it is founded on the power of the people. I know the commonplace rant of state sovereignties, and that government is founded in original compact. If that position is examined, it will be found to accord very well with the true principle of free government. This Constitution may have defects in it—hence amendments may become necessary; but the idea of a government founded on contract destroys the means of improvement. I know well that in Great Britain, since the revolution, it has been a principle that the constitution is founded in contract; but the form and time of that contract no writer has yet attempted to discover. It was, however, recognized at the time of the revolution, and therefore is politically true. But we should act very imprudently to consider our liberties placed on such a foundation.”

Upon the answer to this reasoning Wilson declined further discussion, saying: “Instead of disagreeing about who shall possess the supreme

power, the object which should employ the attention and judgment of this convention is, whether the present arrangement is well calculated to promote and secure the tranquillity and happiness of our common country."

The answer was conclusive against everything but an illusion. If there be now a body corporate, a people of the United States, it cannot of course make a compact with itself. Whether there is such a body corporate, is a question of fact. There are three documents, and only three, which are proof one way or the other. The Declaration of Independence avers that independent states will thenceforth exist, not that a people of the United States will exist. The Articles of Confederation aver that thirteen named independent and sovereign states have formed a federal union, not a people. Subsequent to that union Great Britain acknowledged the independence not of a people nor of the United States, but of each state separately; which must have been recognized as the proper formulas by the representatives of the United States. Whether in any other part of the world governments have or have not been founded in contract is immaterial. Here they have been, unless consent is not contract. This is one of the self-evident propositions of the Declaration of Independence, to us at least a political truth, if we claim that our governments are "just." Both the form and the time of the contracts are known; therefore, there is no mystery in the matter of government, state or federal. When men form a community and institute a government, by our theory, they agree upon duties and rights. When they agree that a community of which they are members shall join in a federal union, and that a federal government shall have authority over them, they agree upon rights and duties as members of their community, not of any other; and that community as their representative agrees with similar representatives. If this state and New York are in a federal union, the mutual duties and rights of the people of the two states exist from and are bounded by consent, whether the word people expresses individuals in an organization, or an organism. Why a government by contract should preclude the means of improvement, more than its alternative a government by force, is not perceptible. Contract can supply a method of amendment, and amendment can alter the method.

Wilson did not communicate the information that he had pressed upon the federal convention, a people of the United States, as a basis of its deliberation, and that the response, "Such is not the fact," had disposed of the assumption. The duty of a delegate and the honor of a man may not have compelled him to disclose the basis of the plan in the federal convention, but they certainly forbade the assertion that bargains were not made in it by the states represented. Wilson agrees with Hobbes and

Sir Robert Filmer that a government ought to be absolute and irresponsible, but differed as to the depositary ; which they placed in a monarch, and he in a majority. At that date prevalent opinion held consent the basis of a just government ; a state, the organization of a people ; and a federal union of states with a limited federal government, the best system for the states. To his averment that except upon the assumption of a people of the United States we shall never become a nation, the response, "We do not wish to become a nation," admitted of no rejoinder. He accepted the action of that prevalent opinion under protest uttered in the congress of the United States, in the debate upon the articles of confederation, in the federal convention, and in the convention of Pennsylvania. His perspicacity had discerned the danger point in the system (every system has its danger point), that suffrage might not keep to the constitutional limits.* Believing that it would not, he preferred that it should be absolute through a constitution, to its becoming absolute through usurpation. True it is that no system can exclude the consequences of human nature. In a government by consent, as in every other, no matter how equitable and explicit the partition of power, some will strive for more than an allotted portion, and some will resent the attempt. "Each legislature (federal and state)," said Wolcott in the Connecticut convention, "has its province. Their limits may be distinguished. If they will run foul of each other, if they will be trying which has the hardest head, it cannot be helped. The road is broad enough ; but if two men will jostle each other, the fault is not in the road." The men of that period knew that questions might arise which they had not foreseen, and for which the Constitution had not provided, to the solution of which, neither a law nor a judge subsisting, they must trust to the good sense of posterity, but they were not willing to buy the exclusion of such possibilities at the price which Wilson proposed.

Free from the task of defending an hypothesis, Wilson invited attention to various provisions of the Constitution ; elucidating them with marked ability, and finding just praise for all except that one which by its novelty and effect had seemed to foreigners a supreme excellence, and to the federal convention a supreme necessity—the process for amendment.† The reason for an omission so significant was probably because

* Ca qu'il y a de commun dans les différents intérêts forme le lieu social : et s'il n'y avait pas quelque point dans lequel tous les intérêts s'accordent, nulle société ne saurait exister. Or, C'est uniquement sur cet intérêt commun, que la société doit être gouvernée. Contrat Social.

† Nous montrerons comment les républiques Américaines ont réalisé cette idée alors presque nouvelle en théorie, de la nécessité d'établir, et de régler par la loi, un mode régulier et paisible pour réformer les constitutions elles-mêmes, et de séparer ce pouvoir, de celui de faire les lois. Esquisse des progrès de l'esprit humain.

that process acknowledged consent ; recognized the equity of an approach to unanimity, for a change in what had been established by unanimity ; gave a state power for amendment, upon the principle of power in representation ; and for suffrage drew the line between use and usurpation. McKean closed the debate. He reminded the convention that Pennsylvania only authorized it to accept or to reject ; therefore, that the duty of judgment was to weigh the advantages and disadvantages, and to decide as either preponderated.

He then proceeded to state *seriatim*, examine, and answer such objections as had been formulated, concluding with : " A student of law all my life, this system appears to me the best that the world has yet seen. I care not what it is called—a consolidation, a confederation, or a national government—the name is immaterial : the thing unites the states and makes them like one in particular instances and for particular purposes, which is what is most ardently desired by most of the sensible men in this country." Denial of " a people of the United States," and the distinction between identity and resemblance, could not have been conveyed with greater delicacy or greater plainness.

After the Constitution had been accepted, the opponents of ratification, by the amendments they desired, proved, as so did the opponents in every convention, that opposition had not been to the plan, but to the absence of language needed in their view to make the plan unmistakably what the advocates of ratification said it was meant to be and was. The reasoning attributed to the opponents of Wilson's hypothesis is imaginary. Such it must have been in substance, but undoubtedly expressed with far greater command of language.

A. W. Blason

IRWIN, VIRGINIA.

AN HOUR WITH GEORGE BANCROFT

It was a rainy, blowy, dismal day in Washington, toward the close of October, 1889, when having exhausted the morning papers and the desultory chit-chat in the reading-room of the Hotel Normandie it occurred to me to call on the venerable historian, whom I had known upward of twenty odd years, but whom I had not seen for a long period owing to his change of residence from New York to Washington. I had another motive in calling upon him, which was to solicit, should I find him in a genial mood, some scrap of historical writing which might possibly lie among his unpublished papers, as a final contribution from his pen to this magazine, in which I knew he felt great interest, and to which he had frequently contributed in recent years.

Bancroft's residence was within an easy walk of the hotel—a spacious and pleasantly situated edifice on a broad street and in a quiet neighborhood, which externally and internally seemed admirably adapted to the requirements of a literary man who, at the advanced age of eighty-nine—while still actively engaged in his dearly beloved pursuit of historical research and book-writing—mingled far less than formerly in that social life which for years seemed to have been to him a necessity of existence. When the time comes to publish his biography the writer thereof will render scanty justice to his subject if he fails to give large space to the social qualities, the remarkable personal peculiarities, and, it must be added, the curious *mélange* of little vanities and frivolities, which went to make up one of the most original characters among the American notabilities of the present century.

George Bancroft presented the severest contrasts that individual idiosyncrasy offers among literary men of the highest culture. Stern and inflexible in his records and speech when analyzing the events of the past and the character of the men who figured in them; serious and emphatic as if his historic pages were to be accepted without criticism as the *ipse dixit* of unquestioned authority from which no appeal was possible, the historian when he left his library to go into the world seemed to assume a new nature with his change of costume, and to enter the social circle with the playfulness of a school-boy released from the drudgery of study. It would be difficult to draw the line where natural pleasantry ended and the artificial began. "From grave to gay, from serious to severe," he passed

so rapidly, that those who met Mr. Bancroft for the first time at some social assembly and had an opportunity of observing him could not well make out what sort of a character stood before them, or whether a sage of history, a profound philosopher, or a social punchinello was the most fitting term to apply to him.

I have myself in former years met Mr. Bancroft under varied circumstances when it was as difficult to decide which was his chief characteristic, as in the well-known story of the chameleon to ascertain the precise color of that changeable and interchangeable reptile. At a dinner-party he was the most versatile of the company, now grave and unctuous in deciding a vexed question in history, now exciting general laughter by a joke not quite in harmony with the conventional proprieties of the table; while on the same evening, when descending the staircase with, as he supposed, no one but his companion within listening distance, I have heard him give vent to expressions akin to that of an actor behind the scenes who was disconcerted with the part his companion, a lady, had played. That he himself was more or less an "actor" in society was too generally acknowledged to be ignored in recalling his characteristics even in a superficial sketch of this kind. I remember an evening at the Century Club in New York when at a festive gathering a certain young lady had been crowned by the members as the "May Queen" of the occasion. I was standing near by when Mr. Bancroft entered the gay assembly, and, striking an attitude of astonishment before the first young lady whom he encountered, exclaimed: "Why are *you* not Queen of the May? *You* should have been the May Queen"—with other pleasantries which called up a blush of gratified vanity at such a compliment from such a man. This was all very well so far as it went, but when later on the distinguished historian addressed the same words to another young lady with whom I stood conversing, accompanied by the same gesticulations expressive of surprise and devotion, the speech fell rather tamely upon my ears. If insincerity is the basis of flattery, Mr. Bancroft was an adept in such pleasing deceptions; and not only when bandying *les phrases de société*, but in the lecture-room he laid himself open to the charge of—to use a courteous term—embellishment. I was once in company with Mr. Anthony Trollope, the English novelist, at a meeting of the New Jersey Historical Society, when the paper of the evening was read by Mr. Bancroft. My companion, who was noted for keen critical observation as well as for inimitable cleverness in depicting character, paid close attention to the lecturer and his discourse, without making a single comment until, at the burst of applause at one of the speaker's happy "points," Trollope turned and

whispered in my ear, "Do you suppose that he himself believes what he is saying?" The incident is worth recording as the involuntary criticism of a bluntly honest foreigner who for the first time saw and heard the distinguished historian.

Bancroft the schoolmaster, the Unitarian preacher, the lecturer, the magazine writer, the politician—changing his party-colored coat with the facility of a harlequin—a member of the cabinet, secretary of the navy, minister at the court of St. James and at Berlin, and the historian of the United States, presented the same versatility of character while he excited universal respect for his intellectual qualities. In London he occasioned many amusing remarks in society, but his scholastic acquirements and diplomatic ability were justly acknowledged. His familiar acquaintance with German literature and the German language brought about a familiar friendship with the Prince Consort, with whom he held long conversations on politics, art, and letters in the prince's native tongue. The late emperor of Germany, then Prince Royal of Prussia, in reply to the question how he liked our minister at Berlin, said to me, "Bancroft? I like him immensely. Such energy and investigation I have seldom seen. He is here, there, and everywhere. Really a remarkable man."

Arrived at Bancroft's door in Washington I decided not to send up my card until assured that he was disposed to receive a casual visitor at that hour. Newspaper rumor had more than once asserted that the venerable historian had lost much of his intellectual as well as physical vigor; that he had given up his daily horseback exercise, had ceased writing history, and that he passed most of his time in a semi-demented condition, a confirmed invalid in his house. But his valet who opened the door to me, a faithful body-servant devoted for years to his master's service, assured me before going up to him in his library to announce my name, that he was sure that any visit from an old acquaintance would be most acceptable. "It is one of Mr. Bancroft's good days," he remarked. "He is feeling very well, and I know that he is not engaged in writing. He will be glad to see you, sir, and it will do him good to have a visitor." The man soon returned with a pleasant message confirmatory of this opinion, and I followed him upstairs to the library. As I proceeded, the inner life of the occupant of the house was apparent at every step. Books lined the walls, and a second room filled with shelves laden with bound volumes caught my eye, adjacent to the library proper in which the historian passed the greater part of his time.

Mr. Bancroft was seated in his arm-chair near his writing-table, which also was well covered with books, but he arose and received me with much

cordiality. Taking it for granted that he might not after the lapse of so many years distinctly recall my identity, I began by reminding him as to who I was and when we had last met. He interrupted me with a vigorous but somewhat squeaky voiced exclamation, that he not only remembered me perfectly but that he rather thought he knew more of my family and their antecedents than I did myself. Thereupon he went back to the days of his boyhood in the town of Worcester, Massachusetts, and informed me that a certain cousin of mine, now some years deceased—who then dwelt there—had been his schoolmate and playmate. He, Mr. Bancroft, had greatly stood in awe of his schoolmate's mother, my aunt, who was a lady of great dignity, and most precise in her manners and ways of life. "I was a wild boy," continued Bancroft, "and your aunt did not like me. She was always fearful that I would get her son into bad ways, and still more alarmed lest I should some day be the cause of his being brought home dead. There was a river, or piece of water, near Worcester, where I used to beguile young Salisbury, and having constructed a rough sort of raft he and I would pass a good deal of our playtime in aquatic amusements, not by any means unattended with danger. Madam's remonstrances were all in vain, and she was more and more confirmed in the opinion that I was a 'wild, bad boy.' However, nothing serious beyond an occasional wetting ever occurred, yet I never rose in her estimation, and a 'wild boy' I continued to be up to manhood."

Other members of the family were then referred to, and with that vividness of recollection in small details of events of early years which is characteristic of old age; but when I called Mr. Bancroft's attention to mutual friends still living, and to one in particular then residing in Washington, whom I took it for granted he sometimes saw, his memory was less acute. "And so he is living in Washington?" asked the historian. "Well, this city has certain advantages which cannot be said of others. I find it a most agreeable residence. New York is only a great money-making centre, and literature is unappreciated there." Referring to his library he was unable to state the number of volumes; he believed there were between twenty thousand and twenty-five thousand; the collection was much larger than it appeared, as for want of space elsewhere most of the shelves held two rows of volumes. The conversation was turning upon books and recent publications, when a lady member of the family entered the room, to whom I was introduced. She held an open letter in her hand which she showed to Mr. Bancroft and suggested the reply he should make to it, to which he assented. This incident convinced me that in his widowerhood and old age Mr. Bancroft was not bereft of that feminine

counsel and sympathizing care which none but those who stand in need of such influences can fully appreciate. As the lady remained and joined in the conversation, Mr. Bancroft became more of a listener than a talker, interrupting only by an occasional pertinent and caustic observation. A gentleman's name came up who was an active sympathizer in "church work," whose words were quoted to the effect that it was ridiculous for a person to refuse to believe in religious dogma simply because he did not understand it. "It would be ridiculous," broke in Mr. Bancroft, "for a person to profess to believe what is opposed to his understanding." I referred to a magazine paper which had recently appeared with the title, "Why I am an Agnostic." "What nonsense!" said Mr. Bancroft. "It is like saying, Why I don't know what is not knowable." Speaking of magazine literature I referred to that excellent publication *The Magazine of American History*, the editor of which I knew to be personally known to him, a lady whom he once introduced to a large gathering of distinguished guests at the White House, where she was receiving with the Presidential party, as his "fellow historian," and on another occasion in another administration, when invited by the President to meet her at dinner, promptly replied, "I am always glad to meet my peer in historical work," and I suggested that if he could lay his hand upon some piece of historical manuscript among his papers which had not been in print, it would be particularly acceptable to the readers of her magazine. He answered by paying a high tribute to the genius of that editor and pronounced her "a sincere woman," as if sincerity in woman, or of writers of history as a body, is an exceptional characteristic. As to a contribution of the kind, he remarked that his executors would find very little indeed among his papers which had not been already in print. I earnestly hope the editor of this magazine will not hesitate to print the above personal allusion to herself, now that the distinguished man who made it is no more.

Bancroft was in such a genial mood during my visit, that I ventured to proffer another request of a literary nature in behalf of a publisher, which I thought he might possibly accede to, but in this I was mistaken. We were standing in the middle of the room at the moment, and I was just on the point of taking my leave. "May I not give our friend some hope that he may hear from you on the subject?" I asked, noticing his apparent hesitation to grant the favor requested.

"Certainly not," he said with some asperity. "I am very careful what I say, and I cannot speak a word to encourage such a hope. No, I won't, there *now*!" and the great historian jumped off his feet to give emphasis to his decision. The action was so ludicrously out of proportion to the

cause in question, that he as well as the rest of us broke into laughter. It served at least to show the nervous energy of the octogenarian and the importance he attached to matters affecting his personal convenience.

I was happy to leave him in this cheerful state of mind and to take away with me the impression that should he before long quit this earthly tabernacle, he would do so like his contemporary Hawthorne in the midst of literary labor, and not like Emerson live beyond that period when the intellectual flame illumines and cheers the evening of existence.

Charles H. Tuckerman.

FLORENCE, ITALY.

GEORGE BANCROFT, 1800-1891

A SONNET

"To be a really great historian is perhaps the rarest of intellectual distinctions."—*Macaulay.*

Before his century born, a few brief days,
 And living with its lapse, well toward its close,
 No name with classic lore more starred it shows,
 Nor thicklier wreathed with Fame's historic bays,
 Than his whose death we mourn, whose virtues praise—
 BANCROFT, our nation's Nestor, as he goes
 Plumed for the lustrous fellowship of those
 Whom Death is sure to strike, but never slays.

His learning and his life our memories fill
 With pride on which no shade of censure lies.
 He did not die too soon, or live too long—
 His worth full ripened for the poet's song.
 Since History lives though the historian dies,
 'Tis his best meed to live in history still.

Wm. L. Richards

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

SLAVERY IN CANADA

BY J. C. HAMILTON, LL.B.*

Mr. Hamilton presented the results of a study of existing records, and stated the facts relating to this subject so appearing.

He began with the origin of the institution of slavery in Canada, two hundred and two years ago, in the reign of Louis XIV., who was then busy aiding and advising his good friend and brother James II. of England, and in watching the movements of William Prince of Orange, and preparing for war with Germany. The secretary of state, however, as soon as he found a leisure moment, brought before his majesty certain letters from high officials in the province of Quebec. There were two, dated 10th August and 31st October, 1688, from M. de Denonville, and one from M. de Champagny, dated 6th November, 1688, to the secretary, their purport being to represent that working people ("gens d'industrie") were so extraordinarily scarce, and labor so dear in Canada, that all enterprise was paralyzed, and that it was thought the best remedy would be to allow the importation of negroes as slaves.

The attorney-general of Canada, then in Paris, assured his majesty that such was also his conviction, and that if permitted some of the principal inhabitants would purchase slaves as they arrived from Guinea. His majesty finally got to a consideration of the subject. Perhaps he talked it over with King James, who visited Paris in December, 1688, having "left his country for his country's good," and the result was a royal mandate written early in 1689 stating that his majesty had approved of the proposal that his loyal subjects of Quebec should obtain negroes to do their work. He added that he wished care to be taken, lest the negroes, coming from so different a clime, might not endure the rigor of Canada, and so the important project fail.

The *code noir* contains an ordinance of November 13, 1705, making negroes movable property, and providing for their humane treatment. In 1709 an ordinance was issued by Raudot, intendant at Quebec, reciting the king's permission, and that negroes and Panis (Pawnee Indians) had been procured as slaves; and to remove doubts as to ownership it was ordained

* Abstract of a valuable paper read before the Canadian Institute July 3, 1890. From the Transactions.

that all such Panis and negroes who had been so bought or held should belong to the person so owning them in full proprietorship. Attached to this is the certificate of one Cognet, that he had duly published the ordinance by reading it after mass in certain churches in the city of Quebec. The forty-seventh article of the capitulation of Canada to the English provides that all such negroes and Panis should remain in their condition of slavery. This was September 8, 1760. The negroes so introduced were mostly from African cargoes landed at Jamaica and other West India islands. Some were from the United States. Slaves were often cited and described in legal and other notices and documents in Lower Canada as chattels, such as "negroes, effects, and merchandise." By act of the English parliament in 1732, 5 Geo. II., cap. 7, houses, lands, negroes, and real estate within the colony were liable to be sold as assets to satisfy their owner's debts. Both negroes and Panis appear on the parish records. Thus on the 13th March, 1755, at Longue Pointe, it is reported that Louise, a negress of M. de Chambault, had been buried, and on the same register is the certificate of baptism, dated 4th November, 1756, of Marie Judith, Pani, about twelve years of age, belonging to the Sieur Preville. In the newspapers of the time are several advertisements for sale. In the *Montreal Gazette* of 18th March, 1784, Madame Perrault offers a negress for sale, and a week later is advertised "a negress about 25 years, who has had the smallpox and goes under the name of Peg." In March, 1788, the Montreal court of common pleas had before it the case of *Jacobs v. Fisher*, claiming the delivery to the plaintiff of "two negro wenches," and judgment was given that the slaves should be given up or fifty pounds damages be paid. Several similar cases are on record in Montreal and Quebec.

In July, 1797, an imperial statute was passed which recited the act of George II. referred to, and that it was deemed expedient that change should be made in the law in so far as the compulsory sale of slaves under execution was provided. That provision of the act was therefore repealed as far as it referred to negroes in his majesty's plantations. The agitation against the slave system had then fully begun in England. Lord Mansfield had decided the celebrated *Somerset* case, freeing the negro slave brought from Jamaica to England. This and the misconstruction of the last recited act soon had a marked effect on the future of the negro in Lower Canada. In February, 1798, "Charlotte," a colored slave, was claimed by her mistress and released on *habeas corpus* by Chief Justice Sir James Monk in Montreal. "Jude," another negress, was soon afterward arrested as a runaway slave by order of a magistrate. The negroes in

Montreal, knowing of the "Charlotte" case, became excited and threatened to revolt, but when the woman was brought before the chief justice he released her also, and declared to the effect that in his opinion slavery was ended. On the 18th February, 1800, the case of "Robin" came before the full court of king's bench, Mr. James Fraser claiming him, when after argument it is recorded that it was ordered "that the said Robin *alias* Robert be discharged from his confinement." It seems clear that the court was wrong in its judgment, and that slavery in law existed in Lower Canada until the imperial act of 1833 removed it from all the colonies. An effort was made in the provincial legislature to obtain an act to define the true position, but without success. The masters were mostly residents of Montreal and Quebec, and the country members, not having such property, had no interest in sustaining the system for the benefit of the wealthier citizens, who had to acquiesce in the inevitable, and slavery ceased *de facto* in that province from and after the decision in the "Robin" case, 18th February, 1800.

The system was introduced in Upper Canada before the separation of the Upper and Lower provinces in 1791, but our population was then small and scattered. We had a few hundred negro and a few Pawnee slaves, mostly around the Niagara, Home, and Western districts. In 1793 the first parliament of the province, meeting in its second session in Navy Hall, of which part remains in the low brown wooden buildings still visible from the wharf at Niagara, then called Newark, passed an act which, while it prohibited the importation of slaves, confirmed the ownership in slaves then owned, and provided that their children should be free on attaining twenty-five years of age. The members of this first parliament, thirteen in number, with Mr. Macdonell of Glengarry as speaker, were mostly strong U. E. Loyalists. The act regarding slavery was, it is thought, drawn by Chief Justice Osgoode (who became chief justice of Upper Canada, July 29, 1792) at the suggestion of that good Englishman Governor Simcoe, who in his speech on closing the session of 1793, and consenting to this act, expresses the great relief he felt at being no longer liable to be called upon to sign permits for the importing of slaves.

This remained the position till 1833, when the imperial act removed all remains of the system. Before the passage of the act of July, 1793, some of the states of the Union had passed similar acts, *e.g.* Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. New York followed in 1799 with a provision for gradual emancipation, which was followed by complete abolition in that state, July 4, 1827. Mr. Hamilton cited several cases of slave advertisements, notably that of the administrator Hon. Peter Russell, who at York on February

19, 1800, offered Peggy, aged forty, and Jupiter, aged fifteen, for sale, the woman for \$150, and the boy for \$200, "payable in three years secured by bond, but one-fourth less would be taken for ready money." Mr. Russell's sister, Miss Elizabeth, had a pure negress named Amy Pompadour, who attended her mistress dressed in a red turban. Miss Russell made her a present to Mrs. Captain Denison of York, who was the great-grandmother of several of Toronto's well-known citizens. Amy had a son, born during a visit of the Duke of Manchester to the town, who was named in memory of the duke and Mrs. Denison, Duke Denison, and lived to the middle of the century.

In the *Niagara Herald* several advertisements are found relating to slaves; so in the *Gazette and Oracle* early in the century. One refers to an Indian slave or *Pani*. Mr. Charles Field in the *Herald* of August 25, 1802, forbids all persons harboring his "Indian slave Sal." Messrs. W. & J. Crooks of West Niagara, in October, 1797, advertised in the *Gazette and Oracle* "that they wanted to purchase a negro girl of good disposition from seven to twelve years of age." It is interesting to note that these beautiful grounds of the Chautauqua assembly were the old Crooks farm. On it still, within sight of the amphitheatre where we are now assembled, is the frame, buff-painted family farmhouse or homestead. Among the records in the register of St. Mark's parish church, Niagara, is the following certificate:

"Married, 1797, Feb'y 5, Moses and Phœbe, negro slaves of Mr. Secretary Jarvis."

Another noted Niagara citizen, Colonel Thomas Butler, advertised in the Upper Canada *Gazette* of July 4, 1793, offering \$5 reward for his "negro man servant named John."

An account was given of Solicitor-General Gray and his slaves, Dorinda Baker and her children Simon and John. Mr. Gray lost his life on the schooner *Speedy*, a government vessel wrecked on Lake Ontario, October 7, 1804, and with him died his body-servant Simon Baker. Simon's brother John lived till 1871, and died in Cornwall, Ont. But he and all Mr. Gray's other slaves were freed by his will, which is proved in the surrogate court at Toronto. Lieutenant-Governor Sir A. Campbell favored the speaker with a note as to slaves in Kingston, stating his interest in the subject, and concluding: "I had personally known two slaves in Canada; one belonged to the Cartwright and the other to the Forsyth family. When I remember them in their old age, each had a cottage, surrounded by many comforts, on the family property of his master, and was the envy of all the old people in the neighborhood." Sir Adam Wilson also informed the

speaker of two young slaves, "Hank" and "Sukey," whom he met at the residence of Mrs. O'Reilly, mother of the venerable Miles O'Reilly, Q. C., in Halton county about 1830. They took freedom under the act of 1833, and were perhaps the last slaves in the province.

A description was given of Ogden island in New York state, in the St. Lawrence river, opposite Morrisburg, Ontario, a beautiful place of one thousand acres, where about 1810 Judge David A. Ogden built a mansion and resided in patriarchal state, having twenty-five negro slaves, part of the dowry of his wife, a North Carolina lady. They were happy and contented, and though free to go and come to the Canada shore, none ever deserted. At the rear of this house and in the yard may be seen the "negro quarters." Some of these servants were voluntarily set free by Judge Ogden. One of them, an intelligent, amiable man, was known on both banks of the St. Lawrence as "Old Uncle Kit." He became a clergyman of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and pastor of the old Leonard street and now Bleecker street colored church, New York city, and passed among his colored brethren, till his death about 1880, as Rev. Christopher Rush. It is pleasant now to look back three score and ten years and see these contented servants moving about the grounds, or in company with white masters, and guests of this old and honorable family, pulling out to fish among the green islands, or with bows and firearms seeking game, then abundant in the neighborhood.

Nova Scotian slavery was referred to. The system was never there abolished by parliament, but was unsuited to the climate and fell into desuetude. The like was the case in the other maritime provinces.

Two references to slavery there were given, one in a deed registered in Truro in 1779, in which one Harris conveyed to Matthew Archibald his interest in a twelve-year-old negro boy called Abram for 50 pounds cy. The other is an advertisement dated June 23, 1800, of sale of "a stout negro girl, aged eighteen years, good-natured, fond of children, and accustomed to both town and country work. For particulars apply at the old parsonage, Dutch Town." The reader concluded with references to Africans held as slaves to Indians. He showed that while such slavery was common among the southern Indians, Creeks, Choctaws, and Cherokees, it did not obtain among Canadian tribes. This was owing to their nomadic habits and to the climate. The famous Mohawk Captain Brant, or Theyendenaga, is by some thought to have been a slaveholder. It was shown by reference to history and to inquiry now made of living descendants of Brant that such was not the case. He had large estates at Burlington bay and on the Grand river. Here many runaway negroes from

the states had come, were treated hospitably, and remained working and living with the Indians, often adopting their customs and mode of living. Several descendants of such fugitives are now living on the Six Nation reserve near Brantford.

Notwithstanding severe preventive laws passed by the Choctaw and other southern Indian nations, mixture of blood obtained to a marked degree; the negroes, free and slave, intermarrying the Indians, becoming part of the nation. There is also a considerable intermixture of such blood in Ontario on certain of the reserves. Though the word Panis in the records referred to seems to have special reference to Indian slaves, it is sometimes used by old Canadian writers to signify all persons in servitude without regard to color. It is of Algonquin origin. Slavery in Canada was of a mild patriarchal type. Slaves could not be sold under compulsory process of law, nor members of families separated without the owner's consent. Marriage and ties of kindred seem to have been observed and regarded kindly. It does not appear that Canadian owners participated in receiving any part of the £20,000,000 appropriated under the imperial acts for the indemnity of masters. The passing of our act of 1793 was wise and opportune, and left the province free to work in harmony with the Northern states of the Union and the other colonies which had already adopted, or which were soon to adopt, similar measures. When the harsh system of the Southern states drove many refugees to the Northern states, and owing to the feeling and laws of exclusion there the blacks went across the border, they found in Canada a home. Here for half a century they came as to a Goshen or land of refuge, until at the outbreak of the late war between the North and South fully thirty thousand had been sheltered, and to a great extent educated and prepared, under our municipal and benevolent institutions, for the proper exercise and enjoyment of the rights and duties of free men. To the end of time Africa will bless Canada for the refuge and home given to her children in that period of their trouble and trial.

THE HOMESPUN AGE

It is not wholly past. Irrespective of railways, the telegraph, the tremendous march of civilization and luxury, there are yet mountain nooks and lowland corners where the housemother cards, spins, and weaves most of the family raiment. Seventy-five years ago the practice was well nigh universal, especially among the people dwelling beyond the Alleghenies, southward of the Ohio river and east of the Mississippi. There were hunters and trappers among these pioneers, for the most part men of substance who had courage and enterprise enough to take themselves and their belongings from the sandy seaboard to the rich interior valleys of Tennessee beyond the mountains. The journey thither occupied three months or more and was usually begun in August or September, ending before Christmas. The earliest settlers traveled in companies. When subsequently the roads were free from hostile Indians, families moved independently.

A planter's household was unwieldy in those early days. There was an immense moving-wagon with a canvas cover, filled with family necessities and domestic utensils; ox-carts crammed with children, white and black; grown negroes on foot and on horseback, the master also well mounted, and the mistress in a gig. If there was a baby he was put into a bag, all but his head, and tied fast in the bottom of the gig. The vehicle was built to carry but one, and its driver had to use both hands in guiding her horse up and down the mountain. In places the road was so steep that it became necessary to fell trees and make drags behind the vehicle, which without them would have toppled over upon the horse. In such cases the baby was further secured by a foot each side his small person.

Ten miles was then an average day's journey, and there was no traveling upon Sunday. It was sometimes necessary to rest also upon a week day, to say nothing of halts for repairs, detention by high water or storms that blockaded the way with fallen timber. In this fashion they journeyed, those stout-hearted people.

One especial caravan of movers crossed the mountains in the first years of this century, and made its last halt in the middle Cumberland valley. As the crow flies it was six hundred miles from the old home to the new. The trail was perhaps a hundred miles longer. The master had been over it before. With several stout axmen, the previous winter, he had crossed the mountains, and stayed long enough to build cabins to shelter his flock. No bit of metal went into these crude homes; neither nail, screw, bolt,

bar, lock, nor hinge. The walls were of logs with the bark on, deeply notched at the corners. The cracks between were daubed with clay. Floors were of earth, beaten hard and smooth; roofs of rived boards, fastened on with stout poles. Chimneys there were none. At one end of each cabin a fire-back of stone and clay was built, six feet high, across the whole width of it. The stone hearth was equally ample. Smoke escaped through a hole in the roof, and was conducted thither by an inner wall of logs beginning six feet from the floor, and rising three feet from the outer wall. Upon occasions the fire could be as wide as the house. Most of the time a pile of five-foot logs in the middle of the hearth made the big barn-like square more than comfortably warm.

Doors were of puncheons pinned together with wooden pegs. Punch-eons—that is, thick slabs split the whole width of a tree trunk—also made a loft to the “white folks’ house;” those for the negroes had only the roof. In other respects they were identical. Windows were unheard of, but cracks and crannies on every side admitted plenty of light. It was a typical home in the wilderness. It sheltered forty souls. Within ten years salt, iron, powder, and lead were the only necessities that the plantations did not themselves supply. Great maple trees along the creek gave abundant sugar, bees reclaimed from the woods added honey to the store, and cattle and sheep multiplied, thrived, and grew fat on the cane. Thence came milk, meat, cheese, butter, and wool, as well as hides for tanning into shoe and harness leather. The clearings overran with tan-bark. Hogs raised themselves in the woods, and fattened on mast. Bacon was so plenty it was “not worth stealing,” the country folks said. Corn-bread and hominy were lavishly plenty every day in the year. Lacking granaries and threshing-floors, wheaten bread was scarce enough to be known as “English dough.” Very little land was sown with wheat. It was cut with the reep-hook, a handful at a time. For threshing it was laid in a circle, heads out, while small boys, white and black, tramped round and round over it. It was winnowed by dropping from a height in gentle wind. Before it went to mill the house mistress picked it over by hand, washed it clean, and dried it on a sheet in the sun. Naturally biscuit were in the nature of an event. To go with them or the more usual “fatty bread”—that is, very greasy corn-bread—there were rye coffee and sassafras-root tea. Stronger drinks were not lacking, either. Not to mention mead and méthylène that the honey insured. This pioneer brought apple seeds, packed in a pewter quart pot and tied to his saddle-bow. His first care was to plant them. In five years he had an orchard to furnish cider and apple brandy.

Long before that he had a frame house, notwithstanding there was no

saw-mill within a hundred miles. His woods abounded in poplars that seemed to cry out to be turned into plank. In the second year he set up a saw-pit, and from it got by hand-power lumber for an eight-room house; and in like manner he furnished it. He brought from the east no stick of house-plenishing save a tall eight-day clock and a big mahogany desk, but there was cherry and walnut in any quantity in his woodland. Neither he nor his men knew anything of cabinet work, yet he planned and they manufactured tables, bureaus, bedsteads, presses, and cupboards wonderful to behold! Tanning, shoemaking, cooperage, distilling, went on in much the same fashion. The master knew only their broad general principles. Practice made his servants reasonably perfect in all. For head-gear he ordained straw hats and coon-skin caps—both, of course, home-made. Felt hats were beyond him, he was wont to say, though he was several times upon point of undertaking to make them.

His wife and daughters were no whit behind him in thrift and energy. Each of them was a dabster at her wheel, cards, loom, needle, or netting shuttle. In addition, all the negro women with young children stayed in their cabins to card and spin. Some of the older ones were expert weavers—nothing to compare, however, with the mistress and her daughters. The weaving-house had a loom in each corner. There was hardly a day in the year but you might hear the click and thud of shuttle and batten. Cotton, wool, flax, tow, the plantation supplied abundantly; indigo, too, for the then prevalent blue dye. White oak bark gave a brownish red, hickory bark or peach leaves a fairly good yellow. Maple bark dyed a rich blackish purple, the root of white walnut one shade of brown, the bark and hulls of black walnut another, very near to the modern seal brown. Green walnuts mixed with sumach berries furnished a good black—in fact, woods and fields supplied colors in variety.

Extravagant folks who insisted upon red and green and bright blue in their garments went many miles to some trading-post for madder, cochineal, green vitriol, "boughten indigo," Spanish brown, and their like. Even the patron of home manufactures frequently indulged in elegant superfluities. Every third year he built a flat-boat on the Cumberland six miles away, loaded it with bacon, corn, tobacco in hogsheads, fowls, peltry, and dried fruit, put one of his sons in charge, and sent the boat to New Orleans. Its cargo was mainly the product of his own land. Sometimes it included rolls of jean, linsey, striped cotton cloth, or very stout flax. Oddly enough, the French settlers along the Mississippi knew little of cloth making and were eager buyers of such wares, and when the boat reached New Orleans every thread would be gone. The price of the cargo was apt to be

invested in silk gowns, a leghorn bonnet, cloth pelisse, or jewelry, that the next keel-boat would take slowly up-river to its expectant owner, for the flat-boatman walked back along the trails of the Indian country, and beat the keel-boatmen home at least a month. When the latter did arrive there was great rejoicing, for besides the precious finery, one was brought a gun, another a fiddle, to still another broadcloth for his wedding coat, or a big Bible in which he might set down the names and birthdays of his growing family. Here was a side-saddle, there a looking-glass, besides great stores of crockery, calico, fiddle-strings, powder and shot, cutlery, calomel, jalap, senna, epsom salts, rhubarb, and tartar emetic. Heads of families bought medicines in moderate quantity and administered them at their own discretion. Everybody, sick or well, had a "dose" in spring. Usually it contained tartar, and the sicker it made the patient the better his chance for health throughout the rest of the year.

For every soul on the Cumberland plantation three new suits of clothes a year were spun, woven, dyed, cut, and made. In addition house-linen in abundance—towels, sheets, table-cloths, toilet covers, bed and window curtains; above all, counterpanes, the supreme product of the weaver's art. Anybody who could throw a shuttle and work a treadle could weave plain cloth. Checks, jeans, serge, required but little additional skill. Only a past mistress of the art, though, could produce dimity, huckaback, diamond diaper, and honeycomb or combine them in stripes and blocks after the most intricate fashion.

Many of these now treasured as heirlooms are surprisingly handsome—far and away beyond the successors of them that crowd modern shops. Woolen fabrics were colored in the thread, and so woven as to have the pattern in a hue different from the ground. Cotton and flax were woven just as they came from the spinning, and afterward bleached snow-white by means of soap-suds and sunshine. Made up, they were of a generous size. There was very little ornament about the bedsteads, which stood four feet above the floor, and the counterpane must reach half way to it after covering a feather bed at least two feet thick. Counterpane fringes were either woven, netted, knitted, or knotted. Sometimes the maker's name and the date of making were wrought into the heading, which was seldom less than six inches deep. Below the fringe came a valance of white cloth. It swept the floor and was often likewise fringed. If there were bed curtains they were netted of homespun thread, or else had deep netted points along their edges. Pillow and bolster cases were similarly ornamented. So were window curtains and toilet covers, though the bed was the *pièce de resistance* in furnishing.

For the floors there were wool carpets striped with all the colors of the rainbow, sober rag carpets, carpets of bark, carpets of hair, or matting woven from rye-straw and stout, twisted warp. In summer bare floors were the rule. An occasional sheep-skin dyed green or yellow was the only approach to a rug. In log-houses the walls were thickly whitewashed. In frame dwellings they were either ceiled with yellow poplar, or wainscoted with native walnut.

Only the very richest settlers had glass in their windows. It came by wagon from Philadelphia to Pittsburg, thence was freighted down the Ohio in bateaux and hauled painfully into the interior, often several hundred miles, over roads that were mere trails. Thence, too, came school-books and singing-masters. The books were bought economically, used sparingly. No pupil had more than one besides the ever-present blue speller. Boys had usually an arithmetic or reader. Grammars and geographies fell to the lot of girls. School opened at sunrise and continued all day. Lessons were learned and recited when the spirit moved master or pupil. Singing-school was a much more orderly affair. In fact, it was quite a social occasion. Its pupils were grown-up young people who felt it necessary to wear their very best clothes and display their best manners. White muslins and printed jaconets were seen there in mid-winter side by side with plaid linseys and blanket-coats. The master with his tuning-fork was the central figure—often, too, a most grotesque one. The profession was a favorite refuge for those who failed in all other occupations. A few teachers were really capable, and trained the magnificent strength of backwood voices into harmony.

No system of calisthenics yet devised ever gave the poise, the balance, the feminine grace and beauty, or the rounded curves that came from days of work at the spinning-wheel and the loom. Every muscle was brought into play and developed. A handsome girl warping was a sight worth going miles to see. More than one family in the southwest preserves as an heirloom a great-grandmother's homespun wedding gown; nothing very remarkable, maybe, either in texture or fineness, only a scant garment of yellowish cotton or linen; but it is questionable whether its present possessor would exchange it for the richest of lace. It speaks of courage and contentment, of self-reliance and industry—homespun virtues still dear to the descendants of those who in homespun fashion won an empire from the wilderness.

M. C. Williams

THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY

A FAMOUS OLD SONG *

Ye gentlemen and ladies fair who grace this famous city,
Just listen, if you've time to spare, while I rehearse a ditty,
And for the opportunity conceive yourselves quite lucky,
For 'tis not often that you see a hunter of Kentucky.
Oh, Kentucky, we're the hunters of Kentucky.

I suppose you've read it in the prints, how Pakenham attempted
To make Old Hickory Jackson wince, and how his scheme repented ;
For we with rifles ready cocked thought such occasion lucky,
And soon around the general flocked, the hunters of Kentucky.
Oh, Kentucky, we're the hunters of Kentucky.

I suppose you've read how New Orleans is famed for wealth and beauty,
There are girls of every hue, it seems, from snowy white to sooty ;
So Pakenham he made his brags, if he in fight were lucky,
He'd have their girls and cotton bags, in spite of old Kentucky.
Oh, Kentucky, we're the hunters of Kentucky.

Now, Jackson he was wide awake, and wasn't scared at trifles,
For well he knew what aim we took with our Kentucky rifles ;
So he led us down to Cypress Swamp—the ground was low and mucky,
There stood " John Bull " with martial pomp, but here was old Kentucky.
Oh, Kentucky, we're the hunters of Kentucky.

They didn't let our patience tire, but quickly showed their faces ;
We didn't choose to waste our fire, so snugly kept our places,
And when so near we saw them wink, we thought it time to stop 'em.
It would have done you good, I think, to see " Kentucky " drop 'em.
Oh, Kentucky, we're the hunters of Kentucky.

They found at length 'twas vain to fight when lead was all the booty,
And so they wisely took to flight and left us all the beauty ;
And now when danger e'er annoys, remember what our trade is,
Just send for us Kentucky boys, and we'll protect the ladies.
Oh, Kentucky, we're the hunters of Kentucky.

(Contributed by)



* These lines, it is believed, were first sung in a New Orleans theatre just after the battle of New Orleans, and created great enthusiasm. They were republished in the Democratic newspapers, and became very popular at the time Andrew Jackson was the candidate and elected President of the United States in 1828.

PORTRAIT OF COTTON MATHER

The literary life of the renowned subject of our frontispiece was very remarkable. Born in 1663, and graduating from Harvard college when he was only sixteen years of age, Cotton Mather developed with unparalleled rapidity and soon became an important factor in every intellectual movement. He wrote of himself: "I am able with little study to write in seven languages. I feast myself with the sweets of all the sciences which the more polite part of mankind ordinarily pretend to. I am entertained with all kinds of histories, ancient and modern. . . . I am no stranger to the curiosities which, by all sorts of learning, are brought to the curious." He had a world-wide acquaintance and corresponded with philosophers and learned men in every civilized country. His first book was printed when he was twenty-two years old, although he had written many poems and almanacs before that time; and he afterward produced upward of three hundred and eighty-two publications.

With civil affairs Cotton Mather had much less to do than his father, yet it is believed that his forcible interposition, both oral and written, saved Governor Andros and his council from being put to death by the people of Boston in the excitement attending the receipt of the news of the English revolution in 1689. Cotton Mather pinned his faith for some time to the reality of witchcraft, which would be surprising to us indeed, did we not know that belief in witches had prevailed for hundreds of years before he was born. In the century before his birth thousands of such accused persons had been put to death in Germany, France, Spain, and England, and during his youth great numbers of alleged witches were burned in England under the judicial administrations of Sir Matthew Hale and Chief Justice Holt. Cotton Mather placed his early views on imperishable record, writing in 1693: "We have been advised by some credible Christians yet alive that a malefactor, accused of witchcraft as well as murder, and executed in this place more than forty years ago, did then give notice of an horrible plot against the country by witchcraft, and a foundation of witchcraft then laid which, if it were not seasonably discovered, would probably blow up and pull down all the churches in the country. And we have now with horror seen the discovery of such a witchcraft! An army of devils is horribly broke in upon the place which is the centre and, after a sort, the first-born of our English settlements."

He further wrote: "In all the witchcraft which now grievously vexes us, I know not whether anything be more unaccountable than the trick which the witches have to render themselves and their tools invisible. Witchcraft seems to be the skill of applying the plastic spirit of the world unto some unlawful purposes by means of a confederacy with evil spirits. Yet one would wonder how the evil spirits themselves can do some things, especially at invisibilizing of the grossest bodies. I can tell the name of an ancient author who pretends to show the way how a man may come to walk about invisible, and I can tell the name of another ancient author who pretends to explode that way. But I will not speak too plainly lest I should unawares poison some of my readers, as the pious Hemingius did one of his pupils, when he only by way of diversion recited a spell which they said would cure agues. This much I will say: the notion of procuring invisibility by any natural expedient yet known is, I believe, a mere Plinysm; how far it may be obtained by a magical sacrament is best known to the dangerous knaves that have try'd it.

There are certain people very dogmatical about these matters; but I'll give them only these three bones to pick. First, one of our bewitched people was cruelly assaulted by a spectre that she said ran at her with a spindle, though nobody else in the room could see either the spectre or the spindle. At last in her miseries giving a snatch at the spectre, she pulled the spindle away, and it was no sooner got into her hand but the other people then present beheld that it was indeed a real, proper, iron spindle, belonging they knew to whom; which when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by demons unaccountably stole away to do further mischief. Secondly, another of our bewitched people was haunted with a most abusive spectre, which came to her, she said, with a sheet about her. After she had undergone a deal of teaze from the annoyance of the spectre, she gave a violent snatch at the sheet that was upon it; wherefrom she tore a corner, which in her hand immediately became visible to a roomful of spectators; a palpable corner of a sheet."

The course of Cotton Mather in the persecution of the witches has been severely criticised; but the prejudices of the times had much to do with it, and it is a fact worthy of remembrance that he with his associates saw the measure of the delusion and brought it to an end long before the same results were produced in England. It is said that Cotton Mather's private library was the largest one of its kind on the continent, and that he had a wider acquaintance with books and knew more of the history of the country than any one of his contemporaries.

MINOR TOPICS

WASHINGTON AT TARRYTOWN IN 1783

In an interesting paper on an interesting theme, prepared by request and read before the Tarrytown Historical Society on the 16th of December, 1890, Mr. M. D. Raymond says : " The history of Tarrytown while yet a part and parcel of the manor of Philipsburgh is in itself a distinct era, and may well be entitled the patriarchal period. It was preëminently pastoral and peaceful. Then came the shock and upheaval of the Revolution. And to their everlasting honor be it recorded that, notwithstanding the fact that the lord of the manor was in accord with the king, there were but few tories in this vicinage. The tenantry from the first were in full sympathy with the cause of the colonies ; and although sore trials were in store for them, their fields devastated, their property wasted, and the tragedy of war enacted at their doors, its rude alarms and terrible realism did not serve to repress their patriotism or awe them into submission. The British General Howe could not well have paid them a higher compliment than when he said, after his fruitless movement in this direction in 1777, ' I can do nothing with this Dutch population ; I can neither buy them with money, nor conquer them by force.' And then again, later in the same year, date of November, 1777, their persistent patriotism elicited that infamous brutal order from the royal governor Tryon, *to burn Tarrytown* ; which however, happily, in the face of the ringing defiance of General Parsons of the continental army, he had not the temerity to undertake. But what less of sturdy patriotism and courage could have been expected of the descendants of the heroic Netherlands who under William the Silent maintained for thirty years successful resistance against the most powerful and cruel despotism of the sixteenth century in Europe, and by their glorious deeds forever immortalized the annals of the Dutch republic ?

The following is a literal transcript from the diary of Lieutenant-Governor Pierre Van Cortlandt, which gives the record of Washington's final visit to Tarrytown, on the 19th of November, 1783, the original of which, now in the possession of Mrs. Van Cortlandt of the manor house at Croton Landing, having recently been in our hands : ' I went from Peekskill Tuesday, the 18th of November, in company with his Excellency Governor Clinton, Coll. Benson and Coll. Campbell ; lodged that night with Gen. (his son Philip) Cortlandt at Croton River ; proceeded, and lodged Wednesday at Edw. Counhoven's, where we met his Excellency Gov. Washington and his aids ; the next night lodged with Mr. Fred K. Van Cortlandt at the Yonkers, after having dined with Gen. Lewis Morris. Friday morning, in company with the Commander-in-Chief, as far as the Widow Days at Harlem, where

we held a council. Saturday I rode down to Mr. Stuyvesant's (his brother-in-law). Stayed there until Tuesday ; then rode triumphant into the city with the Commander-in-Chief.'

Washington had evidently come down in advance of the governor and his party, possibly with General Knox and the Light Infantry on way from West Point to participate in the ceremonies of evacuation, in the triumphal entry into the city of New York. He had come leisurely, and as he drew near Tarrytown his memory may well have recurred to past scenes, to his experiences in war times here and near at hand. As he came in view of the Old Dutch Church he remembered the marching of the troops that day and the welcome rest there ; and as he saw at hand the old manor house, which he is said to have visited on occasions during the war, he may have thought of the fair daughter of its former owner, whose suitor if accepted he had been, how it might have changed the current of his life and hers, how the broad acres of this manor untainted of treason might then have been his own. We say he might have thought of all this as he passed that way, and as he came nearer and to the spot, and crossed the little stream which proved the fatal Rubicon to André, the vision of that drama may well have vividly appeared to him—that thrilling drama in the right acting of which three Tarrytown patriots, Paulding, Williams, and Van Wart, were forever immortalized. He remembered them and called them clearly to mind, for he had personally presented them with their medals of award and had honored them with seats at his table. And on the shaft that rises there to-day is engraved with pen of steel the words of Washington, forever striking dumb the tongue of calumny, and heralding their fair fame : ' Their conduct merits our warmest esteem.—Geo. Washington.' And so for the last time Washington came to Tarrytown, and in company with his aids stopped at the well-kept hostelry of Edward Couenhoven, where he had been before and where he met Governor Clinton and Lieutenant-Governor Van Cortlandt and staff. What a courtly meeting that was we may well imagine. The war successfully ended, independence was achieved, and now the commander-in-chief was to meet the governor of this state, and so journey on together in grand procession to the city of New York. We may be assured that the punctilious military and courtly etiquette of the time was scrupulously observed on that occasion, and never before or since was there such an affair in Tarrytown. We may picture General Washington with his brilliant retinue that day. Among his aids was Colonel David Cobb of Massachusetts, a graduate of Harvard, delegate to the provincial congress in 1775, and afterward lieutenant governor of Massachusetts—a brave soldier and a cultured gentleman ; Colonel David Humphreys of Connecticut, the companion and trusted aid of Washington, a doctor of laws, afterward ambassador to the courts of Portugal and Spain, and an eminent historian and poet ; the brilliant McHenry and the fiery Tilghman of Maryland ; Colonel Webb, a distinguished son of Connecticut ; Colonel William S. Smith, a graduate of Princeton, a gifted and gallant cavalier, afterward secretary

of legation to London where he married the beautiful Abigail Adams, only daughter of John Adams, then minister plenipotentiary and afterward President of the United States—Colonel Smith who not only had a mission abroad, but was afterward surveyor of customs and marshal of New York, president of the society of Cincinnati and member of congress in 1813 from the Herkimer and Madison districts of this state; Colonel Benjamin Walker, private secretary, afterward naval officer of New York, member of congress, etc. Baron Steuben was doubtless present, the renowned inspector-general of the continental army, and former aid to Frederick the Great. It was such a distinguished suite that turned out with Washington in knightly array to meet the great war governor of this state and his staff, as they rode into Tarrytown that day.

Governor George Clinton was himself one of the conspicuous and foremost men of that time. As a youth of seventeen he had joined a privateer on the high seas, and at nineteen won distinction as a lieutenant in the successful expedition under Colonel Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac; was successively surrogate, member of the provincial assembly of this state in 1775, in 1776 a brigadier-general in the continental army, from 1777 to 1795 governor of this state, president of the convention to deliberate on the federal Constitution, governor again from 1801 to 1804, and served two terms as vice-president of the United States. This was the then Governor and General George Clinton, eminent as a soldier and as a civilian, none ever more so in the history of the empire state.

There was Lieutenant-Governor and General Pierre Van Cortlandt, who, spurning the seductions of the loyalist governor Tryon, had bravely risked his fortunes and his all in the cause of the struggling colonies—a patriarch with the benignant mien and broad philanthropy of a Franklin, of pure and blameless life and unsullied character—a patriot indeed. For eighteen years he filled the office of lieutenant-governor with honor, also during much of the early war period acted as president of the provincial congress. And there were his aids: Colonel Robert Benson, the able secretary of the provincial congress and private secretary of the governor, and afterward prominent in public affairs; and his associate Colonel Campbell, probably Colonel Samuel Campbell, then of Cherry Valley, New York.

This was the *personnel*, as near as may be, of the official party that met that day in Tarrytown, with Washington peerless above them all. And they were guests at the modest inn of Edward Couenhoven, corner of Main street and Broadway, and the next day they went on together, an imposing cavalcade, in the direction of Yonkers and New York. And so they rode away—Governor Clinton coming to his own; Washington thoughtful of the morrow, of the sad parting with his comrades-at-arms, and of the great labor which yet remained of welding the states into a nation."

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF USEFULNESS

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A distinguished gathering assembled in the Arlington Street Church in Boston on the 24th of January last, to celebrate the one hundredth birthday of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the oldest historical society on this continent. The exercises were opened with music on the organ and an eloquent address by Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, president of the society, who remarked : " Having been privileged with membership through just half of the century of the society, I have personally known at least three-quarters of those who in the swift generations have been on that roll. As I have run my eye over it I have been impressed by the thought that it is a largely inclusive list of the scholars and writers in this state, in biography, history, and general literature, with senators, judges, high magistrates, eminent merchants, who were more than merchants, and benefactors of city, state, and nation." He made a touching reference to the memory of George Bancroft, our nation's greatest historian, whose recent death, in his ninety-first year, " removes from our roll the name which had been longest upon it, before that of any now living, as a resident member till his removal from this state, and since as leading our honorary list. We wait for the opportunity to commemorate him."

In presenting the next speaker, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Dr. Ellis said : " Happily our associate whose name has been longest upon the roll of our resident members is with us here to-day. That name has borne its honors not only through the continued history of the period of this society, but from the beginning of our wilderness history. The venerable father and founder of Massachusetts, whose autograph journal of its plantation is enshrined in our cabinet, is represented by a living voice which we are to hear. Robert C. Winthrop was our faithful and honored president for thirty years, and there is no reason but his own wish why he is not so to-day. I will ask him to speak to us the few words which he has promised on this occasion."

Mr. Winthrop said : " I thank you, Mr. President, I thank you sincerely, for the compliment of this call and for the kind terms in which you have expressed it. I heartily wish it were in my power to render a more adequate or even any audible response. It is, however, a most gracious and welcome arrangement of our committee which has summoned us oldest members and oldest men to the front at the outset of these exercises, to invoke, it may be, the blessing of God, or to say our little say and be disposed of, leaving a clear and ample field for our accomplished and eloquent younger brother Colonel Higginson. To him, I am conscious, belong rightfully the topics and the time of this occasion, and I shall trespass very briefly upon either of them. I could not, however, my friends, I could not find it quite in my heart to refuse altogether the invitation of the committee, and be wholly

silent on this one hundredth anniversary of a society with which I have been so long and so peculiarly connected.

It is true, Mr. President, as you have reminded us, it is true, though it seems to me like as a dream when one awaketh, that I am in my fifty-second year of membership, having been a resident member for more than one-half and president for nearly one-third of the whole century which is commemorated to-day. I cannot forget that my immediate predecessor in the order of election was the genial and beloved Prescott, whose *Ferdinand and Isabella*, which will have a new interest for us as the anniversary of the advent of Columbus approaches, holds no second place among those historical triumphs which have been successively achieved by our lamented Ticknor and Sparks and Palfrey and Frothingham and Motley and Bancroft, and by our living and still laboring Francis Parkman ; and had this celebration occurred only a single week earlier, my friends, I might have said, and should have said, that there was one left, the only one, of those by whom I was elected and into whose company I was admitted fifty-two years ago. George Bancroft was then a resident member of our society, just entering upon those historical labors which have rendered him so illustrious throughout the world. To-day, when his grave is but just closed, we can remember him only, as I certainly do, with heartfelt emotions of respect, of affection, and of sorrow.

I dare not detain you by dwelling on the occasions when Edward Everett was charming us by his tributes to Humboldt and Hallam and Lord Macaulay, and to our great benefactor Thomas Dowse ; or when the venerable Josiah Quincy, so long our senior member, was entertaining us with extracts from his patriot father's journal, or with his own personal reminiscences of Washington ; or when dear old James Savage was electrifying us with flashes of wit, or astounding us with some nugget of history freshly dug out from mines which he was never weary of exploring ; or when Emerson was regaling us with some of his humorous and pungent paragraphs about Thomas Carlyle or Walter Scott ; or, once again, when good George Livermore was ushering us with so much rapture into that Dowse library which he had done more than any one else to secure, arrange, and decorate, and where sons and grandsons have since been welcomed to the chairs of their fathers or grandfathers. All these incidents and many others like them are fresh in the memory of others as well as of myself, and I must hasten to a conclusion.

Until this society was organized, a hundred years ago to-day, by our eminent and revered founder Dr. Jeremy Belknap—prompted, as we may not forget, by Mr. John Pintard of the St. Tammany Society of New York—no historical society existed in America. I am not sure that there was such a society in any part of the world. But the fullness of time had come. The Constitution of the United States had been adopted. Washington was already in the second year of the first term of his illustrious and incomparable presidency. A glorious future was just opening for our country and for political and human liberty everywhere, though by many eyes it could only be seen as through a glass darkly. It was only our great

Bostonian Franklin, who, as he gazed at the emblem on the back of the chair in which Washington had been seated as president of the constitutional convention, saw plainly that it was a rising and not a setting sun.

The past, however, was secure. And the history of that eventful and memorable past, of that long colonial and provincial period from Jamestown and Plymouth Rock, and even before Jamestown, to Lexington and Concord and Bunker Hill and Saratoga and Yorktown, with all its varied and momentous incidents, out of which a glorious nation had at length been evolved—for it was evolution even more than revolution which made us a nation—was still to be rescued from any danger or risk of oblivion, and its precious records to be gathered up and embalmed for posterity. That most interesting and most valuable department of historical labor has recently culminated in the production of *The Narrative and Critical History of America* by our indefatigable corresponding secretary, now seeking fresh materials in Europe; and, let me add, in the still more recent production of *The Genesis of the United States*, by Alexander Brown of Virginia, to which, as the author states in his preface, our ever lamented associate Charles Deane “gave his helping hand from the beginning to the end.” In all that line of work this Massachusetts Historical Society was the acknowledged and recognized pioneer.

It stood alone for ten or twelve years, but under its influence and example there is now hardly a state, a county, a city, town, or village without its historical society or something of the sort. Meantime an American Historical Association has reached its seventh year with a charter from congress, and promises excellent results. I am by no means sure, however, that it remains for any other society, national, state, or local, to exhibit richer and more abundant fruit than that to which we can this day point.

A few more words, Mr. President, and I shall eagerly resume my seat, for my voice, which has served me so faithfully during a long, long life, has of late so sadly failed me that I dare not attempt to press it further. Our society's first century is completed. It is not for me to speak of the great names which have adorned its roll, or to review its varied and invaluable record, or to enlarge on the results of its influence and example in all parts of the country. I think we may point to them all with just satisfaction and pride. But let me only, in conclusion, express my fervent hope that this venerable society may have a second century as honorable and as distinguished as its first. I cannot ask for more; that our commonwealth and our whole country may never cease to furnish scenes and subjects worthy to be recorded and illustrated; and that pens and tongues may never be wanting to portray them with attractiveness, with brilliancy, and above all with truth, ever recognizing and ever obeying those two great laws of history so tersely proclaimed by the matchless orator of ancient Rome, ‘*Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat*’—never daring to say what is false, nor ever not daring to say what is true!”

After an anthem by the choir President Ellis introduced Thomas Wentworth

Higginson to deliver the commemorative discourse of the day. In the course of his address Colonel Higginson said that history could not be called an exact science in the sense that mathematics was an exact science, yet, in view of its value, there was much temptation to call its work scientific. It might rather be called an inexact science, since its truths were so difficult to arrive at. Every historical society had to cope with the difficulties of varying observation of events, and could only do its best to attain the simple truth by as careful investigation and preservation of evidence as possible. Yet history should not be merely a collection of facts. The sunlight of actual life should be let in upon it to brighten and enliven it, and make it seem real and life-like. The gloom which seems to hang perpetually over the Puritan character and life is due to the absence of incident, the lack of life-like portraiture in the chronicles of the day. Such an incident as that related of Cotton Mather did much to lighten the gloom. The venerable preacher, the terror to evil-doers, was one day walking the street, when a boy, urged by his companions, shouted in his ear, "Cotton Mather, thou art a fool." Instead of calling the constables, the preacher calmly said to the boy: "I know it. The Lord make thee and me wiser," and then went on his way, chuckling inwardly at the discomfiture of his would-be tormentor. So a new light was thrown on the character of Washington by the incident related by Washington Irving, when the Father of his Country was so amused as to actually roll upon the ground in a spasm of laughter. This was about the only thing in history to show that Washington ever laughed. "And yet," said the orator, "who can doubt but that the name of Washington would be more beloved, would be nearer to the hearts of the people, if some of the stern austerity of his character as given by history could be modified by true human influence." In closing, Colonel Higginson referred to the work of the society, both as a recorder and a maker of history, and urged that the principles which now animated it be held steadfast.

At the close of the ceremonies at the church there was a reception by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, at his Marlborough street home, to the members of the society and the guests from other cities. Nearly all present at the church were at the reception cordially received by Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop.

NOTES

ARITHMETIC IN THE COLONIAL SCHOOLS—The study of mathematics in the American schools prior to the Revolution consisted chiefly in learning to count and perform the fundamental operations with integral numbers. In 1750 it was voted in Hampstead, New Hampshire, "to hire a schoolmaster for six months in ye summer season to teach ye children to read and write." Arithmetic had not yet been introduced there. Bronson Alcott wrote in the early part of this century: "Until within a few years no studies have been permitted in the day-school but spelling, reading, and writing. Arithmetic was taught by a few instructors one or two evenings in a week, but in spite of the most determined opposition arithmetic is now permitted in the day-school." The best teachers of these times were college students or college graduates who engaged in teaching as a stepping-stone to something better. A little "ciphering" was taught in secondary schools, and if some pupil of rare genius managed to master fractions, or even pass beyond the "rule of three," he was judged a finished mathematician. Slates were unknown for school use until after the Revolution. Blackboards were introduced much later. In the earlier schools arithmetic was hardly ever taught to girls. One of the earliest purely arithmetical books used in this country was the work of James Hodder, a famous English teacher.

LETTERS RELATING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR—An important work is

nearly completed by Mr. William L. Stone of Jersey City, New Jersey, which will consist of private letters of the most interesting character, written by officers and privates from this country to their relatives and friends in Germany during the American Revolution. They were published at the time in a German magazine called *Scholar's Letter Exchange*, which was continued through the year 1782. These letters contain descriptions of the inhabitants of the different towns and cities of America, their habits, customs, etc., with personal descriptions of many of the great Revolutionary generals. There is one letter in the collection from Baron Steuben on his first arrival in America, giving a detailed account of his reception, the character and appearance of congress, and the peculiarities of the continental army. Mr. Stone has with considerable trouble and expense procured a set of this exceedingly rare publication from Brunswick, Germany, and translated the letters, and if sufficient subscriptions are obtained will shortly publish it in one handsome large volume. Price, \$3.00. Limited edition.

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S MODESTY—The following is from the pen of James Balantyne the printer: "Sir Walter at all times labored under the strangest delusion as to the merits of his own works. On this score he was not only inaccessible to compliments, but even insensible to the truth; in fact, at all times he hated to talk of any of his productions; as, for instance, he greatly preferred Mrs.

Shelley's *Frankenstein* to any of his own romances. I remember one day when Mr. Erskine and I were dining with him, either immediately before or immediately after the publication of one of the best of the latter, and were giving it the high praise we thought it deserved, he asked us abruptly whether we had read *Frankenstein*. We answered that we had not. 'Ah,' he said, 'have patience, read *Frankenstein*, and you will be better able to judge of —.' You will easily judge of the disappointment thus prepared for us. When I ventured, as I sometimes did, to press him on the score of the reputation he had gained,

he merely asked, as if determined to be done with the discussion, 'Why, what is the value of a reputation which probably will not last above one or two generations?' One morning, I recollect, I went into his library, shortly after the publication of the *Lady of the Lake*, and finding Miss Scott there, who was then a very young girl, I asked her, 'Well, Miss Sophia, how do you like the *Lady of the Lake* with which everybody is so much enchanted?' Her answer was, with affecting simplicity, 'Oh, I have not read it. Papa says there's nothing so bad for young girls as reading bad poetry.'

QUERIES

BELLOWS—Among the early paintings of the American artist Albert F. Bellows, there was one entitled "The Three Eras of Woman's Life," picturing birth, marriage, and death. I think this painting was copied in engraving. It was painted at Windsor, Connecticut. Can any one tell where the painting or the engraving can be found?

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN
WILKES BARRE, PA.

WILLOUGHBY FAMILY—In preparing

their monograph of the Willoughby family—the last one in their large work of Family Histories and Genealogies—Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury of New Haven, Connecticut, desire to receive immediately information concerning their lines from persons of Willoughby descent.

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS—Will some kind reader of this magazine tell me what is the mystery about the "Letters of Junius"?
WALTER HYDE

REPLIES

JULIUS RODMAN AND HIS JOURNEY [xxv. 179]—The "Journal of Julius Rodman," purporting to describe the first journey by white men across the Rocky mountains in 1792, was first published in 1840 in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, then edited by William E.

Burton and Edgar A. Poe. In January number, Chapter I., Introductory, was some account of Julius Rodman, briefly recapitulating various expeditions across the continent. In February, Chapter II. describes the party composing the expedition, the preparations for the jour-

ney, and the details of the first two days' progress up the Missouri river from St. Charles. In March, Chapter III., August 1 to September 5, still going up the Missouri; April, Chapter IV., September 5, 1791, to April 10, 1792, describes the Indians of the Northwest, and an encounter with the Sioux; May, Chapter V., April 10, 1792, to May 13, when the party arrived at the junction of the Yellowstone with the Missouri; June, Chapter VI. describes the peculiar cliff formations along the Upper Missouri, and an exciting fight with two huge brown bears. These are all the chapters published. The cover of the January number had contained a note particularly calling attention to this journal, announcing that it would be continued throughout the year, concluding with the December number. On the inside of the cover of the June number is this brief announcement: "Our readers are respectfully informed that in future Edgar A. Poe will not be connected with this magazine." That explains why the journal was not "continued throughout the year," although it does not explain why Poe never finished it. The "Journal of Julius Rodman" was exhumed by John H. Ingram, and was first published in Poe's works, in the edition in four volumes compiled by him, published in 1885 in London and New York, pp. 3-90, Vol. IV. I think there can be very little doubt that Poe was the author. It seems a pity he never completed the work so well begun. I have been somewhat minute in describing the particulars of the publication from my own copy of *Burton's Magazine*, because the magazine is scarce, and many admirers of

Poe are not familiar with this work of his.

WILLIAM NELSON

PATERSON, N. J.

WASHINGTON'S AIDS-DE-CAMP [xxiv 481, xxv. 89]—John Graham, major in the Revolutionary army, was with General Washington when he crossed the Delaware river, and is one of the persons represented in the picture, *Washington Crossing the Delaware*. He was aide-de-camp on Washington's staff. This information I received from Major Graham's daughter.

NUOGAM

HUDSON, N. Y.

YANKEE, OR YANKOO [xxv. 179]—John Dresser Chamberlain, my grandfather, wrote in 1870: "According to tradition we descended from two brothers who came from England, one of whom settled in Massachusetts and the other in Connecticut. Benjamin Chamberlain, a descendant of the Massachusetts stock, was a great warrior against the Indians, and many of his exploits were printed in his biography. One was that he fought the Yankoo chief—*Yankoo* meaning 'conqueror' in English—and whipped him. Then the chief said: 'I no more Yankoo, *you* Yankoo,' and from that time and circumstance the name was transferred to the whites, now called Yankees." Benjamin Chamberlain lived at Southborough, Massachusetts, during the Revolutionary war, twenty-eight miles west of Boston. He had seventeen children. He said his boys must fight, which they did, and the girls must spin and make clothing for the army, and help tend the farm, which was strictly obeyed.

L. A. ALDERMAN

MARIETTA, OHIO.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The stated meeting for February was held on Tuesday evening, February 3, the Hon. John A. King in the chair. The paper of the evening, "The Discovery of America by the Northmen," was read by Professor Charles Sprague Smith of Columbia college, to a large and attentive audience. On the announcement of the death of the Hon. George Bancroft, formerly an officer of the society, the president read a brief memorial of the distinguished historian.

THE MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting on the 22d of January, Hon. George F. Talbot in the chair. A paper of uncommon interest, "A Description of the Division of the Twelve Thousand Acres at Agamenticus," was read by William M. Sargent, which supplies a missing link in the history of York. As historians know, continual reference is found in the early papers to a division among the patentees of the twelve thousand acres in 1641, a date long anterior to which the record history has been traced. This has just been discovered by Mr. Sargent in the moldering files of papers in the York registry of deeds, and is of great importance as it not only establishes titles but also brings to light much other historical data. "An Account of the Ancient Province of Mayne" was the title of a paper read by Parker M. Reed of Bath, and L. B. Chapman read an interesting paper which was in part a biographical sketch of Major A. T. Dole of Stroudwater. The paper contained besides the

biography a great deal of historical information about Stroudwater and vicinity.

THE WISCONSIN HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its thirty-eighth annual meeting in its rooms in the state capitol, January 15, the president, Hon. John Johnston of Milwaukee, in the chair.

This society has acquired a reputation throughout the world of letters hardly second to that of any other institution of the kind in America, and has made a name for Wisconsin among cultivated people abroad which is even wider-spread than that of the state university. It is pleasing, therefore, to note the progress of the institution from year to year, and bear witness to its admirable management.

At the close of the president's able and eloquent address, Secretary Reuben G. Thwaites, as the executive officer, presented his annual report, in which he called attention to the interesting fact, not generally known, that the society is not only engaged in historical research, the preservation and publication of materials for history, the building up of the greatest reference library in the west, and the maintenance of a large historical portrait gallery and museum—it is also a bureau of information on questions relating to Wisconsin, historical, scientific, statistical, and antiquarian. Letters come from all parts of Europe and America asking for facts and figures about Wisconsin and the northwest in general; while not a few letters drift in from the several state departments in the capitol—"referred to the Historical Society."

THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held an interesting meeting on the 9th of December last, at Nashville, Judge John M. Lea presiding. Colonel Reese, on behalf of the committee to consider the eligibility of women as members, reported that there was nothing in the rules to prevent, and, in fact, that the society now had a lady member—Mrs. Martha J. Lamb of New York.

After the reports of various committees had been read, and other business transacted, Judge Lea addressed the society on the subject of the Melungeons. He outlined the early history of the settlement of North Carolina. A party under the protection of a friendly Indian chief had gone into the interior when the first settlers came to that coast and had been lost. No other settlers came till a century afterward, and they were told of a tribe who claimed a white ancestry, and among whom gray eyes were frequent. This people were traced to Buncomb and Robeson counties, where the same family and personal names were found as in the lost colonies. They are now called Croatians, on account of a sign they made on the trees to keep their way. The Bosques of the Spanish coast have been said to have settled in that country, but this theory was not thought to be trustworthy. It would be impossible for negroes to form a distinct race, because the number necessary for a colony would not have been allowed to run at large. The race has several old English words which are used as they were in England two hundred years ago, and a case of civil rights has been won in court by a Melungeon displaying his person and proving to

the court that he was of Caucasian blood. North Carolina gives the Croatians \$1,000 a year for a normal school, and they have excellent roads. This colony, whose early history is thus so clearly traced, lies within forty miles of the Tennessee Melungeons.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY met on the evening of December 2, the president, General Rogers, in the chair, to listen to a paper from Edwin D. Mead of Boston, on the "Work of George Washington in Opening up the Great West." There was a large audience, many of them ladies. The first efforts of the English and French to colonize and possess America were referred to; the grasp the French had on Canada and the Mississippi valley was described; Washington's appointment as an engineer to the Ohio valley to survey and to command the forces of the colony of Virginia, and his building of Fort Necessity and surrender to the French after defending the fort, were traced. Mr. Mead then described the character which Washington later on assumed for a period, that of a land speculator. The more important place in the lecture was given to an explanation and description of schemes for colonizing the Ohio valley, which Washington interested himself in, and the exertions and advice of Washington on behalf of civilizing and turning to culture and morality the new tide of life which began to spring up in the west at the close of the Revolutionary war. In conclusion the speaker exhorted and urged his hearers to remember the sources of our political life.

The annual meeting was held on the

13th of January, which was the sixty-ninth annual meeting of this society. It was devoted to the reading of various important reports and the election of the following officers: president, Horatio Rogers; vice-presidents, George M. Carpenter and E. Benjamin Andrews; secretary, Amos Perry; treasurer, Richmond P. Everett.

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting in the court of chancery room at the state house in Trenton, on the 27th of January. One of its special features was the paper of Mr. William Nelson of Paterson, on "Berkeley and Carteret, First Lords Proprietors of New Jersey," which was commented upon in these columns at the time it was read before the Genealogical and Biographical Society of New York some two months since. Mr. Nelson in this later reading presents, however, many additional and valuable facts relating to New Jersey. A paper on Mahlon Dickerson was read by J. C. Pumpelly. Officers for the ensuing year were elected: president, Hon. John Clement of Haddonfield; vice-presidents, Samuel H. Pennington of Newark, General Stryker of Trenton, and Rev. George S. Mott, D.D., of Flemington; corresponding secretary, William Nelson of Paterson; recording secretary, W. R. Weeks of Newark; treasurer and librarian, F. W. Ricord of Newark; executive committee, George A. Halsey of Newark, John F. Hageman of Princeton, David A. Depue of Newark, Nathaniel Niles of Madison, John I. Blair of Blairstown, Franklin Murphy of Newark, Robert F.

Ballantine of Newark, Garrett D. W. Vroom of Trenton, James Neilson of New Brunswick.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY is constantly doing good work. At its meeting in June last a memorial paper on "Mrs. Martin B. Anderson" was read by Mrs. Emil Kenchling. At its November meeting "Rochester's First Things" was very ably treated by Rev. F. de Ward, D.D. At its December meeting "The Story of the Massacre of Cherry Valley" was effectively told by Mrs. William S. Little, whose grandfather was the sole survivor of a family which was put to death in that fearful massacre, he being carried into captivity. Action has been taken toward erecting a monument to the memory of Henry O'Reilly, Rochester's first historian. His history was published by the Harpers in 1838—the first local history of a town west of the Hudson river. The meetings are held at the house of Mrs. Gilman H. Perkins, to whom the Rochester Historical Society is greatly indebted for its prosperity.

THE LINNEAN SOCIETY, Lancaster, Pa., met on January 31, Vice-President Charles A. Heinitsh in the chair. Annual reports of the treasurer, secretary, librarian, and curators were read, and a number of donations recorded.

The following officers were elected: president, Hon. J. P. Wickersham; vice-presidents, Dr. John S. Stahr and Charles A. Heinitsh; secretary, S. M. Sener; treasurer, Dr. S. S. Rathvon; corresponding secretary, Mrs. A. F. Eaby; librarian, Mrs. L. D. Zell.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The two portraits of George Bancroft which appeared in our February magazine of 1890 are invested with renewed interest now that the venerable historian has passed away. The larger picture, the frontispiece, was from a painting executed while he was in Berlin as United States minister to the German empire. The portrait where we find him in the centre of a group of the six presidents of the American Historical Association presents him in his ninetieth year, the photograph having been made on the 30th of December, 1889. He was tall, slight, erect, graceful in his movements, his hair and beard for many years a silky, snowy white, his complexion clear, his forehead high and narrow, with expressive eyes of dark gray, and a short upper lip smooth-shaven. He was one of the most notable figures in Washington life for three full decades. Both at his winter home at the capital and at his summer residence in Newport, he enjoyed the well-earned dignity of the scholar who had also been a man of affairs, and had something of the flattering position of the First Citizen—an honored member of all circles. Foreign ministers came accredited to him as well as to the government, and he was the friend of every successive administration.

Few Americans have won a wider reputation in a lifetime or secured a more lasting fame than Mr. Bancroft. Probably no American-born citizen has ever represented his country in so many and long-continued official positions abroad, or been personally acquainted with so many eminent persons in all the walks and stations of life on two continents: certainly no American was ever more respected in his own and in other countries. His death, January 17, 1891, was not unexpected. The burial service was most impressive. Almost at high noon, when the stir of the city's life was at its fullest, an unusual assemblage of people filled St. John's church in Washington, nearly opposite the presidential mansion. The President of the nation and most of his cabinet officers were there, the justices of the supreme court and the other courts, all the foreign ministers, the officers of the army and navy, members of the senate and house of representatives, deputies from many societies, and citizens of note. The service was opened by the surpliced choir softly singing as a processional the well-known hymn "Lead, Kindly Light." This was followed by the hymns "Rock of Ages" and "Abide with Me." Dr. Douglass, rector of the church, read the Scriptures and other parts of the service in a most appropriate and impressive manner. No remarks were made, no eulogy pronounced; but as the body was borne from the church, the pall-bearers being Chief-Justice Fuller, Justice Field, Justice Blatchford, Senator Evarts, ex-Secretary Bayard, Admiral Rodgers, Mr. Spofford, George William Curtis, Hon. John A. King, and Professor Langley, the choir sang the recessional "Hark, Hark, my Soul."

The following message was received by Mr. J. C. Bancroft: "Sir, his majesty the emperor and king, remembering the relations of friendship which for many years existed between his majesty the late Emperor William and the late George Bancroft as minister of the United States to Berlin, has directed me to express to you and to your family his

most sincere sympathy with the great loss which has fallen upon you and upon your country."

President Harrison issued the following on the 19th of January: "The death of George Bancroft, which occurred in the city of Washington on Saturday afternoon, January 17, removes from among the living one of the most distinguished Americans. As an expression of the public loss and sorrow, the flags of all the executive departments at Washington and of the public buildings in the cities through which the funeral party is to pass will be placed at half-mast to-morrow and until the body of this eminent statesman, scholar, and historian shall rest in the state that gave him to his country and to the world."

Ere the mourning for the great historian had been removed the nation was shocked and plunged into the deepest sorrow by the sudden death of one of the President's most trusted cabinet ministers, the secretary of the treasury, while at a banquet of the Board of Trade in New York on the 29th of January. The action of the board on the following day voiced in its resolutions the sentiment of a vast community, and is a tribute that should be placed on permanent record:

"William Windom, secretary of the treasury, died while our guest, and just as he had spoken to us words of weighty wisdom and true courage. It is therefore peculiarly fitting that this board should express the deep sense of the business men of New York of the services which he has rendered to the Republic and of the personal loss that so many of us have sustained in his sudden death. At the organization of our board he was our associate and adviser. During all our existence he has been our faithful friend and helper.

The New York Board of Trade and Transportation places this minute upon our records in honor of a good citizen, a wise man, and an honest and brave official.

For more than thirty years William Windom has been prominent in American public life. Long service in the national house of representatives, repeated terms in the federal senate, the secretaryship of the treasury under Presidents Garfield and Harrison, had combined to give him rare opportunities to know the needs, appreciate the growth, and estimate the possibilities of the nation. He used these opportunities wisely and well. During the entire civil war he was the trusted friend and adviser of President Lincoln. As a representative and senator he favored all measures that looked toward the practical and efficient development of our great internal resources. As secretary of the treasury under President Garfield he successfully refunded the maturing national debt by methods so simple, so economical, and so masterful as to prove him a truly great financier, a worthy successor to Hamilton, Chase, and Sherman; as secretary under President Harrison he labored courageously and successfully to avert widespread panic in a season of threatened financial trouble. He died speaking earnest and strong words against the madness of free coinage of silver under existing financial conditions. He fell at the post of duty as truly as a soldier falls on the field of battle."

Of the personal characteristics of Secretary Windom, Dr. Hamlin's words at the funeral of the great statesman in Washington are to the point. "A gentleman of charming affability, of unfailing courtesy, of quiet dignity, of beautiful refinement, a lawyer of wide reading and great talent, a legislator of unwearying industry and undaunted courage, a cabinet officer of good views, of sound policy, of abundant aggressiveness, joined to safe conservatism, a man of unsullied integrity, a citizen of unflagging patriotism, a friend, a husband, a father, a Christian of sterling faith, of sincere devotion, of unostentatious hu-

military—such was William Windom. Such the world knew him to be in his long and varied public career ; such this city knew him to be, on whose streets and in whose best homes he has been a familiar figure since 1860. Such we here present knew him to be, who have been associated with him as colleagues, who have been honored with his friendship in business and in social and in Christian life. His handsome face, his majestic head, his noble form, his beautiful smile, his affectionate greeting, won all hearts. He was unspoiled, unchanged by the greatest elevation. He was as courteous to the messengers in the treasury as to his fellow-officers. Adulation he abhorred ; display, pretense, ambition to shine over others, was alien to his nature. What wonder that everybody was his friend ? What wonder that everybody loved him ; that in this city, in his state, in all the land, only the kindest thoughts were entertained and the kindest words spoken of him ? But best of all, Mr. Windom was a Christian—an avowed, aggressive, and consistent Christian, whether practicing law in a Minnesota village, or legislating in the senate, or administering the national finances at the head of the treasury department. What wonder was it that one of the most eminent jurists of the land said on Saturday last : ‘ I have known Mr. Windom well for more than twenty years, and he was the most consistent Christian I have ever known in public life.’ Mr. Windom was as far from being a weak sentimentalist on the one hand as he was from being a narrow dogmatist on the other. He was a devout, unostentatious follower of Christ. The foundation of his piety lay deep and strong. About a year ago he said to his wife, and it sounded almost like a prophecy : ‘ Lest I may go and leave you without opportunity to say this, I want you to have the comfort of knowing that if I were to die to-day it would be in the sure and certain hope of a blessed immortality. That hope is not based on any worthiness of mine, but solely on my abiding trust in my living Redeemer.’ ”

Two weeks later, on February 13, one of America's greatest admirals, David D. Porter, passed away, an officer of the highest rank and distinction, whose achievements through a service of sixty-two years illustrate fitly the courage and patriotism of the American navy. And the following day our most illustrious soldier, General William T. Sherman, died at his home in New York. President Harrison in announcing the loss to congress said : “ No living American was so loved and venerated as he. To look upon his face, to hear his name, was to have one's love of country intensified. He served his country not for fame, not out of a sense of professional duty, but for love of the flag and of the beneficent civil institutions of which it was the emblem.

He was an ideal soldier and shared to the fullest the *esprit de corps* of the army, but he cherished the civil institutions organized under the Constitution, and was only a soldier that these might be perpetuated in undiminished usefulness and honor. He was in nothing an imitator. A profound student of military science and precedent, he drew from them principles and suggestions, and so adapted them to novel conditions that his campaigns will continue to be the profitable study of the military profession throughout the world. His genial nature made him comrade to every soldier of the great Union army. No presence was so welcome and inspiring at the camp-fire or commandery as his. His career was complete ; his honors were full. He had received from the government the highest rank known to our military establishment, and from the people unstinted gratitude and love.

No word of mine can add to his fame. His death has followed in startling quickness that of the admiral of the navy, and it is a sad and notable incident that when the

department under which he served shall have put on the usual emblems of mourning, four of the eight executive departments will be simultaneously draped in black and one other has but to-day removed the crape from its walls."

Thus has the nation within one short month been called to mourn four of its greatest men—its eminent historian, its renowned statesman, its distinguished admiral, and its beloved general—an impressive coincidence. Sherman and Porter were always fast friends and allies; no quarrel ever divided their life-long affection. Each was the second in rank, and after the war the first in his arm of the service. General Sherman has often said: "When Porter goes I want to go too." Their lives were so intimately connected from early in the war, that an almost brotherly attachment grew up between them. It is related that one day in April last General Sherman was on a visit to the admiral, and as they stood looking out over the garden at the rear end of the mansion, the admiral said: "Sherman, I can remember when that tree," pointing to an old English walnut, "was the only tree in the square; but look at it now. Time is gradually extinguishing the old landmarks." "Yes, Porter," replied the general, "that tree is like you and me—growing old, growing old. I wonder if we shall outlive it?"

With martial honors Admiral Porter was laid to rest in historic Arlington on the 17th of February. Not since the burial of Sheridan has Washington witnessed such imposing ceremonials. A touching tribute from the wife of the dead admiral in the hour of her unspeakable grief was a pillow of violets and white roses placed upon a stand at the head of the coffin of General Sherman, in New York city, which she sent to the sorrowing family of her husband's friend. No one could read the words upon the little card pinned to the flowers, "With loving regards from Mrs. Admiral Porter," without tears.

We go to press before the final honors are paid to the dead hero, but arrangements are being perfected for a vast military parade, which will escort the body to the train for St. Louis, where the interment will be in Calvary cemetery. During the progress of the funeral procession the city of New York will suspend business, and with flags at half-mast and buildings draped in black show its respect for the illustrious warrior. In the resolutions adopted at a special meeting of the Union League Club appears the following beautiful sentiment: "Besides being a historic soldier and an ideal hero, it was General Sherman's happy fortune in the twenty-five years that have elapsed since the close of the war in which he bore so distinguished a part to come very near to the people of the land, and to become every year dearer and dearer to them by the merits and charms of his personal character, so that it may truly be said that the death of no man in America to-day could have left a void in the people's heart so deep and wide as his has done. . . . In every thought and feeling General Sherman was intensely American. He believed in the abiding greatness and glory of his country, in the form of government under which we live, and in the capacity of the people to maintain and preserve it, and he had no sympathy with, or toleration for, those who affect to discover in every misadventure in politics or blunder of government a symptom of national decline. In every sense of the word he was a noble citizen, and a splendid example for all men to follow and imitate in his public spirit, his reverence for law, his lofty standard of civic duty, and his zeal for the honor and good name of his country."

General Horace Porter in seconding the resolutions said : "While General Sherman was a man of great versatility of talent, and had filled many important positions in the various walks of life, his great reputation will always be founded upon his merits as a soldier. With him the chief characteristics of a soldier seemed inborn. There was something in his very look, in the gait with which he moved, that of themselves revealed him as a typical soldier. As we looked upon his well-knit brow, his deep, penetrating, restless hazel eye, his aquiline nose, we could see easily that there was something in these outward appearances that betokened a great man. In war he was prompt in decision and unshrinking under the great responsibilities. Prompt in action, firm in purpose, and untiring in effort, he had an intrinsic knowledge of topography, and there was found in his person much of the patience of a Fabius, with the restlessness of a Hotspur. He excited confidence in his troops, which made them follow him to victory with all the dash of Cæsar's Tenth Legion. The students of military history at home and abroad have studied his campaigns as their models, and placed his works on a level with the grandest works of the masters of military science."

Chauncey M. Depew, who presided over the meeting, said : "Sherman had the quality which belonged to none of our extremely great men of civil or military life—that subtle, indefinable something which is called genius. Lincoln came very near having it, but he didn't have it entirely. Grant was the incarnation of war, but he was not touched by the divine fire of genius. Assuredly Washington didn't have it, though Hamilton may possibly have possessed it. But with Sherman it made him the most original figure in the field, on the platform, in society. In him was a touch of something which separated him from his kind, and singled him out as a distinct individuality the moment he spoke. In Europe, where they only judge Americans by those who travel to that continent from time to time from this country, even the most prejudiced among them I have heard say more than once, 'The most interesting American, and I may say the most interesting man I ever met, was your General Sherman.'"

BOOK NOTICES

LITERARY INDUSTRIES. By HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT. Thirty-ninth volume of the *WORKS OF HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT*. 8vo, pp. 808. The History Company, San Francisco. Frank M. Derby, agent, 149 Church street, New York.

This volume is one of autobiography, a history of the great historical work which was undertaken more than thirty years ago, and prosecuted under the greatest of difficulties with untiring vigor and never flagging enthusiasm. Starting out with the intention of gathering some authentic account of the native races of the West, the material accumulated soon warned Mr. Bancroft that its bulk must be reduced by digestion and sifting. This being accomplished, the task insensibly led to a consideration of the events which followed the displacement of the native races by the white subjugators of the soil; so that in process of time the work of tracing the political and industrial history of the states and territories became an apparent and imperative necessity. It was a genuine American enterprise, growing out of American conditions, institutions, and modes of life. In the unique volume before us there is much that is suggestive as well as instructive. The account of the author collecting books about California for the publishing of a gazetteer, which opened his eyes to the wealth of material about California and the Pacific coast, is the kind of reading which fascinates. He became a special collector long before it occurred to him to turn the library he was accumulating to any serious use. Beginning with books in English he naturally found soon that his researches must be carried into Spanish literature, and that field once opened, the magnitude of the task began to be apparent. After ransacking the book-stores of the Eastern states he was drawn to Europe, and in London and Paris he perhaps first realized how costly a work he had undertaken. But the gathering of thirty, forty, or fifty thousand volumes was not so great a thing as the systematizing of the knowledge therein contained, and bringing it into harness for the public good. Mr. Bancroft was obviously gifted with that peculiar business faculty, comprehending organizing and executive ability, sterling judgment and bold enterprise, by which fortunes are acquired, and there can be but one opinion—that if he had devoted himself to the making of money he could have been one of the richest men in the country to-day. This is a point to be emphasized. Many of those who affect to despise wealth lack altogether the faculties whereby it can be amassed, and thus only belittle what is beyond their reach, like the fox in

the fable. But here was a man who had all the powers necessary to become a multi-millionaire, and who yet deliberately turned his back upon his opportunities in order to devote himself to literature.

When all that was really serviceable in his ponderous collection had been classified and arranged for use he decided to write on the native races, until five volumes covering that important and difficult subject were completed. Then, to further its interests, he visited the scholars of the East, the story of which appears in another part of this magazine, and the first knowledge of Mr. Bancroft's enterprise was given to the world. Expressions of admiration began to reach him from the highest authorities, and the verdict was one of almost unanimous approval and congratulation. Since that time the work has proceeded steadily and rapidly until now Mr. Bancroft is able to announce its virtual completion, but one branch remaining to be finished, that of a collection of biographies of the founders of the commonwealth. The narrative of his experiences and adventures is told with much vivacity, and is interesting not only to the literary world, but to all who delight in success.

THE COLONIES, 1492-1750. By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES. 16mo, pp. 301. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co.

This convenient volume with its four handsome colored maps is the first of a series of three, entitled *Epochs of American History*. The design being not so much to discuss all the great events of the periods under consideration, as to present in a compact form the moving causes for the formation of the colonies, the achievement of independence and confederation, and the triumph over influences that have at times threatened to wreck the whole fabric of state. Detail has largely been sacrificed to broad lights and shadows, and even the maps treat of generalities rather than of minutiae. At the beginning of each chapter is a complete bibliography of the period under consideration—a very excellent arrangement, since it greatly facilitates study. A full index concludes the volume, and the completed series should form a convenient addition to historical books of reference.

A WASHINGTON BIBLE CLASS. By GAIL HAMILTON. 16mo, pp. 303. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

Miss Dodge has always been pointedly original in all that she has ever written. It would not greatly surprise the public to be told that

she is as persistently original in all that she thinks and says. This is not her first essay in the field of religious literature, a department of letters which has, we believe, always commanded much of her most earnest thought. It goes without saying that to such a mind as hers the dry beaten paths of theology are alike distasteful and impassable. And yet through all she writes there is a wholesome undercurrent of respect and consideration for the established order of things, which, in the light of brilliant passages, one would hardly look for. The text of the book is a common-sense view of the Bible, without allowing the mists of scholasticism and priestcraft to come between. To some very excellent people no doubt some of her conclusions will be somewhat startling, but there is a deal of good Christian truth to be learned about the Bible from her pages.

NEW YORK. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT. [Historic Towns, edited by EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D. C. L., and REV. WILLIAM HUNT, M. A.] Crown 8vo, pp. 232. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

The enterprising publishers of this series of books are to be congratulated on their selection of an author for the volume on New York. Mr. Roosevelt has shown his ability to grasp the difficult subject given him in all its immensity, and place its salient features in the limited space assigned, while tracing the chain of causes which gradually changed a little Dutch trading-hamlet into a great city. He writes clearly and forcibly, with intelligent appreciation of the fact that the history of New York deserves to be studied for more than one reason. "It is the history of the largest English-speaking city which the English conquered but did not found, and in which, though the English law and governmental system have ever been supreme, yet the bulk of the population, composed as it is and ever has been of many shifting strains, has never been English. Again, for the past hundred years it is the history of a wonderfully prosperous trading city, the largest in the world in which the democratic plan has ever been faithfully tried for so long a time; and the trial, made under some exceptional advantages and some equally exceptional disadvantages, is of immense interest, alike for the measure in which it has succeeded and for the measure in which it has failed."

Mr. Roosevelt seems to have made an exceptionally careful and conscientious study of the disturbances in New York in 1689—at the time William and Mary ascended the throne of England—when Leisler overturned the established government and seized the reins of power, ruling in a more arbitrary and unjust manner than any

of his predecessors. "In domestic affairs," says Mr. Roosevelt, "Leisler sometimes did well and sometimes ill. He summoned two popular assemblies. They were filled with his supporters, ratified all his acts, and gave him power to go to any lengths he chose. He allowed his subordinates to maltreat the Long Islanders, Dutchmen and Puritans alike, who accordingly sent long petitions for redress to England. He opened letters, plundered houses, confiscated estates to satisfy taxes, and imprisoned numbers of the leading citizens whom he believed to be his enemies. He treated the Calvinist dominions as roughly as their flocks, and all the men of property became greatly alarmed." There was no occasion whatever for an insurrection in New York, and the unprejudiced reader can see in Mr. Roosevelt's pages how completely the extraordinary acts of Leisler negated all claim to democratic theories.

The chapter on "Recent History, 1860-1890," is one of much interest, only too short. During the thirty years which it covers New York's population has nearly doubled and the growth of wealth has fully kept pace with the increase of its people. The character of the metropolis as a whole can be painted only with a curious mixture of colors. "For all its motley population," says Mr. Roosevelt, "there is a most wholesome underlying spirit of patriotism in the city, if it only can be roused. There is no doubt that in case of any important foreign war or domestic disturbance New York would back up the general government with men and money to a practically unlimited extent."

FRANCIS WAYLAND. By JAMES O. MURRAY. 16mo, pp. 293. New York and Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The series entitled "American Religious Leaders" reaches with this issue its fourth volume. Edwards, Fisk, and Muhlenberg have preceded it, and lives of Finney, Hughes, Hodge, Parker, and H. B. Smith are in preparation. Already the series makes a fair show on the shelves of many a ministerial and Sunday-school library, and when completed it will present a strikingly complete ecclesiastical history of the United States, through the lives of men who were personally responsible for its development.

A HANDBOOK OF FLORIDA. By CHARLES LEDYARD NORTON. With forty-nine maps and plans. 16mo, pp. 380. New York: Longmans, Green & Co.

The first edition of this handbook covered only the Atlantic coast of our great winter re-

sort. The present includes the whole state, with greater accuracy and fullness of detail than has hitherto been attempted. Especial attention has been given to local history, ancient and modern, and it is safe to say that in no other published form is the history of the state more fully noted in its peculiarly romantic and picturesque aspects. The annual exodus of northern visitors to southern latitudes is increasing year by year, and with the facilities warranted by successive editions this guide-book should do for Florida what Baedeker has done for Europe.

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM MACLAY, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, 1789-1791. Edited by EDGAR S. MACLAY, A.M. 8vo, pp. 438. D. Appleton & Co., 1891.

The editor of this work says that "William Maclay wrote every evening of events which took place during the day—wrote while his mind was yet heated with the fierce debates in the senate." It is this fact which detracts materially from the substantial value of the publication as a contribution to history. It is an interesting record for many reasons, but no intelligent reader will be apt to mistake the bitter language used in this journal by Maclay for the cool utterances of a great man or a leading statesman. Maclay was an intense partisan, and constantly afflicted with rheumatic pains. He seems to have loved no one, to have been a chronic hater of all men. The senate in which he served two years he calls "a nest of vipers." He never wearies of abusing John Adams. On one occasion he says: "Adams behaved with studied inattention. He was snuffing up his nose, kicking his heels, or talking and sniggering with Otis the whole time I was up." Maclay is also disgusted with Washington; he says: "The President has become, in the hands of Hamilton, the disclout of any dirty speculator, and his name goes to wipe away blame and to silence murmuring." "If there is treason in the wish, I retract it," he writes again, "but would to God this same General Washington was in heaven." Everybody was singularly corrupt with whom Maclay came in contact, if we are supposed to judge from these vivid pen pictures which he transmits to posterity. At the end of his short term in the senate Maclay declares himself "fully satisfied that many a culprit has served two years at the wheelbarrow without feeling half the pain and mortification that I experienced in my honorable station."

Maclay's voice was often heard in the senate, but he does not appear to have in debate commanded special attention or admiration. On one occasion he says: "I stood the rage and insult of the bulk of the house for what appeared to me an hour and a half." Throughout his

journal there is the strongest evidence that he did not win friends or have any distinct following. His own words negative the claim of the editor of this volume that "in combating and subverting the aspirations of the Federalists William Maclay laid the foundation of the Democratic party." On the contrary, he was too narrow and dogmatic in his views to have wielded important influence on his time. Among other things, Hamilton's funding scheme aroused his fiery indignation. He saw nothing more in it than a purpose to burden posterity with debts and to enrich speculators. It was true that speculators were to profit by this measure, and that men in office were among that number. But Maclay's peculiar temperament did not permit him to see beyond this inevitable fact. He could not look out from this necessary evil to see the vast general good that was to ensue from a union that should be strong in financial credit and one in position to command respect for individual states as well as for the whole body of states. He was also characteristically severe on the "pompous" people of New York who were not hospitable to him. He writes: "These Yorkers are the vilest of people. Their vices have not the palliation of being manly. They resemble bad schoolboys, who are unfortunate at play; they revenge themselves by telling notorious thumpers." Probably the senator talked as he wrote, and it is possible that the reason why no door of any citizen of New York was opened to him during a residence of six months was through a fear to admit one who, on his own showing, has set down almost every man with whom he came in contact as either a knave or a fool, or both together. The editor of the work describes the senator as "in personal appearance six feet and three inches in height, light complexion, while his hair in middle age appears to have been brown, and was tied behind or 'clubbed.'" He was called by one of his contemporaries "a dignified, majestic old gentleman."

PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. By GREENOUGH WHITE, A. M. 12mo, pp. 66. Boston: Ginn & Company. 1891.

This clever little hand-book is an attempt to prove the independent and organic development of American literature. It opens with a careful study into the early condition of literary endeavor in the several colonies, and the beginnings of æsthetic inquiry in America, in which Jonathan Edwards takes the lead, with the gradual advance of thought and the rise of an ideal of culture. The point of the author appears to be the discovery of the position of each of the early prominent authors in our general liter-

ary history, showing the intimate connection between our country's literature and history, and the necessity of a knowledge of each in order to interpret the other. He says: "Our literature has really developed with admirable freedom, energy, and completeness. It has not been dwarfed by those influences, nor have its epochs been cut short by those political and international complications that have so often thwarted mental progress in other lands. It shows the natural unfolding of intellect freed from old-world trammels, yet limited by the necessities of practical life."

THE GENESIS OF THE UNITED STATES. A narrative of the movement in England, 1605-1616, which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen, disclosing the contest between England and Spain for the possession of the soil now occupied by the United States of America; the whole set forth through a series of historical manuscripts now first printed, together with a reissue of rare contemporaneous tracts, accompanied by brief biographies. Edited by ALEXANDER BROWN. 2 vols. 100 illustrations. 8vo, pp. 1151. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

This vast historical work is one of the most valuable productions of the decade. It illumines an obscure period in the beginning of emigration to this country, and shows with peculiar clearness and force the movements in England which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen. The first volume opens with an introductory sketch covering the period from 1485 to 1605, a chapter crowded with useful data and embellished with the portraits of Queen Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Alexander, first Earl of Stirling. We then come to the experimental period, in which a trial was made both to found settlements in North Virginia and in South Virginia. Here a great many interesting documents are introduced which were written during the period covered by the narrative, 1605-1616; three hundred at least appear now for the first time in an American publication. Having learned what was done in naval affairs, discoveries, commerce, and colonization prior to 1605, and that the treaty of peace between Spain and

England was signed and ratified by Philip III. in June of that year. the reader is prepared to trace what was subsequently going on in London through the early letters and records, which, for good and sufficient reasons were never in those days made accessible to the public. It seems that the success of the colonization enterprise depended largely on the discretion, judgment, secrecy, and diplomacy of the managers. It had its bitter enemies, and its laughter-loving foes. No one predicted the possible aspect of the wild and savage field two hundred and eighty years into the future. A comedy was written called "Eastward Hoe," which went through at least five editions in 1605, was played before King James on the 25th of January, 1614, and has been felicitously introduced by Mr. Brown to illustrate the popular feeling of the period. The plan to form royal colonies by chartered companies under license from the crown was largely under the management of Sir John Popham, the lord chief-justice of England. The Simancas papers were procured in Spain for the editor of this work by Hon. J. L. M. Curry, late United States minister to Spain. Many of these papers were originally written in cipher, in the strictest secrecy, nearly three hundred years ago, and they relate directly to the foundation of our country. They have been translated by an eminent scholar, and in this volume are for the first time made public. It seems that Spain was a serious obstacle to the settlement of Virginia by the English. We read in one of these letters from the king of Spain an order to his ambassador in London to find out what the English are doing about that "island which they call Virginia;" "and to prevent the plans and purposes of the English by all available means—with great skill and vigilance." The portraits in the volume are handsomely engraved and of exceptional interest, and the biographical and genealogical information is of the first importance. Enough is given of at least twelve hundred prominent persons to locate or to identify them, and thus we may form a correct estimate as to the character of those engaged in the movement. while the sketches of the active managers in the American schemes are more complete than any previously printed. Mr. Brown has performed a great national service, and has done it marvelously well. His two sumptuous volumes must necessarily go into every good library in the land, and we heartily commend them to the attention of all students and scholars.

The Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York,

RICHARD A. MCCURDY, President,

Statement for the year ending December 31st, 1890.

Assets,		\$147,154,961 20
Reserve on Policies at 4%,		\$136,668,368 00
Liabilities other than Reserve,		505,359 82
Surplus,		9,981,233 38
Receipts from all sources,		34,978,778 69
Payments to Policy-Holders,		16,973,200 05
Risks Assumed,	49,188 policies,	160,985,985 58
Risks in force,	206,055 policies,	638,226,865 24

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Real Estate and Bond & Mortgage Loans,	\$76,529,231 72
United States Bonds and other Securities,	51,311,631 54
Loans on Collateral Securities,	8,624,400 00
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	3,556,441 59
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred, etc.,	7,133,256 35
	\$147,154,961 20

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

The business for 1890 shows INCREASE over that of 1889, as follows:

In Assets,	\$10,753,633 18
In Reserve on Policies and Surplus,	10,554,091 94
In Receipts,	3,859,759 07
In Payments to Policy-holders,	1,772,591 67
In Risks Assumed,	4,611 policies, 9,383,502 21
In Risks in force,	23,745 policies, 72,276,931 32

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Payments to Policy-Holders.	Receipts.	Assets.
1884...	\$34,681,420...	\$351,789,285...	\$13,923,062 19...	\$19,095,318 41...	\$103,876,178 51
1885...	46,507,139...	368,081,441...	14,402,049 90...	20,214,954 28...	108,908,967 51
1886...	56,832,719...	393,809,203...	13,129,103 74...	21,137,176 67...	114,181,963 24
1887...	69,457,468...	427,628,933...	14,128,423 60...	23,119,922 46...	118,806,851 88
1888...	103,214,261...	482,125,184...	14,727,550 22...	26,215,932 52...	126,082,153 56
1889...	151,602,483...	565,949,934...	15,200,608 38...	31,119,019 62...	136,401,328 02
1890...	160,985,986...	638,226,865...	16,973,200 05...	34,978,778 69...	147,154,961 20

New York, January 28th, 1891.

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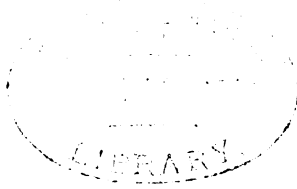
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THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

Vol. XXV.

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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS AT THE COURT OF FERDINAND THE CATHOLIC AND ISABELLA OF CASTILE.

[The moment chosen for this painting is the beginning of American history, when Isabella having offered her jewels to defray the expenses of the expedition, the contract between Ferdinand and Columbus is about to be signed.]

Fac-simile of the great painting by Brosik Vasslav, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Central Park, New York.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

APRIL, 1891

No. 4

THE "CHESAPEAKE" AND LIEUTENANT LUDLOW

IN the last December number of the "Century Magazine," in a picturesque and graphic article, intended, as I am informed, to correct errors in prior histories of the naval conflicts of the war of 1812, occurs one error of fact, trifling, perhaps, but which in the interest of historical accuracy it may be worth while to endeavor to set right. At page 217 of the December Century is an account of the ever memorable engagement between the United States frigate *Chesapeake* of forty-nine guns and the English fifty-two gun frigate *Shannon*. It was in the course of this engagement that Captain Lawrence U. S. N., Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow U. S. N., and other junior officers, including Lieutenant James Broome U. S. M., and Midshipman Courtland Livingston U. S. N., fell fighting gallantly but unsuccessfully for their common country. For several reasons this engagement has always attracted great public and critical attention. It did eighty years ago, and it does still. Indeed, the "Don't give up the Ship" of the dying Lawrence has become proverbial with Americans as a war cry, and one synonymous with patriotism and courageous fidelity to duty.

After Lawrence fell, the command of the ship devolved for a short space upon the ranking line officer Ludlow, who the writer of the Century article erroneously states was an officer of marines. In the course of his narrative the same writer intimates, I think, that the loss of the *Chesapeake* is in some measure explained by the youth and inexperience of her junior officers, including Lieutenant Ludlow, then only just arrived at manhood.

It is the purpose of this paper to endeavor to show that the Lieutenant Ludlow thus referred to in the Century was an officer of the line and not an officer of marines, and that he was a highly efficient and capable officer in spite of his extreme youth. In all prior histories of this engagement these facts have been conceded and justly so. No doubt, the error in the Century is simply an accident *currente calamo*.

All the American accounts of the engagement between the *Chesapeake*

and the *Shannon*—and they are many—concur in the indubitable fact that the *Chesapeake* was on this occasion not well prepared for action, having newly shipped her crew, which was to some extent composed of landsmen or undisciplined material. The uncertain result of a battle between such a crew and a ship's company such as the *Shannon's*, long trained by service on a foreign station and equally well officered and armed, was therefore almost a foregone conclusion, but it was not an inevitable conclusion. The odds could not have been unthought of, either by Lawrence or his officers, when the *Chesapeake* went out to meet the *Shannon*; but the fact was that from experience they undervalued their enemy. There is fortunately no record of a moment's hesitation in offering battle on the part of the officers of the *Chesapeake*, and there was none. The *Chesapeake*, colors flying, ports open, and guns shotted ready for action, sailed out to meet her enemy with a view to the engagement, and ready to win or to accept the fate of war. The writer in the *Century* states, in substance, that it would have been the part of prudence for the *Chesapeake* to have avoided this conflict until her crew had been better trained to duty. It might have been the part of "prudence," but prudence has never been esteemed the highest quality in a man-of-war.

A letter (here first published) from Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow to his brother Captain Charles Ludlow, of the United States navy, however, shows that, contrary to general opinion, her officers thought the *Chesapeake* then in good fighting trim. This letter was written only three days before the battle:

" U. S. Frigate *Chesapeake*, Boston, May 28, 1813.

Dear Brother:

From your not writing I presume you are very busy farming. Captain Lawrence is our captain. . . . There are only three frigates now cruising off Boston bay; they send in no prizes, but burn them all. Commodore Brooke says he does not intend to weaken his men by manning prizes. I have every reason to believe you will have your rank this summer. I will assure you it makes a great noise in the way you have been treated. I had no idea any one officer would raise such a talk by his resigning. It shows to the world that you are well known and much thought of. There is report we shall go to sea in six days, but I cannot believe it. I hardly think we shall go out in such fine weather, when there is three frigates off. The ship is in better order for battle than ever I saw *her before*. Page is going out. Our first lieutenant Price has left the ship. There is no news here except flour has fallen \$3 on the barrel, owing to two ships getting in from the southward loaded with flour. They were bound to

Cadiz, but put in in distress. It is now \$18 per barrel. Do write often. Give my love to all the family and respects to all friends.

Your affectionate brother

A. LUDLOW."

Lieutenant Ludlow should have known the fighting qualities of the *Chesapeake*, for he was familiar with the ship, and on her prior cruise had been her third lieutenant. The Lieutenant Page mentioned in the letter was taken ill and did not go out on the *Chesapeake*, while Lieutenant



LIEUTENANT AUGUSTUS C. LUDLOW, U. S. N.

[From a painting loaned by Rear Admiral Augustus Ludlow Case, U. S. N.]

Price was granted permission to leave the ship for cause. This left Lieutenant Ludlow the first officer; but Captain Lawrence knew him well, and it was agreeable to him, they having served together on the *Hornet*.

The writer of the *Century* article states also that "when Captain Lawrence observed the British frigate in the offing, . . . obeying the impulse of a brave but impetuous nature, he made sail to engage." This as a technical criticism is not quite accurate: it attributes too much to the mere impulse of Lawrence, too little to his prior experience as a naval tactician. The official report of the action, made at the time to the

secretary of the navy, shows that the engagement was determined on deliberately and intelligently before the *Shannon* hove in sight at all. This is curiously corroborated by tradition. Some years since the writer of this article happened to hear from Colonel Robert H. Ives Goddard of Providence, Rhode Island, an anecdote concerning Captain Lawrence, which the former had from the late Mr. Charles G. Loring of Boston, a contemporary of Lawrence. As it threw some light on a celebrated engagement, it was interesting and a note was made of it at the time. Colonel Goddard has since been so good as to corroborate the details of the incident by correspondence with Mr. Loring's son, General Loring of Boston. Mr. Loring stated that the day before the fight with the *Shannon* Captain Lawrence was dining at Mr. Loring's house in Boston, when news was brought that the *Shannon* was off the port of Boston. Captain Lawrence begged to be excused, left the table, and went aboard his ship then lying in President's Roads, and made instant preparations to meet the enemy. By eight A. M. the next day (June 1, 1813) the *Chesapeake* unmoored and by noon got under way. After the ship had unmoored the *Shannon* hove in sight. It is, therefore, evident that Lawrence left Mr. Loring's house fully determined to go out to seek the engagement, and that the determination was not formed hastily or by "impulse" upon suddenly seeing the *Shannon* in the offing, while the *Chesapeake* was lying at anchor. On the contrary, the determination was formed deliberately and before the *Shannon* was seen at all. The official report of the engagement discloses that the pilot boats had brought the intelligence that the *Shannon* was outside some time before she appeared in sight, and that when the *Shannon* first came in sight of the *Chesapeake* the latter was about under way in quest of her enemy. But I shall not pursue further than is necessary the general details of this engagement, the lamentable result of which is so well known and so commonly regarded as reflecting no discredit on the brave officers who unhappily surrendered their lives in it.*

When Lawrence fell young Ludlow became the ranking line officer, and for a mere moment succeeded to the command of the *Chesapeake*. Let us now consider the Century writer's statement indicated, that Ludlow was a marine officer and that the second lieutenant Mr. Budd was the "only commissioned sea officer of experience on the ship." If by the expression "sea officer" this writer means to state that Mr. Budd was an officer of the line, it would have been the first time in naval annals when a lieutenant of marines commanded a ship-of-war while there was a ranking able-bodied line officer on board. The fact that Ludlow succeeded to

* See official report of Commodore Bainbridge, U.S.N., president of court of inquiry.



THE OLD LUDLOW HOME, "WINDSOR HILL," AND VIEW IN THE GROUNDS.

the command over Mr. Budd of the line of itself demonstrated that Mr. Ludlow was of the line also. Had it been otherwise, after Lawrence fell Mr. Budd must have been the responsible commander instead of Ludlow. In this event there was no need of emphasizing either the youth or the inexperience of Lieutenant Ludlow. Had our historian of the Century consulted the general *Navy Register*, he would there have learned that Augustus C. Ludlow was not in the marine corps, but was an officer of the line, and, as such, was the senior lieutenant and first lieutenant of the *Chesapeake* at the time of her engagement with the *Shannon*. So much by way of explanation of Lieutenant Ludlow's proper rank on the fatal cruise of the *Chesapeake*. Yet, be it far from my purpose to intimate that the rank erroneously assigned to Ludlow was not honorable. It was highly so, but it was not his. There was a lieutenant of marines on the *Chesapeake*, killed in the same engagement. The officer in question was Lieutenant James Broome, of a family well known in the annals of the early navy as the "fighting Broomes."

That Augustus C. Ludlow, though very young, was not an accomplished and competent officer, we have never before seen intimated in countless narratives. In the first place he came of a generation unusually apt and distinguished in the naval profession, and was himself predisposed to be apt. He took to the sea at a very early age, and when the engage-

ment with the *Shannon* took place was probably as well fitted for duty as any first officer in the service. In 1804 Augustus C. Ludlow, then twelve years of age, received his midshipman's warrant. Under the care of his elder brother Charles (United States navy), Augustus cruised in the Mediterranean for three years on board the frigate *President*, Commodore Barron, and saw service in the Tripolitan war of 1805, which has been called the "cradle of the American navy." He was next transferred to the *Constitution*, where he received his lieutenancy. From the *Constitution* he went to the *Hornet* under Lawrence, and was I believe in the action with the *Peacock*. From the *Hornet* he went two voyages on the *Chesapeake*, the last of which, as we have seen at its inception, brought his career to a close. At the time of the fight with the *Shannon* Augustus Ludlow had been already nine years in the service and most of the time at sea.

Although, as above stated, there has never before been an intimation or suggestion that Augustus C. Ludlow was not an accomplished and most efficient officer, no reader of the Century article can fail to receive the impression, I think, from that article, that Ludlow was, at the time denoted by the writer in the Century, an inexperienced officer. Now, to be inexperienced in such a position is to be incompetent. But he was not inexperienced. Indeed, at an age when most lads are at home, this sailor lad, as was the naval custom of that time, was at sea, standing his watches in all sorts of weather, while he knew no other home than the gun-room of a frigate in active service. We may say of a clever officer as of a poet, *nascitur non fit*. The qualities of a commander are rarely attained by age alone when Nature has been shy of her gifts. Such is the general testimony on this point; it could not be otherwise. Lieutenant Ludlow seems to have been by nature a sailor; his brothers Captain Charles Ludlow and Robert C. Ludlow, as well as his younger half-brother Lieutenant William Jones, were each and all in the regular navy. As evidence of his efficiency it is noteworthy that in an eulogy of Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow, the great lawyer Mr. Justice Story used these words: "His exemplary conduct and strict sense of honor while yet a midshipman gave him a deserved preference among the officers, and he was generally distinguished by some mark of favor, such as 'captain's aid.' He had served a long time with Captain Lawrence, and it was the perfect knowledge of Ludlow's worth that induced him to continue his young friend as his first lieutenant in the *Chesapeake*." Either Mr. Justice Story, an intelligent contemporary, is wrong in this statement, or else the writer of the Century article is in error also in the impression he so clearly conveys to the reading public, that Ludlow's rank on the *Chesapeake* was altogether fortuitous.

That it was not fortuitous, there is no doubt, for his succession to the place of first officer of the *Chesapeake* was by Lawrence's request and design.

No other historian has ever before intimated that Lieutenant Ludlow was lacking in the best qualifications of a first officer, and the intimation in question finds no justification in the facts. In the first place Lieutenant Ludlow did not succeed to the responsibilities of command until Lawrence was carried below. The positions of the vessels were then



THE ENTRANCE HALL AT "WINDSOR HILL."

determined beyond prevention. "The action commenced at fifteen minutes before six P.M., within pistol shot. The first broadside did great damage on both sides" and carried away some rigging of the *Chesapeake*, so that she was taken aback. Captain Lawrence at this moment was wounded. It was then that Ludlow succeeded to the command. Although he had been carried below wounded, aroused by Lawrence's earnest appeal he made a final effort to avert the disaster which was impending, and rushed

again on deck. In about twelve minutes after the commencement of the action, four successive helmsmen having been shot down and the ship not answering her helm, the anchor of the *Chesapeake* unfortunately fouled in one of the *Shannon's* ports. The Englishmen prepared to board. Ludlow immediately called boarders. It was then a hand-to-hand struggle,* and Ludlow himself was soon again sharply wounded while repelling boarders. The following letter from the brother of Augustus, Robert C. Ludlow, U. S. N., to the elder brother Captain Charles Ludlow, is in point, and a silent witness of the bravery of the young officer:

"Navy Yard, Charlestown, Mass., *June 24*, 1813.

Dear Brother:

At length I have received the distressing intelligence of the death of our poor brother. He died, poor fellow, on the 13th. inst. Mr. Chew has arrived, says he was convinced several days before his death that he would go, as Augustus told him that the doctors did not know how bad he was, and did not expect to live. It is gratifying to know he had every medical aid that was necessary, not only the doctors of the hospital, but those of Halifax, all of whom attended him, and had several consultations even before he was trepanned; he had five wounds, the mortal one was on his head; his head was cut nearly in two. Poor fellow, it is the fortune of war and what we must expect! Our good mother, what will she say, and suffer? I cannot, my dear brother, dwell on this painful subject. Let me hear from you soon. I have wrote you several times and directed to New Burgh, but now understand you are in New York.

Your affectionate brother,

ROBERT C. LUDLOW."

Was there anything else that Ludlow could have done while in command, except to attempt to repel boarders? Was there anything else to be done by any one? No one has ever suggested it before. Washington Irving sums up the opinion of his time by the statement that if the ships had not run foul it is probable that the *Chesapeake* would have captured the *Shannon*. In all the contemporary accounts, and they were many, there is not a syllable except in praise of the conduct of young Ludlow.† The loss of the *Chesapeake* was simply the fate of war and perhaps inevitable. By what warrant is it then intimated, at this late day, that there was anything amiss because of the youth of the first lieutenant of the *Chesa-*

* Testimony of Midshipman Fisher, court-martial of Lieutenant Cox.

† Perkins's *Late War*, 177; Adams's *History of the United States*, vii., c. 12.



CAPTAIN CHARLES LUDLOW, U. S. N.

[From a painting at "Windsor Hill."]

peake? It is certainly an intimation unfair to the memory of a gallant officer unless it is founded on conclusive proofs, and none are offered. The *Chesapeake's* crew were taken to Halifax after her capture. The bodies of Lawrence and Ludlow were brought under flag of truce thence to Salem, where Justice Story delivered his glowing eulogy. Finally the remains of Lawrence and Ludlow were placed with great public ceremonial in Trinity church-yard, New York city, where they still rest under the same monument erected by the public.

Perhaps students of this memorable struggle will respect the words of that acute critic Justice Story, when he says: "Nor can we forget the gay, the gallant, and noble-hearted Ludlow. Though the history of his life be short, yet it can never be uninteresting to those whose hearts beat high with the love of their country. Scarcely was he twenty-one years of age when, like the blooming Euryalus, he accompanied his beloved commander to battle. Never could it have been more truly said:

'His amor unus pariterque in bella ruebant.'

He was indeed worthy of the confidence and friendship of Lawrence. His soul was formed for deeds of active valor and martial enterprise. In the mild engagements of peace it softened into the most attractive suavity of manners and wore the most benignant form of honor. In the tumults of war it glowed with an ambition for naval excellence, which electrized every movement and awakened the whole energies of his genius. Had he lived his name would have attained the same historic elevation as those of our first commanders—the Van Tromps and the Nelsons of the age. Cut off in the blossom of his days, while the purple graces of youth yet clustered round his form, he has left us to pour our unavailing sorrows to his memory.

'His saltem accumulem donis et fungar inani
Munere.'

Peace be to the spirits of the mighty dead—they fell covered with honorable wounds in the cause of their country. What death could be more truly enviable? What death could be more truly exalted? The gratitude of millions has already consecrated their memories. The poetry and the eloquence of future ages shall celebrate their deeds and hymn their requiems. While, therefore, we pay our last lingering farewell to these halloved remains we mourn not as those without hope. The bodies of these heroes may molder away and become indistinguishable from the common mass of mortality; but their spirits, we trust, shall repose in the bosom of heaven, and their fame, their spotless fame, shall perish but with the country of their birth, in that dread day when—

'The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself—
Yea, all which it inhabit, shall dissolve,
And like the baseless fabric of a vision
Leave not a wreck behind them.' "

There can hardly be a more heartfelt eulogium than the ardent words



THE DRAWING-ROOM AT "WINDSOR HILL."

of Justice Story just quoted. In the *Boston Gazette* of June, 1813, appeared the following obituary notice and verses:

"June, 1813.

Died at Halifax on the 13th inst., Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow, second in command on board the *Chesapeake* frigate, aged twenty-one, of the wounds received in the action with the *Shannon*. His remains were entombed with every mark of military distinction which a generous enemy could bestow on a gallant youth who fell in defending his country's flag.

'Great Spirit of the mighty dead,
Descend awhile and linger here;
And tears which love and pity shed
Shall fall to grace a hero's bier.

To thee thy foes could not refuse
The meed to valor justly due;
Nor shall an humble lowly muse,
Forget to praise a patriot true.

What though no friends or kindred dear,
To grace his obsequies, attend;
The freemen are his brothers here,
And every hero is his friend."

It has been stated that Augustus Ludlow came of a generation of sailors, and that his professional training was thorough. There was at that time, perhaps, no better sailor in the navy than his elder brother Captain Charles Ludlow, who had entered the American navy as a midshipman almost at its inception (circ. 1795). Charles Ludlow was the typical sailor of the days of the "wooden walls," generous, proud, and chivalrous. He was in active service for many years and during the French and Tripolitan wars—the first in which our navy was engaged. He served sometime aboard the frigate *United States* under Commodore Barry; he was fighting captain of the frigate *President*, under Commodore John Rodgers, in the engagement with the *Little Belt*; and he subsequently commanded the sloop of war *John Adams*. Under the roof of Captain Charles Ludlow's delightful old-fashioned and dignified house at New Windsor, near Newburgh on the Hudson (sketches of which are given in this number), generations of those connected with him, young and old alike, have always found a hearty welcome, which he bequeathed as a tradition sacredly observed by his descendants. His was, perhaps, one of the pleasantest homes to be found in any country of the world. The lawn stretched nearly to the west shore of the Hudson, and from its piazzas were glorious views of the Highlands and the Fishkill mountains opposite—a scene of unending beauty.

It was under the wise and gracious auspices of Captain Ludlow, for he stood *in loco parentis* to them all, that his three brothers and his nephew Rear Admiral Augustus Ludlow Case, United States navy, successively entered the navy, midshipmen's warrants being procured for them as soon as they were old enough to be rated, and then they continued to be watched and guided in their careers by his paternal and wise oversight. Unfortunately for Captain Ludlow, at a time when Lawrence and other officers were exposed to unmerited slights by the then federal administration, Captain Ludlow felt constrained to throw up his commission. As his letter to the department is characteristic, and evinces also the injustice which must always attend, in a republic, the irregular promotion of military officers by official favoritism, it is here inserted:

"United States Navy Yard, New York, *March 17, 1813.*

Sir:

Since my return to this place I have received through the medium of the *National Intelligencer* a confirmation of the promotion of Lieutenant Morris to the grade of post captain in the navy of the United States.



ROBERT C. LUDLOW, U. S. N.

[From a painting in possession of the family of the late Augustus C. Ludlow, Jr., Baltimore.]

Having already expressed my opinions of this promotion in a memorial addressed to the honorable the senate of the United States, it would not comport with the respect I entertain for you to recapitulate them at this time. But although the reasons assigned by myself, as well as others, have not been considered sufficiently valid to obstruct the promotion of Lieutenant Morris, made at the expense of senior officers, I trust that the

motives which call for the present communication will be received and viewed by you, sir, with a more favorable eye. In the promotion of Lieutenant Morris I cannot but perceive that my expectations as an officer have been vitally assailed. It is, in fact, a declaration to the public, that I was incompetent to discharge the duties of a situation to which I was entitled by my rank. And how, sir, I would respectfully ask, have I deserved this stigma on my character? The character of a military man is his only treasure, and believe me, sir, that he who does not guard that treasure with miserly solicitude will prove but a bad sentinel over the honor and interest of his country. By all governments this military spirit has been fostered with parental care, and I had fondly hoped, when entering the service of my country, that I had intrusted my honor to guardians who would preserve it with the most scrupulous anxiety. That this opinion was well founded I shall not presume to question. The individual who suffers, and the public who inflicts, cannot always think alike on a subject of such a delicate nature, and in which the feelings of the individual are *alone* interested. But when the feelings of the individual so highly excited present him with the alternative of either acquiescing in what he believes to be an unmerited testimony of disgrace, or relinquishing his commission, I trust there is no man of honor who could hesitate which to choose, and no man of feeling who would condemn the choice. For my own part, I confess it is an act of my life for which I feel the most acute concern. To my country I am attached with the most filial veneration. Her Constitution is my idol—her happiness my ambition, and her glory my pride; and at this time to be forced from her service, when my heart and hand are ready to vindicate her violated rights, is a sacrifice which I cannot view but with the most poignant regret. My impressions and feelings are now, sir, before you, and so fully satisfied am I of their correctness, that I should not hesitate to leave the decision which should emanate from them to the magnanimity of Captain Morris himself. I shall now, sir, conclude with the assurance that it will afford me the highest satisfaction to remain in the navy, should it accord with the views of the executive to restore me to that rank of which I have been deprived by the promotion of a junior officer; but should this be refused, I must request that you will do me the favor to consider this as my resignation.

With sentiments of the greatest respect, I have the honor to be, sir, your most obedient servant,

CHARLES LUDLOW

HONORABLE WILLIAM JONES,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington.

A little prior, Lawrence had sent the following on the same subject to the senate of the United States :

" To the Honorable the Senate of the United States of America in Congress Assembled.

James Lawrence of New York, master and commandant of the sloop-



LIEUTENANT WILLIAM JONES, U. S. N.

[From a painting loaned by Mrs. Eugene A. Brewster.]

of-war *Hornet*, respectfully presents this memorial to the honorable senate of the United States upon the nomination of Lieutenant Charles Morris, late first officer of the frigate *Constitution*, to the grade of post captain in the navy of the United States.

Your memorialist respectfully represents that he entered the service as midshipman, September 4, 1798 ; that he continued in that capacity, attached to sundry vessels, upward of two years, when he was appointed

an acting lieutenant on board the frigate *Adams*, commanded by Captain Robinson, in which capacity he continued until the reduction of the navy, in consequence of which his appointment was not confirmed, and of course he remained in the grade of midshipman.

That when the war with Tripoli was declared he was promoted to a lieutenant and attached to the *Enterprise* as first officer, from which he was removed to the frigate *John Adams*, and acted in the same capacity.

That this service continued three years and a half, when he returned to the United States with Commodore Treble, and was again dispatched to the Mediterranean as commodore of gun-boat No. 6, in which service he was engaged sixteen months.

That while attached to the *Enterprise* he sailed as first lieutenant with about seventy volunteers, in the ketch *Intrepid* of four guns, under the present Commodore Decatur, then commodore of the *Enterprise*, to destroy the frigate *Philadelphia* of forty-four guns, lying in the harbor of Tripoli.

That Lieutenant Morris volunteered as a midshipman in this expedition, which was so completely successful that the *Philadelphia* was destroyed without the loss of a single man on the part of the Americans.

That for this exploit Commodore Decatur was made post captain, and the rest of the officers and crew of the *Intrepid* were voted by Congress two months' extra pay, which was declined by your memorialist.

That since the Mediterranean service was completed your memorialist has been constantly engaged in the service, having been attached to the *Constitution* as first lieutenant, and to the *Vixen*, *Wasp*, *Argus*, and *Hornet*, commander, during which command he has been twice to Europe with dispatches.

That he was in the *Hornet* when war was declared, and was attached to Commodore Rodgers's squadron, and cruised with him until the commodore's return to Boston, and is now attached to Commodore Bainbridge's squadron.

Under these circumstances your memorialist respectfully presents this memorial to the honorable senate against the ratification of the nomination of Lieutenant Charles Morris to the grade of post captain; but at the same time would bear testimony to the uniformly distinguished merit of that accomplished officer.

Your memorialist would respectfully suggest that no achievement within his knowledge (however gallant) has been rewarded with a promotion of more than one grade, and such is the invariable usage of maritime nations, particularly the British, whose navy has arrived to its greatest perfection.

That the exemplified promotion of a single officer on board of any frigate, after a successful engagement, where all did their duty with signal but equal brilliancy, must necessarily be detrimental if not destructive to the service, inasmuch as it is a tacit reflection upon the conduct of those officers who are overlooked.

That the masters and commanders appointed to the smaller vessels of the navy are generally attached to frigates, and consequently are placed by their superior grades in a more unfavorable situation for promotion than officers of an inferior grade, attached to frigates, thereby rendering the grade which they had previously acquired by good conduct an obstacle to future promotion. Apart from etiquette, the impolicy and injustice of such promotion cannot be made more obvious by argument.

That your memorialist is confirmed in these sentiments by the opinions of some of the oldest and most respectable officers in the service, and by all the gentlemen of the navy of the same grade with your memorialist, with whom he has communicated, many of whom think they cannot reconcile it to their honor to continue in the service if so unprecedented a nomination should be ratified by the senate.

(Signed)

JAMES LAWRENCE

BOSTON, *October 18, 1812.*"

Captain Ludlow, after his resignation, being fortunately possessed of an adequate estate, retired to his country place in Orange county, "Windsor Hill," shown in this number. At one time he was a candidate for the congressional nomination from his district, but he lost it by two votes. At "Windsor Hill" he continued to receive such assurances of regard as the following from Commodores Chauncey, Perry, and Hull, and many of his companions in arms whose names are now the property of history. Commodore Chauncey wrote :

"U. S. Ship *Madison*, Sackett's Harbor, 18 *May*, 1813.

Dear Ludlow :

Your favor of the 7th inst. was received by the last mail. I regret extremely to find that you have resigned. Independent of any *selfish* motives, I think that the service has lost a valuable officer, and I think also at some future day that you will regret it yourself. No one could have been appointed to succeed you so agreeable to me as Captain Lawrence. With respect to the sheep I have not thought upon the subject. I will write you more fully about them very shortly ; in the meantime if the enemy should make any attempt upon New York before you hear from

me, I will thank you to take charge of them and keep them well for me. We will settle the business when we meet.

I have every prospect of having sufficient amusement this summer. The enemy are making great exertions, and a number of navy officers have already arrived at Kingston, amongst the number an admiral. I shall sail in a few days for Niagara. My little squadron sailed yesterday with one thousand troops on board. You will hear of us by the first of June. With very great esteem I am, dear Ludlow, your friend and humble servant,

J. CHAUNCEY

CHARLES LUDLOW, ESQ.

P. S.—In my haste I had forgot to tell you that we had been at York, and that we had sharp work for a short time. Lost a number of men, but that is nothing in war time. Bainbridge has sent me one hundred and fifty fine fellows. My new ship will be launched 1st June.

Very truly yours,

J. C."

The letter of Commodore Perry is equally interesting :

"New Port, *February* 3, 1818.

Dear Ludlow :

It affords me great pleasure to have it in my power to forward you a warrant for your brother; it was sent me after I left home for Washington. I need not assure you that whenever I go to sea I shall cheerfully take charge of him and do all in my power to promote his advancement. At present I have no thought of leaving home. I am in hopes you will come this way next season. Nothing will give me more pleasure, particularly as I am about purchasing me a little place on the island and shall amuse myself in farming on a small scale, and as you are so good a farmer you could give me hints that would be useful.

I am, dear Ludlow, your sincere friend,

O. H. PERRY

CHARLES LUDLOW, ESQ."

The following is an extract from a long letter of Commodore Hull, who writes again on the 5th of January, 1834 :

"It is a long time, my good sir, since I had the pleasure of seeing you, but my friendship and regard for you is as it ever was, and I frequently call to mind the pleasant days we have spent together. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to have you make us a visit. I wish you and

the judge would come at this time; it would be of great service to me to have him here, independent of the pleasure I should have in seeing two friends that I regard and respect.

Yours,

ISAAC HULL"

" Washington, 5th *January*, 1834.

My Dear Sir :

Having been obliged to lay to for a few days with the main topsail aback on account of not having been wet with salt water for a long time (or having been too much wet with fresh water in the late gale), gives me an opportunity of giving you a scolding for not letting me see you when you were in Washington. I did not know you were here until about the time you left, and then I heard you had left the city. I was not willing to believe you would come so near your old friends and not see them. It would indeed have given me great pleasure to have had you spend a day or as many days with me as your time would allow you. It would take more than one day to talk over all our sayings and doings, and we have had many pleasures together.

I have lately been looking over all my letters, orders, etc., which has accumulated since I joined the service. And you may be assured many pleasant occurrences have been brought fresh to my mind that I had forgotten. I wished particularly to have talked over our pleasant cruise in the little *Adams* together, our cruise in the bay of Gibraltar, and our narrow escape from getting on shore on Cuberita Point, when young Decatur got the ship in irons there and could not get her out of irons or out of difficulty. Do you remember what passed between Captain —— and myself, when I came on deck with my old striped trousers in my hand, standing on one of the quarterdeck guns and trying to put them on?

You recollect I took the deck in the greatest confusion. They had attempted to put the ship in stays, and in the confusion she missed stays and one yard was hanging one way and another the other way. There was not room to fire, for the rocks were very near on the weather bow, and the diamond rock under our lee. But no time was to be lost. I directed the men to go to the stations and ware the ship, and said to Captain ——, 'Keep yourself cool and we shall get the ship off.' 'Cool,' he said, 'I am as cool as a cucumber. Do you see the rocks, do you see the rocks?' I answered I did, but we could not help it—something must be done. I was then in the act of wareing the ship. He then said, 'You will be on the diamond, you will be on the diamond!' I believe I said, 'D—n the diamond! We can't help it. The ship must be wore.' You recollect we had

for a long time a by-word, 'Do you see the rocks? D—n the diamond.' If you have a perfect recollection of that affair I should much like to have your relation of the circumstances, and your candid opinion whether you do not believe that the ship would have been lost if I had not acted with the promptness that I did? Previous to that I saved the *Constitution* when —— commanded her, and I do think that I saved the *Adams* on that occasion. It may be well to have those things on paper, but I do not wish to make any use of them.

Captain —— was a very good man, and we made ourselves very happy under him, but he had not that cool judgment and action that sometimes is necessary to get out of difficulty, and on that occasion it was particularly manifest. He was more alarmed than he was when Miss —— walked up the peach-tree to get him some fine peaches, and when she came down, behold! her wig was hanging to the limb. You know we did believe that Captain —— would have liked the cash the old man would leave, but this business of the wig was a bad mistake—all was over. I do not know whether I can forgive you for not letting me know that you were here, but if you do the like again I shall indeed be sorry. You will see by the papers how we carry on the war here; there will, no doubt, be much sharp fighting before congress rises, in words if not otherwise. When you have come here as a member I will put you in pistols for once at least.

Will you write me and say that you and yours are well, and that you will not leave me in the lurch the next time you come. I am very truly and sincerely, your old and long-tried friend,

I. HULL

TO CHARLES LUDLOW, ESQ.*

Robert Crommelin Ludlow, United States navy, the brother of Augustus C. and Charles Ludlow, served with Captain Bainbridge when the British ship *Java* was conquered by the *Constitution*, in an action still held in grateful remembrance by Americans. To his friend Robert C. Ludlow † Bainbridge confided the pleasing duty of hastening to Wash-

*Captain Charles Ludlow died at "Windsor Hill" in 1839, leaving surviving only one daughter, the wife of the late Thomas W. Chrystie, Esq., of Windsor Hill, who was a nephew of the late Mr. Secretary Albert Gallatin, and a grandson of Commodore James Nicholson, senior officer of the American navy, 1776-83. Mr. Chrystie was, at the time of his death, one of the oldest alumni of Columbia college. He was also a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, in the right of his grandfather, Captain James Chrystie, United States army. Mrs. Chrystie's only son, Thomas M. Ludlow Chrystie, after leaving college served in the civil war as acting ensign in the navy on the staff of Admiral Farragut on the *Hartford*, Mobile Bay, and Ensign Chrystie was present at the capture of that city.

† Mrs. Lamb's *History of the City of New York*, vol. ii. 621.

ington to communicate to congress and thence to the nation the intelligence of this cheering event. Robert C. Ludlow served also on the *United States* in the action with the *Macedonian*. He was a faithful and respected officer, and died young in service. His son William Bainbridge Ludlow died a lieutenant in the United States navy. His daughter Mary Ludlow became Mrs. James Carroll of James, in Maryland. Robert C. Ludlow, having married Miss Wethered of South Carolina, established his home in Baltimore, Maryland, where his descendants are at this day most honorably settled among the leading citizens of that city.

As already stated, Lieutenant William Jones, a younger and half-brother of the Ludlows, who have been successively mentioned, was also a line officer of the navy, and is the young gentleman referred to in the following letter :

" Boston, 3d *July*, 1811.

Dear Brother :

Your last favor received a few days since on my return from New London, where I was a week attending to a ship that was consigned to us cast away on Montauk Point. I saved part of the cargo, sails, rigging, etc., and sold the ship for \$56. Since my return have been very busy in getting the stores for the *Guerriere* ready, which are now, thank fortune, all on board. She is only waiting for Mr. Campbell, who is on his way and will be here next week. The *Macedonian* is getting ready, is not off in the stream yet, will not sail before the middle of September. Mr. Thomas answered the navy agent by saying Midshipman Jones shall be ordered. If he is not on receipt of this, let me know. Will then get Captain Downes to apply for him, who will for me with much pleasure. He as well as the first lieutenant (a fine fellow, young Maury), and the purser I am intimate with, all of whom will attend to William. It will, therefore, only depend on himself how he will get along. Shall expect to see you this summer about Perry, Chauncey, *et al.* I prefer telling you than writing. This scrawl you must excuse. Kindest love to our good mother, and believe me,

Sincerely your affectionate brother,

R. C. LUDLOW

CHARLES LUDLOW, Esq.,
New-Burgh, State of New York."

Such, then, were the immediate associates of Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow of the *Chesapeake*. They, as well as he, had been trained for the sea and thought of little besides ; no one has ever truly spoken of them, either as sailors or gentlemen, except with respect and to hold their pro-

fessional attainment in honor. Roosevelt in his very recent *History of New York* mentions the ancestors of these officers "as representatives of the foremost families of the New York gentry," and other writers mention them as among the few settlers of the province of New York who had been highly connected in England. No doubt, in this country, a claim to high descent, of all the accidents of human environment, is one of the most foolish, but if there is anything in race characteristics the Ludlows of Orange county certainly inherited the fighting qualities for which their predecessors had been so noted in England some two centuries before.

As on some principle of selection which it is difficult to understand, the names of none of these officers, so justly distinguished, appear in the account of the Ludlow family given in Mrs. Lamb's well-known *History of the City of New York*,* which account seems exclusively confined to one or two branches at present living and accessible, a brief narration of their ancestry may not be amiss in an article necessarily biographical.

Charles, Augustus, and Robert C. Ludlow were all natives of Orange county, New York, and it is perhaps well to follow Mrs. Lamb's work and to regard them as distinct from the later Ludlows of New York city. The sympathies of the Orange county family were distinctly professional, American, and republican. The father of Charles, Augustus, and Robert C. Ludlow—Robert Crommelin Ludlow, Sr.—was the grandson of the progenitor of all the Ludlows of New York, namely Gabriel Ludlow, who was born in 1663 at "Castle Carey" in Somerset, England, and who emigrated to New York in 1694. This Gabriel Ludlow here married, in 1697, a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Hanmer, then a chaplain to the British forces in the province of New Brunswick.

Gabriel Ludlow, the first, has always been conceded by all historians of New York to be one of the few Englishmen of undoubtedly high lineage who at that time had come to the North American colonies. It is, as I am informed, generally asserted by genealogists, that not one in a hundred accounts of remote ancestors is verified by adequate proofs. But that of Gabriel Ludlow has been invariably conceded by them to be established beyond criticism or peradventure. He was the great-great-grandson of George Ludlow of Hill Deverill, by Edith his wife, the third daughter of Andrew, Lord Windsor. But high lineage can be of consequence only when it begets high qualities. In England the family of Gabriel Ludlow had certainly enacted lofty parts—parts of exceptional and historic interest—and several of them fled from England to save their lives. The first Gabriel Ludlow of New York, though extremely well known by the constant

* Mrs. Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, vol. ii. 446.

reference to him of the annalists of that city, seems to have been content to live the simple life of a merchant in a distant and then rude colonial seaport town. Gabriel (1) left six sons, one of whom, Gabriel (2), was the grandfather of Augustus C. Ludlow, United States navy, and his brothers Robert and Charles. This Gabriel (2) married first Miss Frances Duncan, whose son George Duncan Ludlow, a puisne justice of the supreme court of the province of New York, fled at the Revolution to New Brunswick, where he held a similar office. For a second wife Gabriel (2) married Elizabeth Crommelin, a member of a family most interesting to our genealogists.* The second son of this second marriage, Robert Crommelin Ludlow, Sr., born January 5, 1758, was the father of the Orange county Ludlows, including the three naval officers mentioned.

Just after the Revolution Robert C. Ludlow, Sr., migrated to Orange county, New York, a county in which his family long had interests of some kind. His father had been a member of the assembly of the province of New York, and sat for Orange county from 1739 to 1745, while his uncle, Henry Ludlow, had been surrogate of the prerogative court for Orange county as early as 1727. But it was probably the interest of his maternal grandfather, Daniel Crommelin, which induced Robert C. Ludlow, Sr., to settle near Gray Court, Orange county. Daniel Crommelin, being part owner of the Wawayanda patent, had made a settlement there in 1716, and called it Gray Court after his native village in the Circle of Gray, Haute Saône, France, and this interest, it is believed, attracted Robert C. Ludlow, Sr., to this neighborhood. He subsequently removed to Newburgh on the Hudson, and must have stopped at New Windsor awhile, for several of his daughters were born at the house of his friend Colonel Thomas Ellison (a description of whose house I gave in this magazine for August, 1890).† But Orange county offered other inducements; it was one of the most picturesque and fertile parts of early New York, and it had the advantage of bordering on the Hudson river without the disadvantage of some of the feudal tenures of other river counties, which repelled rather than attracted the more independent settlers. In Orange county there is no trace of manorial tenures, and from the first all land was in fee simple. This fact attracted a superior class of settlers and farmers to this county, as few persons of the better class were then willing to accept the situation of tenant farmers, even where the land might be better, if they could go elsewhere and own lands in fee. The freehold lands were the secret

* See *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, October, 1870, p. 170; vols. ix. and x. 1878-9.

† P. 83, vol. xxiv.

of the democratic and excellent society which early prevailed in Orange county.

Robert Crommelin Ludlow, Sr., married October 7, 1781, Elizabeth Conkling of Long Island, an aunt of Judge Conkling, the father of the late Hon. Roscoe Conkling. Mrs. Robert C. Ludlow, Sr., was a descendant of a daughter of Lion Gardiner, Elizabeth Gardiner (Conkling), the first white woman born within the limits of the present state of New York. Thus her sons, the officers mentioned in this sketch, could trace their ancestry on their mother's side to that unique old soldier of fortune, Lion Gardiner of Gardiner's Island, who is certainly one of the most romantic and picturesque of all the early settlers of North America.

The letters given in this article are now published for the first time. They are among those found among the late Captain Charles Ludlow's papers at "Windsor Hill."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Robert C. Ludlow, Sr.", written in dark ink.

NEW YORK CITY.

THE BALLAD OF COLUMBUS

It was fourteen hundred and ninety two,
The close of the New Year's day,
When the armies of Catholic Ferdinand,
The flower of all the Spanish land,
At the siege of Granada lay.

Ten thousand foot and ten thousand
horse,

And ten thousand men with bows,
Were on the left, and as many more
Had stormed close up to the city's door
Where the Darro river flows.

And the king held levee, for on that day
Great news had come to court—
How on the morrow the town would yield,
And the flag of Spain with the yellow
field
Would float from the Moorish fort.

There were princely nobles and high
grandees

That night in the royal tent ;
And the beautiful queen with the golden
hair,
And shining armor and sword, was there.
On the king's right arm she leant.

It was nine, and the old Alhambra bells
Tolled out on the moonlit air ;
And over the battlements far there came
The murmuring sound of Allah's name,
And the Moorish troops at prayer.

"Hark !" said the king, as he heard the
sound,

"Hark, hark to yon bell's refrain !
Five hundred years it has called the
Moor,

This night and 'twill call him nevermore ;
To-morrow 'twill ring for Spain !"

Then spake a guest at the king's right
hand,

"To-morrow the end will be ;
Hast thou not said when the war is done,
And the Christ flag floats o'er the Moslem
one,

Thou wouldst keep thy promise to me ?

Thou wouldst give me ships, and wouldst
give me men

Who would dare to follow me ?
Help thou this night with thy royal hand,
And I'll make thee king of a new-found
land

And king of a new-found sea.

For the world is round, and a ship may
sail

Straight on with the setting sun,
Beyond Atlantis a thousand miles,
Beyond the peaks of the golden isles,
To the Ophir of Solomon.

So I'll find new roads to the golden isles,
To the gardens that bloom alway,
To the treasure quarries of Ispahan,
The sunlit hills of the mighty Khan,
And the wonders of far Cathay.

And gold I'll bring from the islands
fair,

And riches of palm and fir
Thou shalt have, my king ; and the lords
of Spain

Shall march with the Christ-flag once
again

And rescue the sepulchre."

But the nobles smiled, and the prelates
sneered

With many a scornful fling,

"Had not the wisest already said
It was but the scheme of an empty head,
And no fit thing for a king !

And were it true that the world is round
And not like an endless plain,
Were our good king's vessels the seas to
ride

Adown the slope of the world's great side,
How would they get up again ?

And the land of the fabled antipodes
Were a wonderful land to see,
Where people stand with their heads on
the ground,
And their feet in the air, while the world
spins round"—

And they all laughed merrily.

But the king laughed not, though he
scarce believed

The things that his ears had heard ;
And he thought full long of the promise
fair,

And he knew that the day and the hour
were there

If a king were to keep his word.

So he said, "For a while, for a little
while

Let it bide, for the cost is great ;"
But the guest replied : "Nay, seven years
I have waited on with my hopes and fears;
And soon it will be too late."

Then spoke the queen, "Be it done for
me.

Here's my jewels, for woe or weal ;"
And she took the gems from her shining
hair,

And the priceless pearls she was wont to
wear,

And she said, "For my own Castile."

.

There were three ships sailing from
Palos town

Ere the noon of a summer's day,
And the people looked at the ships and
said,

"God pity their souls, for they all are
dead ;"

But the ships went down the bay.

And an east wind blew, and the convent
bells

Rang out in sweet accord,
And the master stood on the deck and
cried,

"We sail in the name of the Crucified,
With the flag of the Christ our Lord."

They were ten days out when a storm
wind blew—

Ten days from the coast of Spain,
And the sailors shrived each other and
said,

"God help us now, or we all are dead !
We will never see land again."

They were twelve days out when an
ocean rock

Burst forth in a sea of fire,
As if each peak and each lava cliff
Of the red-hot sides of Teneriffe
Were a sea king's funeral pyre.

And the sailors crossed themselves and
said,

"Alas for the day we swore
To follow a reckless adventurer—
Though it be at last to the sepulchre—
In search of an unknown shore."

And they spoke of the terror that lay be-
tween,

Of the hurricanes born of hell,
Of the sunless seas that forever roar,

Where the moon had perished long years before,
 When an evil spirit fell.
 And ever the winds blew west, blew west,
 And the ships flew over the main.
 "They are cursed winds," the mariners said,
 "That blow us forever ahead—ahead;
 They will never blow back to Spain."
 But the master cited the Holy Writ;
 And he told of a vision fair,
 How a shining angel would show the way
 To the Indus isles and the sweet Cathay,
 And he "knew they were almost there."
 But a sea-calm came and the ships stood still,
 And the sails drooped idle and low,
 And a seaweed covered the vasty deep
 As darkness covers a world in sleep,
 And they feared for the rocks below.
 It was twelve that night when a breeze sprang fresh
 As if from a land close by,
 And the sailors whispered each other and said,
 "God only knows what next is ahead—
 Or if to-morrow we die."
 It was two by the clock on the ship next morn,
 And breathless the sailors stand,
 With eyes strained into the starless night,
 When lo, there's a cry of "A light, a light!"
 And a shout of "The land—the land."
 There were weeping eyes, there were pressing hands
 Till the dawn of that blessed day;

When the admiral, followed by all his train,
 With the flag of Christ and the flag of Spain,
 Rode proudly up the bay.
 In robes of scarlet and princely gold,
 On the new world's land they kneel;
 In the name of Christ, whom all adore,
 They christened the island San Salvador,
 For the crown of their own Castile.
 And the simple islanders gazed in awe
 On the "gods from another sphere;"
 And they brought them gifts of the Yuca bread,
 And golden trinkets, and parrots red,
 And showed them the islands near.
 They told of the lords of a golden house,
 Of the mountains of Cibao,
 The cavern where once the moon was born,
 The hills that waken the sun at morn,
 And the isles where the spices grow.
 From isle to island the ships flew on,
 Like white birds on the main,
 Till the master said, "With my flags unfurled,
 I have opened the gates of another world.
 I will carry the news to Spain."
 It was seven months since at Palos town
 Ere the noon of that summer's day,
 The good ships sailed, with their flags unfurled,
 In search of another and far-off world—
 And again they are in the bay.
 Twelve months have passed, and the king again
 Holds levee with all his train,

And Columbus sits at the king's right hand,
 And whether on sea or upon the land
 Is the greatest man in Spain.
 And the queen has honored him most of all,
 She has taken him by the hand,
 "Don Christopher thou shalt be called
 always ;"
 And a golden cross on his heart there lay,
 And over his breast a band.
 And ships she gave, and a thousand men,
 With nobles and knights in train ;
 And again the convent bells they rung,
 And the praise of his name was on every tongue,
 As he sailed for the West again.
 To the hundred islands and far away
 In the heats of the torrid zone,
 To gardens as fair as Hesperides,
 To spice grown forests, and scented seas,
 Where no sails had ever blown.
 And up and down by the new world's coast,
 And over the western main,
 With but the arms of his own true word,
 He lifted the flag of the blessed Lord
 And the flag of the land of Spain.
 And he gave them all to the king and queen,
 And riches of things untold ;
 And never a ship that crossed the sea
 But brought them tokens from fruit and tree
 And gems from the land of gold.
 Three times he had sailed to his new-found world,
 Five times he had crossed the main,
 When walking once by the sea he heard,
 By secret letter or secret word,
 Of a murderous plot in Spain—
 How that envious persons about the court
 Had poisoned the mind of the king,
 By many a letter of false report,
 By base suspicion of evil sort,
 And words with a traitorous sting.
 And the king, half eager to hear the worst,
 For he never had been a friend,
 Believed it all, and he rued the hour
 He gave to the master rank and power,
 And resolved it should have an end.
 So with cold pretense of the truth to hear,
 And with heart that was false as base,
 A ship was hurried across the main,
 With Boabdilla, false knight of Spain,
 To take the admiral's place.
 O that kings should ever unkingly be !
 O that men should ever forget !
 For that fatal hour the false knight came,
 To the king's disgrace and the great world's shame,
 The star of Columbus set.
 They took the queen's cross from off his breast,
 And chains they gave him instead ;
 And iron gyves on his wrists they put,
 Vile fetters framed for each hand and foot,
 " 'Twere better they'd left him dead."
 For he who was first of the new-found world
 And bravest upon the main,
 Who had found the isles of the fabled gold,
 And the far-off lands that his faith foretold
 Was dragged like a felon to Spain.

But the whole world heard the clank of
his chains

When he landed in Cadiz bay,
And fearing the taunt and the curse and
scoff,
The false king hurried to take them off
At the pier where the old ship lay.

But little it helped, nor the king's false
smile

As he sat in his robes of state ;
For wrong is wrong, if in hut or hall,
And the right were as well not done at
all,

If done, alas ! too late.

And little it helped if here and there
The mantle of favor stole
Across his shoulders to hide the stain
Of a broken heart or a broken chain—
They had burned too deep in his soul.

So the years crept by, and the cold
neglect

Of kings that will come the while ;
For ever and ever 'tis still the same—
Short lived's the glory of him whose
fame

Depends on a prince's smile.

And long he thought, could he see the
queen,

Could he speak with her face to face,
She would know the truth and would be
again

What once she was ere his hopes were
slain ;

And he sighed in his lonely place.

And on a day when he seemed forgot,
And darker the fates, and grim,
A letter came, 'twas the queen's com-
mand,

"Come straight to court," in her own
fair hand,

And she would be true to him.

But alas for man, and alas for queen,
And alas for hopes so sped !

He had only come to the castle gate
When the warder said, "It is late—too
late,

For the queen she is lying dead."

And the king forgot what the fair good
queen

With her dying lips had said ;
And he who had given a world to Spain
Had never a roof for himself again,
And he wished that he too were dead.

Slow tolled the bells of old Seville town
At the noon of a summer's day ;

For up in a chamber of yonder inn,
Close by the street with its noise and din,
The heart of the new world lay.

Perhaps the king on his throne close by
No thought to the tolling gave ;

But over a world, far up and down,
They heard the bells of Seville town,
And they stood by an open grave.

And the Seville bells they are ringing still
Through the centuries far and dim ;

And though it is but the common lot
Of men to die, and to be forgot,
They will ring forever of him.

S. H. M. Byers.

FIRST MEETING OF ADMIRAL PORTER AND SHERMAN

AS DESCRIBED BY THE ADMIRAL *

I assumed command of the Mississippi squadron at Cairo, Illinois, in October 1862. Soon after my arrival I sent a messenger to General Grant, informing him I had taken command of the naval forces, and should be happy to coöperate with him in any enterprise he might think proper to undertake. I also informed him that General McClernand had orders to raise troops at Springfield, Illinois, prior to undertaking the capture of Vicksburg.

Several weeks later Captain McAllister, quartermaster at Cairo, gave a supper-party to me and the officers on the station, on board the quartermaster's steamer, a large, comfortable river-boat. Supper had been served when I saw Captain McAllister usher in a travel-worn person dressed in citizen's clothes. McAllister was a very tall man, and his companion was dwarfed by his superior size. McAllister introduced the gentleman to me as General Grant, and placed us at a table by ourselves.

Grant, though evidently tired and hungry, commenced business at once. "Admiral," he asked, "what is all this you have been writing me?"

I gave the general an account of my interviews with the President and with General McClernand, and he inquired: "When can you move with your gun-boats, and what force have you?" My reply was: "I can move to-morrow with all the old gun-boats and five or six other vessels; also the *Tyler*, *Conestoga* and *Lexington*."

"Well, then," said Grant, "I will leave you now and write at once to Sherman to have thirty thousand infantry and artillery embarked in transports, ready to start for Vicksburg the moment you get to Memphis. I will return to Holly Springs to-night, and will start with a large force for Grenada as soon as I can get off. General Joe Johnston is near Vicksburg with forty thousand men, besides the garrison of the place under General Pemberton. When Johnston hears I am marching on Grenada he will come from Vicksburg to meet me and check my advance. I will hold him at Grenada while you and Sherman push on down the Mississippi and make a landing somewhere on the Yazoo. The garrison at Vicksburg will be small and Sherman will have no difficulty in getting inside the works. When that is done I will force Johnston out of Grenada, and as he falls

* *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War.*

back on Vicksburg will follow him up with a superior force. When he finds Vicksburg is occupied he will retreat *via* Jackson."

I thought this plan an admirable one. Grant and myself never indulged in long talks together; it was only necessary for him to tell what he desired, and I carried out his wishes to the best of my ability. General Grant started that night for Holly Springs, Mississippi, and, I believe, rode on horseback nearly all the way, while I broke up the supper-party by ordering every officer to his post to be ready to start down the river next day at noon. This was preliminary to the capture of Vicksburg.

Grant in his plain, dusty coat was in my eyes a greater general than the man who rides around "all feathers and fuss." Here in twenty minutes he unfolded his plan of campaign, involving the transportation of over one hundred thousand men, and with a good supper staring him in the face proposed to ride back again over a road he had just traveled, without tasting a mouthful, his cigar serving, doubtless, for food and drink.

Three days after, I started down the Mississippi with all the naval forces, and at Memphis found General Sherman embarking his troops on a long line of river steamers, and sent word to the general that I would call upon him at his headquarters. Thinking it probable that Sherman would be dressed in full feather, I put on my uniform coat, the splendor of which rivaled that of a drum-major. Sherman hearing that I was indifferent to appearances, and generally dressed in working clothes, thought he would not annoy me by fixing up, and so kept on his blue flannel suit, and we met, both a little surprised at the appearance of the other.

"Halloo, Porter!" said the general, "I am glad to see you; you got here sooner than I expected, but we'll get off to-night. . . . Cold, isn't it? Sit down and warm up." And he stirred up the coal in the grate. "Here, captain"—to one of his aids—"tell General Blair to get his men on board at once. Tell the quartermaster to report as soon as he has six hundred thousand rations embarked. Here, Dick"—to his servant—"put me up some shirts and underclothes in a bag, and don't bother me with a trunk and traps enough for a regiment. Here, captain"—to another aid—"tell the steamboat captains to have steam up at six o'clock, and to lay in plenty of fuel, for I am not going to stop every few hours to cut wood. Tell the officer in charge of embarkation to allow no picking and choosing of boats; the generals in command must take what is given them—there, that will do.—Glad to see you, Porter; how's Grant?"

This was the first time I had ever met General Sherman, and my impressions of him were very favorable. I thought myself lucky to have two such generals as Grant and Sherman to coöperate with.

A DEFENSE OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

In the *Genesis of the United States* Mr. Alexander Brown of Virginia has made an invaluable contribution to the history of the colonization of America by the English, in collecting and arranging three hundred and sixty documents relating to the movement between 1605 and 1616, which resulted in establishing a colony at Jamestown. Of the documents printed nearly three hundred are here for the first time given to the public, having been for the most part unearthed in the archives of Europe by the indefatigable author. The whole presents as a panorama the grand movement which established in North America a bulwark against the all-absorbing Spanish power, and finally gave North America to the English people as a theatre upon which to demonstrate that man is capable of self-government.

Mr. Brown is to be congratulated upon the grandeur with which he has invested the movement, in preserving the facts relating to it. And for his painstaking in this, as in the sketches of the actors appended, he deserves, as I am sure he will receive, the hearty thanks of all students of American history.

With so much to commend in his admirable volumes, it is a grief to the writer to notice that the author seems to be filled with a dislike, or rather a hatred, of the most conspicuous figure in the settlement at Jamestown during the first three years of its existence, the preserver of the colony and its historian. Mr. Brown but seldom if ever mentions the name of the celebrated Captain John Smith, the hero of so many adventures in Virginia and elsewhere, except to sneer at him, or to denounce him. As a historian the author pronounces him unworthy of belief. He says: "It is true the accuracy of all his statements cannot be tested; but enough can be to make it evident that all must be, before they can be safely taken for use in accurate history or biography." And of whom is this sweeping condemnation made? A man selected by the company in London to be one of the council which was to govern the colony; the truthfulness of whose writings upon Virginia was attested by numbers of men who were actors in the events described; one who enjoyed the friendship and confidence of many of the most learned and pious men of his age, and whose history was, from the time of its publication in 1624 till the rise of the race of iconoclasts in late years, known as the school of higher criticism, accepted as the standard authority upon the early English colonization of

North America. Surely to expect to utterly discredit such a man, displays a degree of self-confidence in our author which is remarkable.

Fortunately for the old hero who is thus expected to be annihilated at a blow, he pointed to the authorities which attest his accuracy in the matters concerning which Mr. Brown makes the most determined assaults upon him, and by these the writer will permit him to stand or fall. In his sketch of Smith Mr. Brown fiercely attacks his account of his adventures before coming to Virginia, contained in *True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith*, published in 1629, as well as his record of affairs in Virginia from the settlement in 1607 till the publication of his *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles* in 1624. This attack will be noticed in some detail. As an instance of Smith's inaccuracy, Mr. Brown states that he was baptized 6th January, 1579, and his father died in April, 1596, his mother surviving, yet Smith tells us "his parents died when he was about thirteen years of age." Mr. Edward Arber in his admirable edition of Smith's works, printed in 1884, gives extracts from the register of Willoughby by Alford in Lincolnshire (p. xxi), by which it appears that "John the sonne of George Smyth was baptized the ixth daai of Januarye (1579 or according to modern reckoning 1580)," and that "George Smyth of Willoughbi was buried ye iii day of April (1596)." Arber also gives (xix-xx) the will of George Smith, dated 30th March, 1596, which provides for Alice his wife, and describes John as his oldest son. This George Smith is believed to have been the father of Captain John Smith, and by this record it would appear he was sixteen years old when his father died. The passage in Smith's *True Travels* is not accurately quoted by Mr. Brown. It is as follows: "His parents dying when he was about Thirteene yeeres of age," etc. The word *parents* may as well be the possessive case of *parent* as the plural, for Smith in his writings makes no distinction between the two, not using the modern sign of the possessive case ('). It may refer, therefore, solely to his father's dying. If this George Smith was the father of Captain John, it would follow that the "about Thirteene yeeres of age" was really sixteen, and that the writer, in recalling his youth in his fiftieth year, had not a very accurate recollection of his age when his father died. Mr. Brown can make the most of this, as Mr. Niell has done before him in *Virginia Vetusta*, but to the ordinary reader it will hardly tend to discredit Smith in his narration of the events of his life. Very few people can remember the dates of their early experiences with accuracy. I doubt whether either Mr. Niell or Mr. Brown can recall, without reference to a register, the date of his father's death.

If the word parents was used in the plural, no mistake can be considered as proved as to Smith's mother, until Mr. Brown has adduced evidence that the Alice Smith, named in the will as wife of George Smith, was the mother and not the stepmother of John, or that, if the mother, she survived her husband a considerable time. As to the other misstatements charged upon Smith by Mr. Brown, the evidence adduced is inconclusive, and one is left in wonder that any one should have been condemned upon it.

Smith states that after the death of his father he attended Mr. Peregrine Bertie into France, where he joined "his brother Robert then at Orleans, now Earle of Linsey, and Lord Great Chamberlaine of England;" that by them he was sent back to his friends within a month or six weeks, but instead of returning to England he went to Havre de Grace, where he first began to learn the life of a soldier; that afterward he went with Captain Duxbury to the Low countries, where he served three or four years and then returned to England by way of Scotland, from whence after a short stay he returned to the "Low Countreyes." After a good deal of adventurous travel, he states that he entered the Austrian service in the regiment commanded by the Earl of Meldritch. Under him he first distinguished himself at the siege of Olumpagh by the Turks, which town he relieved by communicating with the Austrian commander by signals made with torches, upon a plan taught by him to the commander before the siege. Mr. Brown fixes the siege of Olumpagh after October, 1600, and states that Peregrine Bertie left England to travel abroad after June 26, 1599. Thus he concludes that Smith has crowded within less than eighteen months the events of at least five years.

If Smith left England soon after his father's death in April, 1596, as his narrative indicates, there was ample time before November, 1600, for the events he relates. Mr. Brown has not given references to authorities for his statements, but the departure of Peregrine Bertie from England for travel abroad is evidently taken from a passage in *Virginia Vetusta*, purporting to be an extract from the Public Record Office at London, as follows: "June 26, 1599. Licence to Peregrine Bertie, youngest son of Lord Willoughby of Eresby, to travel for three years, with his tutor, two servants, two horses, and 60 £ in money." It seems, therefore, that because Peregrine Bertie traveled on the continent after June 26, 1599, Mr. Brown has concluded that he did not visit France before, which is clearly a *non sequitur*. It is worthy of note that the *True Travels*, etc., of Smith, was dedicated to three prominent men, one of whom was Robert Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, whom Smith met, as he says, on this visit to France

about 1596. To have made a false statement as to this meeting under such circumstances would have been most remarkable.

A further instance of Mr. Brown's careless attack upon Smith is found in his reference to the stratagem of signals by which he relieved Olum-pagh. Mr. Brown would make us believe that Smith claimed the credit of inventing it, while it is in fact described in William Bourne's *Inventions* of 1578. A little attention to Smith's text would have shown our author that Smith did not claim the credit of inventing it. He says he "acquainted Baron Kissell, Generall of the Archduke's artillery, he had taught the Governour, his worthy friend, such a rule, that he would undertake to make him know anything he intended and have his answer, would they bring him but to some place where he might make the flame of a torch seene to the towne."

The governor was Lord Ebersbaught, with whom Smith had been previously acquainted and who had recommended him to Baron Kissell, and Smith only claims to have taught him the rule, not to have invented it. But while Mr. Brown discredits all of Smith's adventures under Earl Meldritch, he seems to be satisfied that he has effectually exploded his claim to have killed in single combat three Turks before the town of Regall. Mr. Brown states that at that time the Turks were the allies of Sigismundus, under whom Earl Meldritch was fighting. He thereupon broadly insinuates that Smith forged the patent recorded in the Heralds' Office, purporting to have been given him by Sigismundus in recognition of his services at Regall. As to this, however, and all of the adventures of Smith while serving under the Earl Meldritch, we have a remarkable confirmation by a disinterested witness.

In 1625 the Rev. Samuel Purchas published his great work, *Purchas His Pilgrimes*. The author is described by Boissard, who is followed by Chalmers and by the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, as "a man exquisitely skilled in languages, and all arts, divine and human; a very great philosopher, historian, and divine; a faithful presbyter of the Church of England, very famous for many excellent writings." This learned man and eminent divine was personally well acquainted with Smith, and has given his unqualified indorsement of him as a historian in his writings. Chapter eleven of the second volume of *His Pilgrimes* is devoted to "The travels of Captain John Smith in divers parts of the world." It commences with Smith's second visit to the continent, and relates his adventures till he enlisted under Earl Meldritch, and adds: "With whom going to Vienna in Austria hee made him capitaine of 250 souldiers, under whose regiments how he spent his time, this ensuing discourse will declare, as it is

written in a book intituled the Warres of Transilvania, Wallachi and Moldavia, written by Francisco Ferneza, a learned Italian, secretarie to Sigismundus Bathor the Prince." Then follow as quotations, "Extracts of Captaine Smith's Transylvanian acts out of Fr. Fer." These quoted extracts relate the sieges of Olumpagh and Stowlle-Wesenburg, and the stratagems of Smith at each, and also the siege of Regall and the combats of Smith with the three Turkes. After relating these the author continues as follows: "The Prince (Sigismundus) comming to view the armie presented with the Prisoners, and six and thirtie ensignes (after his accustomed manner, having given thanks to God), he was acquainted what service Smith had done at Olumpagh, Stolewisensberge, and Regall; for which with great honor and solemnitie, he gave him three Turkes heads in a shield for armes, with an oath ever to weare them in his colours, his picture in gold, and three hundred duckats yeerely for a pension." Purchas also relates the battle of Rottenton upon the authority of this Italian author, and adds a brief account of Smith's capture there, and of his sale into captivity, his escape, and return home. In his own account of the incidents thus related, including the extracts from Ferneza, Smith follows the text of Purchas, and there is nothing for which Mr. Brown attacks him as to this period that is not given on the authority of the private secretary of Sigismundus. As to the fact that at the siege of Regall Smith was fighting against the Turkes, and was not their ally, the following extract from Ferneza as given by Purchas should be conclusive:

"Duke Mercurie dividing his armie, sent the Earle Meldritch (of whose company was Captaine Smith in this encounter) to assist the Lord Basta, generall for the Emperor Rodulph, against Sigismundus Bathur, the Prince of Transilvania, who beyond all men's belief newly returned from Poland, and established in his estate. The Earle neither finding pay, nor such regard as he expected, persuaded his troops rather to serve the Prince against the Turkes, than Basta against the Prince. The souldiers worne out with these payless travels, upon hope to make Bootie of what they could get from the Turke, were easily persuaded to follow him wheresoever; especially to helpe regaine or ransacke his Fathers country, then possessed by the Turkes, which (they had) notwithstanding those warres was rich and unspoyled. . . . The Earle having made many incursions into the land of Zarkain, amongst the rockie mountains, where the people were some Turkes, some Tartars, some Jewes, but most Banditoes, Renegadoes and such like, which sometimes he forced into the Plaines of Regall." Then follows the siege of that town as related by Smith. Strange to say this conclusive authority adduced by Purchas is not noticed by Mr. Brown.

I might well conclude this branch of my subject here, but in consideration of the difficulties which seem to beset Mr. Brown's mind, I will notice the only authority which he has adduced. It will be well to recall to the reader that Sigismundus Bathori, king of Poland, claimed also the crown of Transylvania. In 1699 he resigned his claim in favor of his brother Andreas, who was attacked and defeated by Michael the Brave in conjunction with an Austrian army under General Basti. Michael then seized the reins of government, but there was a revolt of the people, and General Basti heading it drove him out. He made favor, however, with the emperor, and returned with a force under Basti and attacked Sigismundus who had again laid claim to the crown. Soon afterward Michael was murdered, and it was then that Earl Meldritch was detached from the Austrian army under the Duke de Mercœur and sent to the aid of Basti. Meldritch was born in Transylvania, and finding a part of the territory in the possession of the Austrians, a part in the possession of Sigismundus, and a part in possession of a band of outlaws, among whom were some Turks, carried his men over to Sigismundus and asked permission to drive out the outlaws. This being granted, he drove them into Regall and laid siege to the town. Mr. Brown claims, apparently upon the authority of Knolles' *History of the Turks*, that the army of Sigismundus was composed of "Polonians, Turks, and Tartars." If this be so, yet it would not make the Turks among the "Banditoes and Renegadoes" driven into Regall, allies of Sigismundus; and so Mr. Brown's great point against Smith amounts to nothing.

Sigismundus was forced to retire from Transylvania after making terms with the Austrians. After Smith's return from captivity he tells us he visited him at "Lipswick in Misenland, who gave him his passe, intimating the service he had done and the honors he had received, with fiftene hundred ducats of gold to repaire his losses." This paper is the one recorded at the Herald's office, and bears date 9th December, 1603. It was evidently given instead of the patent previously given in 1602, as related by Ferneza, which last no doubt had been lost when Smith was captured at Rottenton. Mr. Brown's cavil that Sigismundus was no longer "Duke of Transylvania," etc., as described in the paper of 1603, is remarkable, in view of the habit of sovereigns to retain titles, once assumed, long after they have lost the territories on which they were based. An instance stares Mr. Brown in the face in the charters to the London company given in his book, wherein James describes himself as "king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland," when France had been lost to the English crown since the days of Henry VI.

Mr. Brown bases his attack upon Smith as an actor in the Virginia colony, and its historian, on the assumption that the affairs of the Virginia company of London, which planted the colony at Jamestown, were veiled in the greatest secrecy, mainly for fear of the Spaniards, and that "no accurate account of the location of the colonies or numbers of the colonists, no description of the country, its position, its rivers, ports, harbors, etc., no map of the country, could have been given to the public in print by any officer of the Virginia companies without falsifying his solemn oath. All such data were closely kept by the managers of the companies, and no part of them could be honorably published, without the consent of his Majesties Privy Counsel or the Counsel of Virginia or the more part of them," (page 45). The author refers to no authority for this important statement, by which at one blow he attempts to destroy the credit of all the publications made concerning the Virginia colony, unless made by or with the consent of the privy council or the council in London. The only authority he can have is the oath prescribed for the council in Virginia, in the instructions given when the colony was first sent out. In these no oath was required of any one except the President and council. That oath is found in Niell's *History of the Virginia Company of London*, at page 7. Each member of the council was required to swear: "I shall faithfully and truly declare my mind and opinion according to my heart and conscience in all things treated of in that counsel, and shall keep secret all matter committed and revealed unto me concerning the same, or that shall be treated of secretly in that counsel, until time as by the consent of His Majesty's Privy Counsel or the Counsel of Virginia or the more part of them, publication shall be made thereof."

It is plain that this oath bound no one except the members of the council taking it, and as to them it only required secrecy as to matters discussed in the secret sessions of the council. As to "the location of the colony, number of colonists, description of the country, its position, its rivers, ports, and harbors, and its map," these not being part of the secret proceedings of the council, their publication was not prohibited to any one in or out of the council. Accordingly we find numerous publications concerning Virginia during the period of which Mr. Brown writes, 1607-1616, some under the direction of the council in London, but most of them by the colonists. The first of these was the letter of Captain Smith to a friend in England, known as "Smith's True Relation," printed in 1608. It was published and sold by William Welby, a stationer, who was personally interested in the Virginia enterprise, and who, instead of being rebuked by the council in England, was soon afterward made the publisher

for the company (see the author's statement of these facts at page 181). This little publication gave an account of the seating of the colony on a river entering the Chesapeake bay, the voyage up the river, the explorations of Smith, his capture and liberation, a short description of the country and its inhabitants, and some account of events at Jamestown. Of course the Spanish minister got possession of this tract and of the chart of Virginia, believed to have been sent with it, and we find him on 10th September, 1608, sending a copy of the chart to his king, and "the report given him by a person who had been in Virginia."* If it was the policy of the London company to conceal from the Spaniards the particulars of the colonization at Jamestown, as Mr. Brown supposes, it was strange they did not prevent the publication of this letter of Smith and did not keep secret the chart he sent them. Instead of maintaining this secrecy the London council in 1610 authorized and directed the publication of two tracts both full of information about the colony. One was *A True and sincere declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation begun in Virginia, of the degrees which it hath received; and means by which it hath beene advanced; and the resolution and conclusion of his Majesties Council of the Colony, for the constant and patient prosecution thereof, until by the mercies of God it shall retribute a fruitfull harvest to the Kingdom of Heaven, and this Commonwealth.* The other is styled *A True Declaration of the estate of the Colony in Virginia, with a Confutation of such Scandalous reports as have tended to the disgrace of so worthy an enterprise.*

These publications gave sufficient information to the Spaniards to enable them to destroy the colony if they had been disposed and able to attempt it. They also admitted the feeble condition of the colony and gave the reasons for it. Two years afterward a publication was made of the accounts given by several of the colonists of affairs in Virginia, which is known as the "Oxford Tract" because printed at Oxford. This contained a description of the country and of its inhabitants written by Smith, but the historical part was not written nor compiled by him, although Mr. Brown constantly refers to it as Smith's production. This tract gave the version of their trials and troubles as related by the men at Jamestown. The historical part has the following title-page:

"The proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia since their first beginning from England, in the yeare of our Lord 1606, till this present 1612, with all their accidents that befell them in their Journies and Discoveries. Also the Salvages discourses, orations and relations of the Bor-

* Pages 183 and 195 of the *Genesis*.

dering neighbors, and how they became subject to the English. Unfolding even the fundamental causes from whence have sprang so many miseries to the undertakers and scandals to the businesse. Taken faithfully as they were written out of the writings of Thomas Studley, the first provant maister, Anas Todkill, Walter Russell, Doctor of Phisicke, Nathaniel Powell, William Phettyplace, Richard Wyffin, Thomas Abbay, Tho. Hope, Richard Potts, and the labours of divers other diligent observers, that were residents in Virginia. And perused and confirmed by diverse now resident in England that were actors in this busines. By W. S. at Oxford. Printed by Joseph Barnes, 1612."

The initials are those of Dr. William Symonds, a distinguished minister of the Church of England. The compilation was made by Richard Potts out of the writings of the colonists, "whose discourses are signed by their names," as we learn by a note to the reader signed "T. Abbay," who published it, "knowing," as he says, "the writers to be honest men, and being witness to part of the transactions." Dr. Symonds, after giving the MS. an editorial supervision, sent it to Smith with a note in which he says: "Captaine Smith, I returne you the fruit of my labours, as Mr. Crashaw requested me, which I bestowed in reading the discourses & hearing the relations of such which have walked, & observed the land with you. The pains I tooke was great: yet did the nature of the argument, and hopes I conceived of the expedition give me exceeding content. I cannot finde there is anything, but what they all affirme, or cannot contradict." This tract was very closely followed by Captain Smith in his *Generall History*, except where he enlarged on some of his personal adventures, more especially while a captive of the Indians. But in all matters concerning which he is now attacked by Mr. Brown he followed substantially this tract. The same is true of Rev. Samuel Purchas in his account of Virginia in *His Pilgrimes*. He heads this account as follows:

"The proceedings of the English colony in Virginia, taken faithfully out of the writings of Thomas Studley, cape merchant, Anas Todkill, Doctor Russell, Nathaniel Powell, William Phetiplace and Richard Pot, Richard Wiffin, Tho. Abbay, Tho. Hope; Since enlarged out of the writings of Capt. John Smith, principall Agent and Patient in these Virginia occurrents, from the beginning of the plantation, 1606, till Ann. 1610, somewhat abridged." In the marginal note he says: "I have many written Treatises lying by me, written by Capt. Smith and others, some there, some here after their return; but because these have already seene the light and containe a full relation of Virginian affaires, I was loth to wearie

the reader with others of this time." He also follows the Oxford Tract substantially, for the most part literally.

With such careful compilation from original sources, and such attestations of its truth, the history contained in the Oxford Tract has ever been regarded of the highest authority. It gives none of the secret proceedings of the council in Virginia. Nor does Smith in any of his writings, till 1624, when he published his *Generall History*, written, as he states, at the instance of the company, but not published till after its charter had been taken from it and the company dissolved. It is the history in the Oxford Tract which makes a hero of Captain Smith, and describes him as having saved the colony from abandonment and destruction.

Mr. Brown is well aware that as long as the Oxford Tract is accepted as authority his attack upon Smith as a colonist must fail. He therefore attempts to discredit the authority of the tract. He says that Richard Potts, who compiled it, "was clerk to Smith while in Virginia, and their interests were probably identical." This may possibly account for a bias in Smith's favor, which however would be to the credit of Smith. But it does not account for the fact that a number of Smith's companions attested the truth of the narrative, as appears by their verses printed with his history; nor for the fact that so learned and careful a historian as Samuel Purchas, with access to its authorities and to many other documents touching the period, now lost to the world, attests the accuracy and truthfulness of the Oxford Tract, and of Smith's history based on it. But while service under Smith would bias a man in his favor and make him unreliable, in Mr. Brown's estimation, he attacks Anas Todkill, another writer in the tract, because he had been "a servant to President John Martin, and evidently bore Martin malice." And so everything is attempted to be turned so as to support Mr. Brown's theory.

Another ground of his attack on the Oxford Tract is, that in it Thomas Studley is given as authority for events between September, 1607, and January, 1608, while he says Studley died 28th August, 1607. This statement as to the date of Studley's death is taken from a narrative of George Percy, one of the first colonists, and is found at page 167 of the *Genesis*. When Percy wrote the narrative is not stated, and he may have mistaken the year of Studley's death, as he did his name, for he calls him "Stoodie." But if the date is correct as written by Percy, the mistake would be in the editor of the Oxford Tract and might have well arisen from an oversight as to the true author quoted when many were before him. However, Smith when relating the same incidents follows the tract in giving Thomas Studley as authority, but adds also the names of Robert Fenton, Edward Har-

rington, and J. S. (John Smith) as authority for the events related before the arrival of the first supply, January, 1608 ; and Anas Todkill as authority for the events subsequent, until 2 June, 1608. And Purchas for the same periods cites Thomas Studley and Anas Todkill as his authorities. In each case the authorities are given at the end of the period.

It thus appears that if Studley was dead there were writings of others which furnished the basis of the narrative we have.

In order to justly appreciate the services of Smith in Virginia, we must recall the experiences of the colony while he was with it. They are briefly as follows: On 19th December, 1606, three vessels left the Thames with 105 colonists to effect the settlement. Detained by unfavorable weather, they did not reach Chesapeake bay until 26th April, 1607, and on 13th May they landed at the spot on James river which they named Jamestown, and commenced a settlement. Their government under their charter was a council, of which Edward Maria Wingfield was the first president, and Bartholomew Gosnold, John Smith, Christopher Newport, John Ratcliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall were the other members. Newport, after ascending the river to the falls, returned to England on the largest ship, the *Susan Constant*, on 22d June. The late period of their arrival in Virginia prevented the planting of a sufficient crop for the next season, and until the fall of 1608 the colony was dependent upon the provisions brought with them, or brought in by vessels sent to them, and on what they could get in the country. The result was they were very soon, and more than once afterward, reduced to the greatest straits for food. The Indians soon showed themselves hostile and treacherous, and the locality chosen for a settlement was unhealthy.

Great suffering at once commenced ; this engendered dissensions, and as a consequence Kendall was put to death, Wingfield was deposed and imprisoned, and Ratcliffe elected in his place. Gabriel Archer was sworn as one of the council, and attempted to have Smith put to death on a charge that he was responsible for the loss of two of his men killed by the Indians. In this state of affairs Captain Newport returned 8th January, 1608, and on 20th April following a ship under Captain Nelson, separated from him at sea, also came in. These brought one hundred and two new colonists and a good supply of provisions. Among the new arrivals was Matthew Scrivener, who was sworn one of the council. Captain Newport returned to England 10th April, 1608, carrying with him Wingfield and Archer, and when Captain Nelson returned he carried back Martin. On 23d July Ratcliffe was deposed from the presidency and Scrivener elected in his place, and by his exertions the crop of that year was gath-

ered but was much injured by rain. On 10th September, 1608, Captain Smith was elected president, and about that time Newport returned with seventy additional colonists. Upon his return to England the council in London concluded that the dissensions in Virginia were the great cause of the fact that the colony was not self-supporting; and they applied for and obtained a change of charter, by which a governor was to be appointed in England. They then sent nine vessels with five hundred colonists under Sir Thomas Gates as governor, and Sir George Somers as admiral. Among the captains were Ratcliffe, Martin, and Archer, who had been sent back to England as disturbers of the peace of the colony. A storm dispersed this fleet on the voyage, and the first to arrive at Jamestown was the *Blessing* under Captain Archer, in August, 1609, soon to be followed by the *Diamond* under Captain Ratcliffe. The *Sea Venture*, having on board Gates, Somers, and Newport with the new charter, was a long time missing, having been detained at Bermuda for repairs. When Archer and Ratcliffe arrived they found Smith president, and he refused to surrender the government until the new charter was produced. But on his return in a boat from the falls of the river, in September, he was very severely burned, and his flesh badly torn, by the accidental explosion of gunpowder, and he thereupon embarked in the ship returning to England 4th October, 1609. In the meanwhile his enemies got up, and sent to England, some very frivolous charges against him, which were never noticed by the company so far as we know. George Percy succeeded Smith as president.

The Oxford Tract represents Smith as the master spirit during the critical period of his stay in Virginia. He prevented three several attempts to abandon the colony; he explored thoroughly the surrounding country; he procured provisions from the Indians by force when they refused to trade; he subdued the Indians, and by art or force made them subservient to his will and peaceable toward the settlers; and he forced the colonists to work in building up the town and raising crops of bread-stuffs. He left the colony seated at several places on the river and in good condition. It had "3 ships, 7 boates, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, 10 weekes provision in store, 490 and odde persons, 24 pieces of ordinances, 300 muskets snaphanches and firelocks, shot-powder and match sufficient; curats, pikes, swords, and moryons more than men; the salvages their language and habitations well knowne to 100 well trained and expert souldiers, nets for fishing, tooles of all sortes to worke, apparell to supply our wants, 6 mares and a horse, 5 or 600 swine, as many hens and chicken, some goates, some sheep." And they

were at peace with the Indians. When Gates arrived in May, 1610, six months afterward, all this had been changed through the lack of Smith's management.

This is the sad recital: "Now wee all found the want of Captaine Smith, yea his greatest maligners could then curse his losse. Now for corne, provision, and contribution from the salvages; wee had nothing but mortal wounds with clubs and arrowes. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, horse, or what lived; our commanders and officers did daily consume them; some small proportions (sometimes) we tasted, till all was devoured. Then swords, arrowes, pieces, or anything we traded to the salvages; whose bloody fingers were so imbrued in our blood, that what by their crueltie, our Governours indiscreation, and the losse of our ships; of 500, within 6 months after there remained not more than 60 most miserable and poore creatures. It were too vild to say what we endured: but the occasion was only our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and government." Gates, in despair, took the miserable remnant aboard, and abandoning the colony set sail for England. Fortunately Lord Delaware met him in the river, having come over with a fresh supply of men and ample provisions, and, turning them about, again took possession of the deserted settlement and gave the colony a fresh impulse.

As the truthfulness of the Oxford Tract is doubted by Mr. Brown, it will interest the reader to note some of its statements which are corroborated by other writers who were not considered friendly to Smith. Wingfield, in his defense of his administration, known as *A Discourse of Virginia*, says: "The councillors, Master Smyth especially, traded up and downe the river with the Indyans for corne; which releved the collony well." He confesses that he "did also proffer to furnish them with 100 li towards the fetching home of the collonye, if the action was given over." He also tells us that he was fined "two hundred pounds damages for slaunder" by a jury, at the suit of Smith, "for that I had said hee did conceale an intended mutany." Mr. Brown states the charge against Smith, but fails to mention his vindication. The complete subjection of the Indians is shown, by their allowing the whites to live among them during the scarcity of provisions in the summer of 1609 before the crops matured. This fact is stated by Archer in his letter in 1609, in which he says: "The people of our colonie were found all in health (for the most part) howbeit when Captaine Argall came in, they were in much distresse, for many were dispersed in the Savage Townes, living upon their almes for an ounce of copper a day." These were the savages who murdered every white man they could find as soon as Smith left the colony. In the tract printed by the

council in London in 1610, entitled "A True & Sincere Declaration," after stating why they changed their charter, they say that they had sent over the new governor with a fleet and 500 colonists, and also a small ship to discover a shorter passage across the ocean than the one they had been sailing, which was too far south. They add: "Hitherto, untill the sending of this *Avisall* for experience, and *Fleeta* for settling the government, appears no distaste, nor dispaire; . . . so that whatsoever wound or Palsie this noble action hath gotten and the sickness under which it seemes to faint, must needs arise out of the successe of these two."

They then go on to state the dispersion of the fleet by a storm and the confusion consequent on some reaching Virginia without the new charter, and the dreadful condition to which the colony was reduced afterward.

Mr. Arber, after reviewing the contemporaneous authorities, has come to a conclusion the opposite of Mr. Brown. He says: "To what one single cause, under God, can be assigned the preservation of the James River Settlement, after the early death of Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold on 22 August, 1607, but to the fortunate presence of this English captain, so self-denying, so energetic, so full of resources, and so trained (by his conflicts and captivity in Eastern Europe) in dealing with the savage races? . . . If Smith had died, or left earlier than he did, the James river settlement must have succumbed; for manifestly he was the life and energy of the whole plantation."

Mr. Brown claims descent from Simon Codrington. I find among Smith's soldiers and friends John Codrington, one of the colonists who came with the second supply. I doubt not he was a kinsman, and I commend to Mr. Brown his testimonial to the truthfulness of Smith's writings. He says:

"That which wee call the subject of all storie,
Is truth: which in this worke of thine gives glorie
To all that thou hast done. Then scorne the spight
Of Envie; which doth no mans merits right.
My sworde may helpe the rest: my pen no more
Can doe, but this; I 'ave said enough before."

William Wirt Henry.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA.

A BUNDLE OF SUGGESTIVE RELICS

PARTISANSHIP IN THE OLDEN TIME

I have had in my possession for over half a century a bound volume of pamphlets, some dating as far back as 1790, containing a history of the battle of Breed's Hill by Major-Generals William Heath, Henry Lee, James Wilkinson, and Henry Dearborn, "Compiled by Charles Coffin. Portland: D. C. Colesworthy, Printer, 1835."

Reading the more partisan of these old publications, one cannot avoid the impression that there was quite as much personal abuse and vituperation between the federal and republican (or democratic) parties in those early times as we see between the two dominant political parties of the present day. The federalists called the republicans jacobins, anarchists, and the allies of France; and, in turn, the republicans denounced the federalists as tories and the apologists of Great Britain, then at war with France. Washington, Hamilton, Jay, and other prominent leaders on one side, and Jefferson, Madison, and their immediate supporters on the other, came in for a liberal share of epithets and abuse.

In opening this antique volume we find "An address delivered before the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanics' Association at the celebration of the ninth triennial festival, October 10, 1833, by Nathaniel Greene," followed with a hymn written for the occasion by Mrs. L. H. Sigourney. Thus the compiler of the volume evidently counted from his time backward. We next observe the "Proceedings of the National Republican Convention of Young Men," which assembled in the city of Washington on the 7th of May, 1832, and passed resolutions "cordially concurring" in the nomination of Henry Clay for President, and of John Sergeant for Vice-President of the United States, nominations made by the National Republican Convention at Baltimore, December 12, 1831. On invitation Mr. Clay entered the hall and addressed the convention, composed of over three hundred young men, in a patriotic speech, saying: "Should I be called by the people of the United States to the administration of their executive government, it shall be my earnest endeavor to fulfill their expectations, to maintain with firmness and dignity their interests and honor abroad, to eradicate every abuse and corruption at home, and to uphold with vigor and equality and justice the supremacy

of the Constitution and the laws." The members of this convention visited the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon, where they received a cordial welcome from John A. Washington; and a committee of sixteen, Brantz Mayer of Maryland, chairman, called upon and presented an address to the venerable Charles Carroll of Carrollton, "who declared himself highly gratified by this expression of the feelings of the young men of the United States, and hoped that they might enjoy uninterruptedly through life, and transmit unimpaired to posterity, the noble institutions of this happy land."

This pamphlet is followed by "An address before the Workingmen's Society of Dedham, Massachusetts, delivered on the evening of September 7, 1831, by Samuel Whitcomb, Jr.; published by request of the Society." Next is "An oration delivered at Minot, Maine, on 4th of July, 1814, by William Ladd, Esq.," strongly denunciatory of the administration of Madison and the republican or democratic party. On the 5th of July, 1813, was delivered at Brookfield, Massachusetts, an intensely bitter federal poem by Charles Prentiss, whose brother John Prentiss was so long the distinguished editor of the Keene *Sentinel*, New Hampshire. The following are its closing lines:

" Union is dear : Reserve the blessing ever—
Union is dear : Oh may we ne'er dis sever—
But, if *by* Union we must *bondmen* be,
Let the cord snap—NEW ENGLAND SHALL BE FREE."

Under date of 1811 is published "the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton, on the subject of a national bank, read in the house of representatives, December 15, 1790." It bears date the 13th of that month. On the 16th of February, 1808, Timothy Pickering, a senator of the United States from Massachusetts, addressed an open letter to Governor James Sullivan, "exhibiting to his constituents a view of the imminent danger of an unnecessary and ruinous war;" and in the following month of December we have from him, also, a long speech in the senate on the embargo laws, and a reply to the same by Senator William Giles.

In turning the leaves we presently come to one of the most interesting pamphlets in the collection, and perhaps the only one of the kind extant, entitled "An Anniversary Address delivered before the Federal Gentlemen of Concord and vicinity, July 4, 1806, by Daniel Webster. From the Press of George Hough, Concord, New Hampshire, 1806." It consists of twenty pages, on one of which is the correction, doubtless made by the author, of a word in ink. I have looked for this oration among

Webster's speeches, where it would not be out of place, but could not find any reference to it. I quote from it these concluding sentences: "A genuine patriot, above the reach of personal considerations, with his eye and his heart on the honor and happiness of his country, is a character as easy and satisfactory to himself, as venerable in the eyes of the world. While his country enjoys freedom and peace, he will rejoice and be thankful; and if it be in the counsel of Heaven to send the storm and the tempest, he meets the tumult of the political elements with composure and dignity. Above fear, above danger, above reproach, he feels that the last end which can happen to any man never comes too soon, if he fall in defense of the law and liberty of his country."

On the 4th of July, 1805, a statesmanlike oration was "pronounced at Paris, Oxford county, Maine, in commemoration of American independence, by Nathaniel Howe. "From the *Argus Press*, Portland, N. Willis, Jr. [father of N. P. Willis], 1805." Merely mentioning two political addresses "To the People of Massachusetts," in 1805, and a stirring brochure of ten discolored pages, entitled "A word to all true Americans, and to those who love the memory of Washington," we pass to an elaborate document of one hundred and fifty-six pages, the first two leaves of which, including its title, are unfortunately missing. It was evidently published in the first term of Madison's administration, and is a comparative review of the administrations of Washington, the elder Adams, Jefferson, and Madison. Two sentences will serve to indicate its general characteristics. Says the author, "We shall say nothing of the private or personal, of the moral or religious character of these respective chiefs;" adding in the next paragraph on the same page: "Our religious friends will excuse us, therefore, if we do not make a contrast between the moral and religious qualities of Washington and those of the patron, the publick, open, and profligate patron, of Thomas Paine."

One very rare pamphlet is dated 1804, and contains "The speeches at full length of Mr. Van Ness, Mr. Caines the attorney-general, Mr. Harrison, and General Hamilton, in the great cause of the people against Harry Crosswell, on an 'Indictment for a libel on Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States.' New York: Printed by G. & R. Waite, No. 64, Maiden-Lane, 1804. [Copyright secured.]" Another pamphlet of interest of an earlier date is "An oration, pronounced at Biddeford on the anniversary of American Independence, 1798. At the request of the gentlemen of that and the adjoining town of Pepperellboro'; by whose desire this hasty production is submitted to the public, by Cyrus King. Printed by E. A. Jenks, Portland."

Near the end of the volume is a pamphlet containing several ably written federal communications of "Manlius," addressed to the editor, Mr. Russell, and published in the *Columbian Centinel*, dated respectively September 3, 6, 10, 13, 17, and 24, 1794. These writings concern Jay's treaty "with Lord Granville in 1794, and the appearance on the scene of that aggressive French minister, Genet, afterward dismissed by Washington. Several of the articles of Jay's Treaty, especially the one which declared that a free ship did not make free cargo, elicited furious denunciation" from the republicans, who "accused Jay of having betrayed his country." In a public notice at Richmond it was declared "that in case the treaty entered into by that arch traitor John Jay with the British tyrant should be ratified," a move would be made to take Virginia out of the Union. In a note to one of his letters, above referred to, "Manlius" quotes an article from the *New York Journal, or Patriotic Register*, of August 2, 1794, giving particulars of the burning of Judge Jay in effigy. After language of severe condemnation the writer goes on to say: "A number of respectable citizens of this place and its vicinity, on Saturday last, ordered a likeness of this evil genius of western *America* to be made, which was soon well executed. At the appointed hour he was ushered forth from a barber's shop, amidst the shouts of the people, dressed in a *courtly* manner and placed erect on the platform of the pillory. In his right hand he held uplifted, a rod of iron; in his left he held extended, Swift's last speech in Congress on the subject of British depredation, on one side of which was written, '*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus*. Juv. *Sat.* 2 v. 33. No man e'er reached the height of vice at first.' And on the other, '*Non deficit alter*. Virg. *Æn.* 6. A *second* is not wanting.' About his neck was suspended by a *hempen* string, 'Adams' defence of the American Constitutions;' on the cover of which was written, '*Scribere jussit aurum*. Ov. *Ep.* God bade me write.' After exhibiting him in this condition for some time, he was ordered to be guillotined, which was soon dexterously executed, and a flame instantly applied to him, which finding its way to a quantity of powder, which was lodged in his body, produced such an explosion that after it there was scarcely to be found a particle of the *disjecti membra Plenipo*." Apropos of Jay's treaty, Mr. Jefferson in his *Ana*, under date of August 24, 1779, remarks: "About the time of the British treaty Hamilton and Talleyrand, bishop of Autun, dined together, and Hamilton drank freely. Conversing on the treaty Talleyrand says: 'Mais vraiment, Monsieur Hamilton, ce n'est pas bien honnête, after making the senate ratify the treaty, to advise the President to reject it.' 'The treaty,' says Hamilton, 'is an execrable one, and Jay was an old woman

for making it ; but the whole credit of saving us from it must be given to the President.' "

Before being sent to negotiate said treaty Mr. Jay had held many high offices, including that of chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States ; and two days only prior to his return from England, May 28, 1795, he had been triumphantly elected governor of New York, to which office he was reëlected in April, 1798. With the close of this second term of office in 1801 he closed his public career ; ever afterward, although not yet fifty-six years old, he refused all offers of office. On his death, May 17, 1829, in his eighty-fourth year, Daniel Webster pronounced on him this eulogium : " When the spotless ermine of the judicial robe fell on John Jay, it touched nothing less spotless than itself."

Tom Paine in a newspaper letter to Washington declared that his (Washington's) administration had " been deceitful if not even perfidious," and that he was " treacherous in private friendship, and a hypocrite in private life." Duane, editor of the *Aurora*, Philadelphia, whom the federalists, apparently with good reason, characterized " this vagabond foreigner," was equally abusive of Washington while in office, and on his retiring to private life had the effrontery to declare that he was " the man who is the source of the misfortunes of our country," and that " every heart ought to beat high with exultation that the name of Washington from this day ceases to give currency to political iniquity and to legalize corruption."

Two other newspaper writers, hardly less abusive at that time, were James T. Callender and Philip Freneau, neither of whom spared Washington. The former, a man whom Jefferson was accused of having paid for writing against the federal party, turned his arrows later on Jefferson himself while President, for refusing to appoint him postmaster of Richmond, Virginia. When Jefferson was secretary of state he had employed Freneau as translator in his department ; at the same time, as editor of a republican paper, he was traducing the President and his administration, charging him, Hamilton, and other prominent leading federalists with a disposition toward the establishment of a monarchical government, etc. In his *Ana*, under date of May 23, 1793, in a conversation with Washington in reference to the charge that he (Washington) was in favor of establishing a monarchy, Mr. Jefferson quotes him as saying : " If anybody wanted to change its [the government's] form into a monarchy, he was sure it was only a few individuals, and that no man in the United States would set his face against it more than himself, but that this was not what he was afraid of ; his fears were from another quarter—that there

was more danger of anarchy being introduced. He adverted to a piece in Freneau's paper of yesterday; he said he despised all their attacks on him personally, but that there never had been an act of the government, not meaning in the executive line only but in any line, which the paper had not abused. He was evidently sore and warm, and I took his intention to be that I should interpose in some way with Freneau, perhaps withdraw his appointment of translating clerk to my office. But I will not do it. His paper has saved our Constitution, which was galloping fast into monarchy, and had been checked by no one man so powerfully as by that paper. It is well and universally known that it has been that paper which has checked the career of the monarchists, and the President, not sensible of the designs of the party, has not with his usual good sense and *sangfroid* looked on the efforts and effects of this free press, and seen that, though some bad things have passed through it to the public, yet the good have preponderated immensely."

Jefferson has been severely censured for failing sometimes to render that support to Washington justly his due as chief magistrate, and especially for insisting on withdrawing from his cabinet at a critical period, December 31, 1793. It is almost painful to read the passionate appeals of Washington for him to continue in charge of the department of state, seeing they were all in vain. It cannot be said, however, that Jefferson, who differed widely from Hamilton in some things, was not generally loyal to his chief. In the matter of dealing with Genet, if there had been differences in the beginning, all the cabinet were united in his final recall, in spite of the countenance he received from the more extreme element of the republican party. When this subject came up in cabinet session, August 2, 1793, the question being whether the President should present it in an appeal to the public, Mr. Jefferson in his *Ana* relates a startling incident which then took place, showing how Washington, probably the only time in his life, gave full utterance to his feelings in regard to the abuse heaped upon him and his administration by the opposition. He says: "The President manifestly inclined to an appeal to the people. Knox, in a foolish, incoherent sort of a speech, introduced the pasquanade lately printed, called the funeral of George W——n and James W——n,* king and judge, etc., when the President was placed on a guillotine. The President was much inflamed; got into one of those passions when he cannot command himself; ran on much on the personal abuse which had been bestowed on him; defied any man on earth to produce one single act of his since he had been in the government, which was not

* Supposed to mean Justice Wilson of the supreme court.—H. K.

done on the purest motives; that he had never repented but once the having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since; that . . . he had rather be in his grave than in his present situation; that he had rather be on his farm than to be made *emperor of the world*, and yet that they were charging him with wanting to be a king; that that *rascal Freneau* sent him three of his papers every day, as if he thought he would become the distributor of his papers; that he could see in this nothing but an impudent design to insult him. He ended in this high tone."

When I began this article I intended to give a full account of the celebrated trial of Harry Croswell for a libel on President Jefferson. But two reasons intervene to prevent: one is, the want of space; and the other and the more important, that diligent search in the congressional and law libraries at Washington, and inquiry of the clerk of courts of Columbia county, New York, where Croswell was tried and convicted but appealed, also of the clerk of the court of appeals at Albany, has failed to inform me whether a new trial, which was awarded him at the August (1805) term of court, ever took place. Can any one tell, and if there was such new trial, what was the result of it? I should not be surprised to find that Croswell was released from further prosecution by President Jefferson, since immediately on coming into office "he discharged all those suffering persecution for opinion's sake under the sedition law," which he said he "considered to be a nullity, as absolute and as palpable as if congress had ordered us to fall down and worship the golden image." It is known, also, as charged by one of his political adversaries in Massachusetts at that time, that he "liberated a wretch who was suffering for a libel against Mr. Adams."

Harry Croswell was the editor of a federal newspaper entitled *The Wasp*, published in Hudson, New York. The matter charged in the indictment as the libel was contained in an article of which Callender was the reputed author, and was in the following words: "Holt says the burden of the federal song is, that Mr. Jefferson paid Callender for writing against the late administration. This is wholly false. The charge is explicitly this: Jefferson paid Callender for calling Washington a traitor, a robber, and a perjurer; for calling Adams a hoary-headed incendiary; and for most grossly slandering the private character of men who he well knew were virtuous. . . . These charges not a democratic editor has yet dared or ever will dare to meet in an open and manly discussion."

The defendant, as already stated, was convicted, and a new trial was asked "on the ground of a misdirection of the judge" (Chief-Justice

Lewis) in his charge to the jury. The case came up in the supreme court of New York, Judge Kent on the bench, at the May term, 1804. It was argued at great length by Van Ness, Harrison, and Alexander Hamilton for the defendant, and by the attorney-general (Spencer) and Caines on the part of the people. The question was, "Can the defendant give the truth in evidence, and are the jury to decide both on the law and the fact?" Innumerable decisions, nearly all English, were cited, *pro* and *con*, not omitting the old rule, "the greater the truth the greater the libel." Mr. Van Ness cites this singular precedent: "At the time the pretender landed in Scotland, a man in London reported 'that the king had cold.' Every report at this time of this description might be injurious to the royal cause. It was of infinite importance to the nation that the king should be in a situation to put himself at the head of his army and to support the drooping spirits of his adherents. This man was prosecuted for his imprudence, convicted and punished.

The defendant was convicted, Kent, Justice, at the last circuit court, in Columbia county, of printing and publishing a scandalous and seditious libel upon Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States." And a motion was made at the last term for a new trial on the ground of a misdirection of the judge. The motion was principally founded upon the two following objections: "1. The chief-justice charged the jury that it was not their province to inquire or decide on the intent of the defendant or whether the publication was libellous or not; that those were questions of law to be decided exclusively by the court, upon the return of the *postea*; and that the only points for their consideration were, first, whether the defendant published the paper stated in the indictment; and, secondly, whether the *innuendoes* were true; and that if they were satisfied of these two points, it was their duty to find the defendant guilty. 2. That he denied to the defendant the opportunity of producing testimony to prove the truth of the libel, on the ground that the defendant could not be permitted to give in evidence to the jury the truth of the charges contained in the libel."

Chancellor Kent went into a long and learned discussion of the case, and closed by saying: "I am constrained to declare, I think the defendant not entitled to a new trial on either of the grounds on which his motion is rested." It was not until after the act of the New York legislature of April 6, 1805, that, as previously stated, a new trial was granted, "no motion having been made for judgment on the verdict." Said act declares: "That in every prosecution for writing or publishing any libel, it shall be lawful for the defendant, upon the trial of the cause, to give

in evidence in his defense the truth of the matter contained in the publication, charged as libellous : *Provided always*, that such evidence shall not be a justification, unless on the trial it shall be further made satisfactorily to appear that the matter charged as libellous was published with good motives and for justifiable ends." Chancellor Kent in his notes, referring to Hamilton's argument at this remarkable trial, says it " was the greatest forensic effort Hamilton ever made. He was at times highly impassioned and patriotic. His whole soul was enlisted in the cause."

On a fly-leaf of a pamphlet similar to mine, shown me by Mr. Spofford at the congressional library, a writer signing himself "C. H.," who evidently listened to Hamilton's argument, wrote that "Caines the reporter dropped his pen and sat with his faculties suspended in blank (still) admiration at a great part of Hamilton's speech, which was confessedly one of the best ever delivered."

Harry Croswell was born at West Hartford, Connecticut, June 16, 1778. Subsequent to his connection with the *Wasps*, in 1809 he edited a federal newspaper in Albany, where he was prosecuted for a libel on Mr. Southwick, a leading democratic editor, who recovered damages. He finally quit publishing if not politics, and was ordained a deacon in Christ church, May 8, 1814, at Hudson, where he remained in charge until June, 1815, when he became rector of Trinity church, New Haven. He died, March 13, 1858. Edwin Croswell of the Albany *Argus* was his nephew.

In his *Life of Jefferson* Randall speaks of Callender, a Scotchman by birth, as possessed of much coarse, vigorous ability, but says his course was steadily downward, owing to habits of inebriety, consorting with vicious and degraded men. He was drowned in James river, into which he had gone to bathe in a state of intoxication. Probably no one of our Presidents has been more violently assailed by his enemies than Thomas Jefferson, and James Thompson Callender was one who, after exhausting his vituperation against the administrations of Washington and Adams, employed the remnant of his worthless life in abusing the President who had come to his relief when, as the President thought, he was suffering unjust punishment under the sedition act.

Horatio King

WASHINGTON, February 9, 1891.

POWER TO GRANT PATENTS FOR INVENTIONS

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION IN 1787

The proceedings in the federal convention relating to the insertion in the Constitution of a clause giving power to congress to grant patents for inventions may be briefly told. On May 29, 1787, Edmund Randolph of Virginia opened the business of the convention by submitting a series of resolutions known as the "Virginia Plan;" then Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina laid before it the draft of a federal government which he had prepared. There was no mention in either of these schemes of any power to grant patents. They were referred to a committee, and the committee subsequently reported in favor of Mr. Randolph's plan; which, however, had been amended in the committee of the whole house. Still no reference to such a power was made. Discussion of the "Virginia Plan" was postponed until Mr. Patterson of New Jersey could submit a plan. Both of these plans were referred to the committee of the whole, which reported again in favor of Mr. Randolph's plan as the basis of the Constitution. After debating the report for over a month, all the proceedings of the convention up to that time were referred to a committee of detail appointed for the purpose. Thirteen days later the committee made a report, but still there was no provision for granting patents. These details of the proceedings of the convention are only given to show that practically the Constitution had been agreed upon before it occurred to any member to suggest the power of granting patents. August 18, nearly three months after the convention had been in session, James Madison of Virginia arose in his place and "submitted, in order to be referred to the committee of detail, certain powers as proper to be added to those of the general legislature." Among these powers were two: "To secure to literary authors their copyrights for a limited time," and "to encourage by premiums and provisions the advancement of useful knowledge and discoveries." On the same day Charles Pinckney of South Carolina also submitted a number of propositions, among which were: "To grant patents for useful inventions, and "to secure to authors exclusive rights for a certain time."

The propositions of both these gentlemen were referred to the committee. On August 31 such parts of the Constitution as had not been

acted on were referred to a committee composed of one member from each state, and among these undisposed parts were the propositions to give congress the power to grant patents for inventions. Mr. Madison, but not Mr. Pinckney, was of this committee. On September 5 the committee reported and recommended, among other things, that congress have the power "to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." This was agreed to without a dissenting vote. In the final revision of the style and arrangement of the articles in the Constitution this clause became paragraph 8, section 8, of article I., where it has ever since remained.

Thus it is seen that the distinction of submitting the proposals to give this power to congress rests jointly with James Madison and Charles Pinckney. Both of them were revolutionary patriots of marked ability and wide legislative experience, but neither appears to have had any special interest in science or the useful arts. They doubtless were prompted to this action by the same motives advanced by Mr. Madison in a paper in the *Federalist* in adverting to this power. He wrote as follows: "The utility of this power will scarcely be questioned. The copyright of authors has been solemnly adjudged in Great Britain to be a right at common law. The right to useful inventions seems with equal reason to belong to the inventors. The public good fully coincides in both cases with the claims of individuals. The states cannot separately make effectual provision for either of the cases, and most of them have anticipated the decision of this point by laws passed at the instance of congress."

Time has justified the equity of Mr. Madison's argument, and the neglect and failure of the states to grant patents for inventions since the adoption of the Constitution have corroborated its truth.

Levin H. Campbell

WASHINGTON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS ENGLISH VISITORS

One morning during the late civil war President Lincoln received some visitors by appointment at an early hour. A prominent senator ushered into his chamber four Englishmen of mature years and dignified bearing, one of whom was Professor Goldwin Smith. Mr. Lincoln greeted them cordially, and opened the conversation with an inquiry as to the health of John Bright, whom he said he regarded as the friend of our country, and of freedom everywhere. Presently the magnitude of recent battles was under discussion, and Professor Smith inquired if the enormous losses of men would not impair the industrial resources of the country and seriously affect its revenues, reciting at the same time the number of killed, wounded, and missing reported after one of the great engagements, then of recent date.

Mr. Lincoln replied that in settling such matters we must resort to "darky arithmetic." "'To darky arithmetic!'" exclaimed the dignified representative of the learning and higher thought of Great Britain, "I did not know, Mr. President, that you have two systems of arithmetic?" "Oh, yes!" said Mr. Lincoln; "I will illustrate that point by a little story. Two young contrabands were seated together when one said, 'Jim, do you know 'rithmetic?' Jim answered, 'No; what is 'rithmetic?' 'Well,' said the other, 'it is when you adds up things. When you have one and one, and you puts them together, they makes two. And when you substracts, if you have two things and you takes one away, only one remains.'

'Is dat 'rithmetic?' asked Jim. 'Yes.' 'Well, 'tain't true den; it's no good.' Here a dispute arose, when Jim said, 'Now you s'pose three pigeons sit on dat fence, and somebody shoot one of dem; do t'other two stay dar? I guess not, dey fly away quicker 'n odder feller falls;'—and, Professor, trifling as the story seems, it illustrates the arithmetic you must use in estimating the actual losses resulting from our great battles. The statements you refer to give those missing at the first roll-call after the contest, which always exhibits a greatly exaggerated total, especially in the column of the missing." Mr. William D. Kelley who relates this incident says that after leaving the President, Goldwin Smith and his party of friends sat beside him (Mr. Kelley) at the dinner-table, and he heard one of the gentlemen inquire: "Professor, can you give me the impression President Lincoln made upon you?"

"Yes," was the reply; "it was a very agreeable one. Such a man is quite unknown to our official circles, or to those of continental nations. Indeed, I think his place in history will be unique. He has not been trained to diplomacy or administrative affairs, and is in all respects one of the people. But how wonderfully he is endowed and equipped for the performance of the duties of the chief executive officer of the United States at this time! The precision and minuteness of his information on all questions to which we referred was a succession of surprises to me."

The Hon. A. H. Markland once said: "It has been thought that Mr. Lincoln was controlled by his cabinet ministers. My observation was quite to the contrary. He was the master-spirit of his administration, and by unsurpassed tact he kept his ministers in harmony with each other. As President he was controlled only by law and the equities. He always had the courage to do the proper thing at the proper time." At one period there was some official jealousy between Postmaster-General Blair and Secretary Stanton. Markland had been sent to the latter for certain orders relating to the postal service within the lines of the army, and Stanton declined to issue them "to accommodate Mr. Blair," who proceeded to write a letter to the President, calling his attention to the situation. Markland was the messenger to bear the communication, and he tells us: "When I delivered the letter, Mr. Lincoln read it carefully and handed it back to me, saying, 'What is the matter between Blair and Stanton?' I told him all I knew in reference to the proposed orders. He then said: 'If I understand the case, General Grant wants the orders issued, and Blair wants them issued, and you want them issued, and Stanton won't issue them. Now don't you see what kind of a fix I will be in if I interfere? I'll tell you what to do: if you and General Grant understand one another, suppose you try to get along without the orders, and if Blair or Stanton makes a fuss I may be called in as a referee, and I may decide in your favor."

The orders were never issued, and pleasant relations were maintained all round."

Colonel Markland, who had the best of opportunities for critical observation, writes: "President Lincoln's sympathies were with the people and for the people, and his only ambition was that the Union might be preserved. It is a singular fact that all men who came in official or social relations with Abraham Lincoln while he was President were impressed with his unselfish patriotism and unyielding integrity."

THE FATE OF A PENNSYLVANIA COQUETTE *

IDEAS OF JUSTICE IN THE OLDEN TIME

Some eighty years ago the now flourishing town of Easton, on the Delaware, was but a small settlement in one of the remote and comparatively wild portions of Pennsylvania. At the present day the compactly built town fills the space between the mountains and the rivers that have formed a junction, while their banks are lined with busy manufactories and the dwellings of men. The lofty hills that rise abruptly from the plain or overhang the waters are cultivated in spots, and the patches of woodland here and there seemed spared for the purpose of adorning the landscape and affording secluded walks to the wanderers who love the beauty of nature. At the period to which our tale carries us back, the scenery of this beautiful region was not less enchanting, though far more wild and savage. A dense forest then covered the mountains to their rocky summits, and bordered the rivers for many miles; the valley, through which flows a sweet stream to mingle with the Delaware, was dark with the shadow of primeval woods; and the waters, untroubled by the different manufactories for the uses of which their streams have since been diverted, swept in calm majesty along their time-worn channel, scarcely knowing the difference of seasons. Not far from the Delaware, a double row of low-roofed, quaint-looking stone houses formed the most populous part of the settlement. Other dwellings, scattered about in different directions, were built in the same style, and evidently inhabited by the same sturdy and primitive Dutch population. Many of these houses are still standing, and give a character to the appearance of the whole place. It has been often remarked how unchangingly, from one generation to another, the habits of the Dutch people are preserved by their descendants, giving a monotony to their life and manners, while their more mutable neighbors are yielding themselves, day by day, to the law of progress. This inveterate attachment to the old order of things, and aversion to innovations, peculiar to their nation, kept the ancient inhabitants of Easton in the same condition with their forefathers, notwithstanding the improvements introduced from European cities into other parts of the colony. Philadelphia, though at that time but a village in comparison to what it is now, was looked upon as a place of luxury and corruption dangerous to the morals of youth. Few of the families composing the settlement at Easton had ever been there, or had visited

* This story, reprinted from Rev. Dr. Condit's *History of Easton*, was written by Mrs. E. F. Ellet, for more than a quarter of a century after 1840 one of the famous writers of the day, who died in 1877. Dr. Condit vouches for the truth of the narrative, and points to the site of the house where the victim lived, and the pond where she lost her life.

any other of the provincial cities. They sought no intercourse with the world's great Babel, content with the information that reached them regularly once a week with the newspapers brought by the post-boy, which were loaned to the neighbors in turn by the few who received them. Now and then, it is true, when the business of the day was over, a number of men might be seen seated in the large sitting-room of the old stone tavern, or on the veranda, wearing their low-crowned, broad-brimmed hats, smoking their pipes, and discussing events of which the rumor had reached them, when these were more stirring than common. But such discussions were always conducted quietly, and without the exhibition of any feeling of partisanship. They were terminated at a very early hour, all thought of political matters being usually dismissed with the last puff of their pipes, as the worthy mynheers took their way homeward.

As little did the love of change prevail among the good *fraus* of that day. They were of the class described by a distinguished chronicler, who "stayed at home, read the Bible, and wore frocks." They wore the same antiquated quilted caps and parti-colored homespun gowns that were in fashion in the days of the renowned Wouter Van Twiller; their pockets were always filled with work and the implements of industry, and their own gowns and their husbands' coats were exclusively of domestic manufacture. In cleanliness and thrifty housewifery they were excelled by none who had gone before or who came after them. The well-scoured stoops and entries, fresh and immaculate every morning, attested the neatness prevailing throughout the dwellings. The precise order that reigned within, in the departments of kitchen, parlor, and chamber, could not be disturbed by any out-of-door commotion. Cleanliness and contentment were the cares of the household. The tables were spread with the abundance of the good old time, and not small was the pride of those ministering dames in setting forth the viands prepared by their own industrious hands. It must not be supposed that all their care and frugality were inconsistent with the dear exercise of hospitality, or other social virtues usually practised in every female community. If the visits paid from house to house were less frequent than in modern times, there was the same generous interest in the concerns of others, and the same desire in each to save her neighbor trouble by kindly taking the management of affairs upon herself, evinced by so many individuals of the present day. In short, the domestic police of Easton, at that remote period, was apparently as remarkable for vigilance and severity in hunting out offenders as it has proved to be in times of more modern civilization.

The arrival of new residents from the city was an event of importance enough in itself to cause no small stir in that quiet community. The rumor that a small house, picturesquely situated at the edge of a wood some distance from the village, was being fitted up for the new comers, was soon spread abroad and gave rise to many conjectures and surmises. The new furniture that paraded in wagons before the astonished eyes of the settlers was different from any that had been seen before; and, though it would have been thought simple enough, or even rude, at

the present day, exhibited too much of metropolitan taste and luxury to meet their approval. Then a gardener was employed several days to set in order the surrounding plot of ground and set out rose-bushes and ornamental plants; the fence was painted gayly, and the inclosure secured by a neat gate. A few days after, a light traveling wagon brought the tenants to the abode prepared for them. Within the memory of a generation hardly any occurrence had taken place which excited so much curiosity. The doors and windows were crowded with gazers, and the younger part of the population were hardly restrained by parental authority from rushing after the equipage. The woman, who sat with a boy on the back seat, wore a thick veil; but the pleasant face of a middle-aged man, who looked about him, and bowed courteously to the different groups, attracted much attention. The man who drove had a jolly English face, betokening a very communicative disposition; nor was the promise broken to the hope, for that very evening the same personage was seated among a few grave-looking Dutchmen who lingered at the tavern, dealing out his information liberally to such as chose to question him. The new comer, it appeared, was a member of the colonial assembly, and had brought his family to rusticate for a season on the banks of the Delaware. This family consisted of his English wife and a son about seven years old. They had been accustomed, he said, to the society of the rich and gay, both in Philadelphia and in Europe, having spent some time in Paris before their coming to this country.

The information given by the loquacious driver, who seemed to think the village not a little honored in so distinguished an accession to its inhabitants, produced no favorable impression. The honest mynheers, however, were little inclined to be hasty in their judgment. They preferred consulting their wives, who waited with no little patience for the Sabbath morning, expecting them to have a full opportunity of criticising their new neighbors.

They were doomed to disappointment; none of the family was at the place of meeting, although the practice of church-going was one so time-honored that a journey of ten miles on foot to attend religious service was thought nothing of, and few, even of the most worldly-minded, ventured on an omission. The non-appearance of the strangers was a dark omen. The next day, however, the dames of the settlement had an opportunity of seeing Mrs. Winton—for so I shall call her, not choosing to give her real name—as she came out to purchase a few articles of kitchen furniture. Her style of dress was altogether different from theirs. Instead of the hair pomatumed back from the forehead, she wore it in natural ringlets; instead of the short petticoats in vogue among the Dutch dames, a long and flowing skirt set off to advantage a figure of remarkable grace. At the first glance one could not but acknowledge her singular beauty. Her form was faultless in symmetry, and her features exquisitely regular; the complexion being of a clear brown, set off by luxuriant black hair and a pair of brilliant dark eyes. The expression of these was not devoid of a certain fascination, though it had something to excite distrust in the simple-minded fair ones who measured the claims of the

stranger to admiration. They could not help thinking there was a want of innate modesty in the bold, restless wanderings of such eyes, bright as they were, and in the perfect self-possession the English woman showed in her somewhat haughty carriage. Her voice, too, though melodious, was not low in its tones, and her laugh was merry and frequently heard. In short, she appeared to the untutored judgment of the dames of the village decidedly wanting in reserve and the softness natural to youth in woman. While they shook their heads and were shy of conversation with her, it was not a little wonderful to notice the different effect produced on their spouses. The honest Dutchman surveyed the handsome stranger with undisguised admiration, evinced at first by a prolonged stare, and on after occasions by such rough courtesy as they found opportunity of showing with alacrity, offering to her any little service that neighbors might render. The women, on the other hand, became more and more suspicious of her outlandish gear and her bewitching smiles, lavished with such profusion upon all who came near her. Her charms, in their eyes, were so many sins, which they were inclined to see her expiate before they relented so far as to extend toward her the civilities of the neighborhood. The more their husbands praised her, the more they stood aloof; and for weeks after the family had become settled scarcely any communication of a friendly nature had taken place between her and any of the female population.

Little, however, did the English woman appear to care for neglect on the part of those she evidently thought much inferior to herself. She had plenty of company, such as suited her taste, and no lack of agreeable employment, notwithstanding her persistence in a habit which shocked still more the prejudices of her worthy neighbors—of leaving her household labor to a servant. She made acquaintance with all who relished her lively conversation, and took much pleasure in exciting by her eccentric manners the astonishment of her long-queued admirers. She was always affable, and not only invited those she liked to visit her without ceremony, but called upon them for any extra service she required.

It was on one of the brightest days in October that Mrs. Winton was riding with her son along a path leading through the forest up the Delaware. The road wound at the base of a mountain, bordering the river closely, and was flanked in some places by precipitous rocks, overgrown with shrubs, and shaded by overhanging trees. It can hardly be known if the romantic beauty of the scene which presented itself by glimpses through the foliage—the bright, calm river, the wooded hills and slopes beyond, and the village lying in the lap of the savage forest—called forth as much admiration from those who gazed as it has since from spirits attuned to a vivid sense of the loveliness of nature. The sudden flight of a bird from the bushes startled the horse, and dashing quickly to one side he stood on the sheer edge of the precipice overlooking the water. The next plunge might have been a fatal one, but that the bridle was instantly seized by the strong arm of a man who sprang from the concealment of the trees. Checking the frightened animal, he assisted the dame and her son to dismount, and then led the horse for them to

less dangerous ground. In the friendly conversation that followed, the English woman put forth all her powers of pleasing ; for the man was known already to her as one of the most respectable of the settlers, though he had never yet sought her society. His little service was rewarded by a cordial invitation, which was soon followed by a visit, to her house.

To make a long story short, not many weeks had passed before this neighbor was an almost daily visitor ; and to the surprise and concern of the whole village his example was in time followed by many others of those who might have been called the gentry of Easton. It became evident that the handsome stranger was a-coquette of the most unscrupulous sort ; that she was passionately fond of the admiration of the other sex, and was determined to exact the tribute due her charms, even from the sons of the wilderness. She flirted desperately with one after another, contriving to impress each with the idea that he was the happy individual especially favored by her smiles. Her manners and conversation showed less and less regard for the opinion of others or the rules of propriety. The effect of such a course of conduct in a community so simple and old-fashioned in their customs, so utterly unused to any such broad defiance of censure, may be more easily imagined than described. How the men were flattered and intoxicated in their admiration for the beautiful siren and their lessons in an art so new to them as gallantry, how the women were amazed out of their propriety, can be conceived without the aid of philosophy.

Things were bad enough as they were, but when the time came for Mr. Winton to depart and take his place in the assembly the change was for the worse. His handsome wife was left, with only her son, in Easton for the winter. Her behavior was now more scandalous than ever, and soon a total avoidance of her by every other woman in the place attested their indignation. The coquette evidently held them in great scorn, while she continued to receive in a still more marked and offensive manner the attentions of the husbands, whom, she boasted, she had taught they had hearts under their linsey-woolsey coats. Long walks and rides through the woods, attended always by some *one* who had owned the power of her beauty, set public opinion wholly at defiance ; and the company at her fire-side, evening after evening, was thought to be not such as became a wife and mother to receive. The winter months passed, and spring came to set loose the streams and fill the woods with tender bloom and verdure. But the anger of the thoroughly irritated dames of Easton had gathered strength with time. Scarce one among the most conspicuous of the neighborhood but had particular reason to have their common enemy for the alienated affections and monopolized time of her husband, so faithful to his duties before this fatal enchantment. Complaints were made by one to another and strange stories told, which, of course, lost nothing in their circulation from mouth to mouth. What wonder was it that the mysterious influence exercised by the strange woman should be attributed to witchcraft ? What wonder that she should be judged to hold intercourse with evil spirits and to receive from them the power by which she subdued men to her sway ?

Late in the afternoon of a beautiful day in the early part of June, two or three of the matrons of the village stationed themselves near the woods by which stood the house of Mrs. Winton. Not far from this was a small pond where the boys amused themselves in fishing, or bathed during the heats of summer. The spot once occupied by this little body of water is now the central portion of the town, and covered with neat buildings of brick and stone. The women had come forth to watch; nor was their vigilance long unrewarded. They saw Mrs. Winton, accompanied by one of her gallants dressed with a care that showed an anxiety to please, walking slowly along the borders of the woods. The sun had set and the gray shadows of twilight were creeping over the landscape, yet it was evidently not her intention to return home. As it grew darker the two entered the woods, the female taking the arm of her companion, and presently both disappeared. "There he goes!" exclaimed one of the women who watched, with fierce anger in her looks, for it was her husband she had seen. "I knew it! I knew he spent every evening with her!" "Shall we follow them?" asked the other. "No! no! let us go home quick!" was the answer.

Such a scene as the night witnessed was never before enacted in that quiet village. At a late hour there was a meeting of many of the matrons in the house of one of their number. The curtains were closely drawn; the light was so dim that the faces of those who whispered together could scarcely be discerned. There was something fearful in the assemblage at such an unwonted time of those orderly housewives, so unaccustomed ever to leave their homes after dusk. The circumstance of their meeting alone betokened something uncommon in agitation. Still more did the silence, hushed and breathless at intervals, the eager but suppressed whispering, the rapid gestures, the general air of determination mingled with caution. It struck midnight; they made signs one to another and the light was extinguished.

It was perhaps an hour or more after, when the same band of women left the house, and took their way in profound silence along the road leading out of the village. By a roundabout course, skirting the small body of water above mentioned, they came to the border of the woods. Just then the waning moon rose above the forest tops, shedding a faint light over hill and stream. It could then be seen that these women all wore a kind of mask of black stuff. Their course was directed toward the English woman's house, which they approached with stealthy and noiseless steps. A few moments of silence passed after they had disappeared, and then a wild shriek was heard, and others fainter and fainter, like the voice of one in agony struggling to cry out, and stifled by powerful hands. The women rushed from the woods, dragging with them their helpless victim, whom they had gagged so that she could not even supplicate their mercy. Another cry was presently heard—the wail of a terrified child. The little boy, roused from sleep by the screams of his mother, ran toward her captors, and throwing himself on his knees begged for her in piteous accents and with stream-

ing tears. "Take him away!" cried several together; and one of their number, snatching up the child, ran off with him at her utmost speed and did not return.

The others proceeded quickly to their mission of vengeance. Dragging the helpless dame to the pond, they rushed into it, heedless of risk to themselves, till they stood in deep water. Then each, in turn, seizing her enemy by the shoulders, plunged her in, head and all, crying as she did so, "This is for my husband!" "And this for mine!" "This for mine!" was echoed, with the plunges, in quick succession, till the work of retribution was accomplished, and the party hurried to shore. Startled by a noise as of some one approaching, the disguised avengers fled, leaving their victim on the bank, and lost no time in hastening homeward. The dawn of day disclosed a dreadful catastrophe: Dame Winton was found dead beside the water. There was evidence enough that she had perished not by accident, but violence. Who could have done the deed?

The occurrence caused great commotion in Easton, as it was but natural it should, but it was never discovered with certainty who were the perpetrators of the murder. Suspicion fell on several, but they were prudent enough to keep silence, and nothing could be proved against them. Perhaps the more prominent among the men, who should have taken upon themselves the investigation of the affair, had their own reasons for passing it over rather slightly. It was beyond doubt, too, that actual murder had not been designed by the actors in the tragedy, but simply the punishment assigned to witchcraft by popular usage. So the matter was not long agitated, though it was for many years a subject of conversation among those who had no interest in hushing it up, and the story served as a warning to give point to the lessons of careful mothers.

It was for a long time believed that the ghost of the unfortunate English woman haunted the spot where she had died. Nor did the belief cease to prevail long after the pond was drained, and the woods felled, and the space built over. A stable belonging to a gentleman with whom I am acquainted stands near the place. I have heard him relate how one of his servants, who had never heard the story, had rushed in one night, much alarmed, to say that he had seen a female figure, in old-fashioned cap and white gown, standing at the door of the stable. Another friend, who resides near, was told by his domestic that a strange woman had stood at the back gate, who had suddenly disappeared when asked who she was. Thus there seems ground enough to excuse the belief, even now prevalent among the common people in Easton, that the spirit still walks at night about that portion of the town.

MINOR TOPICS

TWO IMMORTAL LETTERS

Senator Hawley in his eulogy on General Sherman, in the senate of the United States, on receipt of the sad intelligence of the death of the great soldier, quoted two letters that should be placed on permanent record. He said :

" When General Grant was called to Washington to take command of the armies of the Union, his great heart did not forget the men who had stood by him. He wrote to Sherman :

' Whilst I have been eminently successful in this war, in at least gaining the confidence of the public, no one feels more than I how much of this success is due to the energy, skill, and the harmonious putting forth of that energy and skill, of those whom it has been my good fortune to have occupying subordinate positions under me. There are many officers to whom these remarks are applicable to a greater or less degree, proportionate to their ability as soldiers ; but what I want is to express my thanks to you and McPherson as the men to whom, above all others, I feel indebted for whatever I have had of success. How far your advice and assistance have been of help to me, you know. How far your execution of whatever has been given to you to do entitles you to the reward I am receiving, you cannot know as well as I. I feel all the gratitude this letter would express, giving it the most flattering construction.'

When Sherman received this brotherly letter, so greatly honorable to them both, he replied :

' You do yourself injustice and us too much honor in assigning to us too large a share of the merits which have led to your high advancement. I know you approve the friendship I have ever professed to you, and will permit me to continue, as heretofore, to manifest it on all proper occasions. You are now Washington's legitimate successor, and occupy a position of almost dangerous elevation ; but if you can continue, as heretofore, to be yourself—simple, honest, and unpretending—you will enjoy through life the respect and love of friends and the homage of millions of human beings that will award you a large share in securing to them and their descendants a government of law and stability. I repeat, you do General McPherson and myself too much honor. At Belmont you manifested your traits, neither of us being near. At Donelson also you illustrated your whole character. I was not near, and General McPherson in too subordinate a capacity to influence you. Until you had won Donelson I confess I was almost cowed by the terrible array of anarchical elements that presented themselves at every point ; but that admitted a ray of light I have followed since. I believe you are as brave, patriotic,

and just as the great prototype Washington ; as unselfish, kind hearted, and honest as a man should be ; but the chief characteristic is the simple faith in success you have always manifested, which I can liken to nothing else than the faith a Christian has in the Saviour. This faith gave you victory at Shiloh and Vicksburg. Also when you have completed your best preparations, you go into battle without hesitation, as at Chattanooga—no doubts, no reserves ; and I tell you it was this that made us act with confidence. I knew wherever I was that you thought of me, and if I got in a tight place you would help me out, if alive.’

This from a man, likewise a great general, who might honorably have aspired to the place that Grant had reached.”

ALEXANDER HAMILTON'S LOVE LETTER 1780

WRITTEN TO ELIZABETH SCHUYLER A FEW WEEKS BEFORE THEIR MARRIAGE *

“ I would not have you imagine Miss that I write to you so often either to gratify your wishes or to please your vanity ; but merely to indulge myself and to comply with that restless propensity of my mind, which will not allow me to be happy when I am not doing something in which you are concerned. This may seem a very idle disposition in a philosopher and a soldier ; but I can plead illustrious examples in my justification. Achilles had liked to have sacrificed Greece and his glory to his passion for a female captive ; and Antony lost the world for a woman. I am sorry the times are so changed as to oblige me to summon antiquity for my apology, but I confess, to the disgrace of the present age, that I have not been able to find many who are as far gone as myself in such laudable zeal for the fair sex. I suspect, however, if others knew the charms of my sweetheart as well as I do, I should have a great number of competitors—I wish I could give you an idea of her—you have no conception how sweet a girl she is—it is only in my heart that her image is truly drawn. She has a lovely form, and a mind still more lovely ; she is all goodness, the gentlest, the dearest, the tenderest of her sex—ah, Betsey, how I love her !

Two days since I wrote to you my dear girl and sent the letter to the care of Colonel Morris : there was with it a bundle to your mamma, directed to your father, containing a cloak which Miss Livingston sent to my care. I enclosed you in that letter the copy of a long one to my friend Laurens with an account of Arnold's affair. I mention this for fear of a miscarriage as usual.

Well, my love, here is the middle of October ; a few weeks more and you are mine ; a sweet reflection to me—is it so to my charmer ? Do you find yourself

* From Mrs. Lamb's *History of the City of New York*, the author of which was permitted by its owner to make a copy of the original letter.

more or less anxious for the moment to arrive as it approaches? This is a good criterion to determine the degree of your affection by. You have had an age for consideration, time enough for even a woman to know her mind in. Do you begin to repent or not? Remember you are going to do a very serious thing. For though our sex have generously given up a part of its prerogatives, and husbands have no longer the power of life and death, as the wiser husbands of former days had, yet we still retain the power of happiness and misery; and if you are prudent you will not trust the felicity of your future life to one in whom you have not good reason for implicit confidence. I give you warning—don't blame me if you make an injudicious choice—and if you should be disposed to retract, don't give me the trouble of a journey to Albany, and then do as did a certain lady I have mentioned to you, find out the day before we are to be married that you 'can't like the man'; but of all things I pray you don't make the discovery afterwards—for this would be worse than all. But I do not apprehend its being the case. I think we know each other well enough to understand each other's feelings, and to be sure our affection will not only last but be progressive.

I stopped to read over my letter—it is a motley mixture of fond extravagance and sprightly dullness: the truth is I am too much in love to be either reasonable or witty: I feel in the extreme; and when I attempt to speak of my feelings I rave. I have remarked to you before that real tenderness has always a tincture of sadness, and when I affect the lively my melting heart rebels. It is separated from you and it cannot be cheerful. Love is a sort of insanity and everything I write savors strongly of it; that you return it is the best proof of your madness also. I tell you my Betsey, you are negligent; you do not write me often enough. Take more care of my happiness, for there is nothing your Hamilton would not do to promote yours."

ARCHÆOLOGY IN MISSOURI

Among the several valuable archæological collections west of the Alleghanies, that of the Missouri Historical Society at St. Louis is of special interest. Begun some sixteen years ago, primarily to bring together an adequate representation of the finds within two hundred and fifty miles of St. Louis, it has gradually become one of the best cabinets of the country. There are about sixteen thousand pieces in the museum, selections from five times that number, the rule of choice being to retain those least injured, regardless of workmanship and material.

The managers have had *chipped stone* chiefly in view; but in forming a large collection it is practically impossible to keep within one region and to limit in gathering to a single class. Almost every class of objects known to American archæology is represented to some extent; and numerous localities, as far east as the Hudson, and south to Louisiana and Florida, have furnished about one-sixth of

the total number of specimens. Four thousand pieces may be summarily scheduled as follows : Implements variously denominated *axes*, *celts*, *skinners*, *fleshers*, etc., six hundred ; probably as fine an exhibit as is to be seen anywhere. *Hematites*, things made of iron ore, sixty-five ; discoidal stones, two hundred. The many other objects usually found in museums number twenty-seven hundred, among which are two *metates* (Mexican name for a certain corn-grinding contrivance) *found in Missouri*.

Aboriginal *ficile ware* comprises some four hundred pieces, pottery chiefly from regions south of St. Louis—an excellent beginning for a grand collection ; and even in its incompleteness not surpassed by many in the country. It contains one enormous pan thirty-six inches in diameter. *Chipped stone*, of which it remains to speak, includes about twelve thousand examples—a noble collection and most creditable to the society which has formed it. Although not *complete* in the restricted senses the term is used in this museum, even for the region it purports specially to represent, probably there is nothing like it. It bears witness to long endeavor, unwearied patience, and honest purpose to subserve scientific ends. The grand flint implements special to this region are represented as nowhere else : a series of knives, a dozen eighteen inches to ten inches long ; delicate ceremonial flints like that in the hand of the figure on the engraved Georgia shell ; huge leaf-shaped objects eighteen inches long by six wide ; many smaller, called *spades* from supposed use, polished at one end by long wear ; circular notched and handled hoes and triangular hoes ; large pieces of wrought chert, often denominated *cultivators* ; and rude, flaked axes are here on view. Besides spears proper, twelve inches long and downward, multiform in shape, are found in the cases literally by the hundred. Suffice it to say, that some sixty different forms are shown among this chipped stone, many new to this writer and which it would seem have not been figured or described.

The term *complete*, as above mentioned, is used in a special sense in the society's museum. What is meant is this : Classification *by form* obtains in this collection. An implement, say a spear, the nearest perfect and most specialized among those of a given form, is selected as the *type* of that form. Examples in regular gradation, from the largest known to the smallest of the same form, are arranged in order ; in like manner its variations or sub-varieties ; then specimens, if such there be, which illustrate how it runs into or affiliates with a kindred form. The cabinets, some thirty in number, are plain in design but of the best material, workmanship, and finish, furnished with plate glass, and elegant as furniture, appear to be well adapted to the purposes to which they are devoted. Whether the people of St. Louis are alive to the treasure they already possess in this incipient museum of their historical society, this writer does not know. But it is certain that if they foster it on the lines along which it has grown so far, they will soon possess what must needs be accounted an honor not alone to their city, but to the entire country.

A. H. S.

NOTES

JEFFERSON'S FIRST INAUGURATION—
 "The sun shone bright on that morning. The senate was convened. . . . Mr. Jefferson had not arrived. He was seen walking from his lodgings, which were not far distant, attended by five or six gentlemen who were his fellow lodgers. Soon afterward he entered, accompanied by a committee of the senate, and bowing to the senate who arose to receive him, he approached a table on which the bible lay and took the oath, which was administered to him by the chief-justice. He was then conducted by the president of the senate to his chair, which stood on a platform raised some steps above the floor; after the pause of a moment or two he arose and delivered that beautiful inaugural address which has since become so popular and celebrated, with a clear, distinct voice, in a firm and modest manner."

The writer of the above paragraph goes on to say that on leaving the chair the President was 'congratulated' by his friends who at once surrounded him, and that "he walked home with two or three of the gentlemen who lodged in the same house." There have been conflicting accounts of this scene, but from my acquaintance with Mr. Rayner in Portland, when his *Life of Thomas Jefferson* was published in 1834, I believe he placed full confidence in the description of the Washington "reminiscent" quoted. H. K.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SLAVERY IN MASSACHUSETTS—In the recent work on *American Christian*

Rulers, by Rev. Edward J. Giddings, appears the following interesting paragraph:

"Slaves were bought and sold in Massachusetts in the time of Samuel Adams. Under the caption, 'Just imported from Africa,' Captain Gwin advertises in the *Boston Gazette* for July 13, 1761, 'A number of prime young slaves from the windward coast, to be sold on board his ship lying at New Boston.' Mr. Adams opposed the system. Previous to the controversies with the mother country he consulted and corresponded with Rev. Dr. Samuel Hopkins of Newport, R. I., and the two had resolved upon a vigorous warfare, through the press, against the African slave trade, but other matters came to hand which engrossed the attention of Mr. Adams. A female slave named *Surry* was about the year 1764 given to Mrs. Adams. On mentioning the gift to her husband, he at once remarked: 'A slave cannot live in my house. If she comes she must be free.' She received her freedom on going into his family, where she lived many years, and where she died in the midst of kind ministrations both to her body and soul."

CULTURE—Culture taken literally signifies tillage, a process intended to increase the productiveness of soil. Education meant originally a leading forth, and as applied to the mind it is synonymous with development. In common parlance, however, culture is used to cover a broader ground than that occupied by school and college. The devotee

of culture esteems knowledge for its own sake less than as a means of growth and refinement. A pedant may be a man of great and accurate learning, but the name which classifies him implies defective culture. He has sense of proportion, and values the exception rather more than the rule. He is great in little things, and excels other scholars in knowing more that is hardly worth learning. The effect of true culture, so far as the intellect is concerned, is to give it the right point of view, and to enable it to distinguish the essential from the unessential conditions of every problem with which it may have to deal. The old-school educators were firmly convinced that Latin, Greek, and mathematics furnished the mind with just the gymnastic exercises requisite for a symmetrical and powerful development.

They were long involved in controversy with the utilitarians, who held that the time of youth should not be wasted in acquiring a learning that could not be made serviceable in the practical work of life. Later on physical science made such vast strides and was brought to bear upon so many questions of the profoundest interest that it was admitted as a necessary part of a liberal education. But there is still a conflict between the exigencies of life and the claims of learning. We would say that it is not the end of culture to make a modern man an ancient, or to make a German more intensely German than he is already, but to develop refined, clear-headed, and able men and women. Whatever study or course of study can secure that result is a sufficient means of culture.—*New Orleans Picayune*.

QUERIES

QUEEN ELIZABETH CIPHER—Did the princess, afterward Queen Elizabeth, when in captivity in the Tower or elsewhere use a padlock as her cipher? Information on this subject is very valuable in an important historical and genealogical inquiry made by Mr. and Mrs. Edward E. Salisbury, New Haven, Conn.

RAPHAEL'S PAINTING — *Editor of Magazine of American History*: In honor of what masterpiece of the great artist did a king rise, and, removing his throne-chair that it might be placed in the best light, exclaim, "Make room for the immortal Raphael"?

EDWARD CURTIS

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

REPLIES

THE BLADENSBURG DUELING GROUND [xxv. 18, 180]—Mr. King in his correction of the account of Graves and Cilley duel which appeared in the January number has himself fallen into a grave error. He is correct in so far as he re-

lieves George W. Jones, a member of congress from Tennessee, from having acted as Mr. Cilley's second; but he is incorrect when he says that Mr. Cilley's second was George W. Jones, a delegate in congress from what was then, Feb-

ruary 24, 1838, the territory of Iowa, where he has ever since resided.

Mr. Jones was not then, nor did he at any time, represent the territory of Iowa as delegate in congress. The territory of Iowa at that period, February 24, 1838, had no legal existence and did not have until the 4th of July the same year when the territory was organized. General Jones was the delegate in congress from the territory of Wisconsin, and resided at Sinsinawa Mound, about half way between Dubuque and Galena on the southern border of Wisconsin. After the expiration of his term of service as delegate from Wisconsin, he was appointed by Van Buren as surveyor-general for Iowa and lived at Dubuque, where he has ever since resided, and upon the admission of Iowa he became one of its senators. The first delegate in congress from Iowa was elected September, 1838, and was W. W. Chapman, recently deceased at Portland, Oregon.

General Jones has recently published a full and interesting account of that frightful tragedy, which did so much toward making dueling odious among the American people.

T. S. PARVIN

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA.

THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY [xxv 244]—*Editor of the Magazine of American History*: In reading your March number I discovered an interesting contribution from Mr. William Abbott—lines written at the time and in commemoration of General Jackson's great victory over the British at New Orleans 8th January, 1815. Mr. Abbott, however, has omitted one, the second verse of

the stanzas, by accident or otherwise, which I desire to supply. The whole should go down the tide of time together. Here it is:

"We are a hardy, freeborn race, each man to fear no stranger;
Whate'er the game we join in chase, despising toil and danger.
And if a daring foe annoys, whate'er our strength or force is,
We'll show him that the Kentucky boys are Alligator horses.
Oh, Kentucky, we are hunters of Kentucky."

It would be interesting to know the name of the author. H. D. TUCKER
ROCHESTER, N. Y.

PENNSYLVANIA FAMILIES [xxv. 179]
—*Editor*: I notice a request for information about the Antes, Bausman, and Beltzhoover families of Allegheny county, Pennsylvania. The Bausmans are the descendants of John Michael Baussmann, born in Hesse-Darmstadt, Germany, in the year 1712, who landed at Philadelphia in the year 1748. He came to this country in a ship called the *Judith* of which James Tait was master. He settled at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he was master of the barracks and died in 1791. Four of his sons, Jacob, Nicholas, Frederick, and Lorenzo, moved to Allegheny, then Washington county, in the year 1783. They were among the founders of the Smithfield street German church and eventually became very wealthy men. Jacob Bausman married Elizabeth Saam, daughter of an English soldier at Fort Pitt. A. L. Bausman, D.D.S., A. C. Bausman of Minneapolis, and William Bausman, a well-known San Francisco editor, are some of his descendants;

also Rev. Joseph Bausman of Rochester Pennsylvania. John Nicholas Bausman married Anna Maria Antes of Westmoreland county, and when she died he married her sister Dorothea. Four children survived him, Dr. Frederick Bausman, Squire R. A. Bausman, Michael, and Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. Peter Patterson of Sioux City, Iowa. The descendants of Dr. Frederick Bausman who married Sarah Beltzhoover reside at present in Virginia. Captains R. A. Bausman of St. Louis and Isaac W. Bausman of Wyoming are among the descendants of Squire Bausman. Some of his descendants still reside in Pittsburgh. It is not known whether Michael married or not, as he left Pennsylvania at an early day. Nothing is known of the descendants of Frederick, the third son of Michael Bausman, unless they are the Bausmans of Allegheny City, Pennsylvania. The descendants of Lorenzo Bausman reside in the southern counties of Virginia. The Antes family of Westmoreland county is supposed to have died out. The Beltzhoovers are the descendants of Melchior Beltzhoover, who came to this country in 1755, and still reside in Allegheny county.

J. L. BAUSMAN

St. Louis, Mo.

DISASTERS ON LONG ISLAND SOUND [xxiv. 150.]—*Editor of Magazine*: In your August number, 1890, an inquiry was made in relation to the loss of the steamer *Lexington* on Long Island Sound, January 1, 1840. The writer says Captain Hannah, master of the bark *Chester*, of Portland, Maine, was one of those saved, "on a floating bale of cotton." I have to-day read the article in question to Mr. David Crowley, who is one of the survivors, and he asks me to say that no such person as Captain Hannah was saved; also, that the only passenger saved was Captain Chester Hillard of Norwich, Connecticut, master of the packet ship *Mississippi*, plying between New York and New Orleans, who having been recently in New York was on his way home to Norwich.

Mr. Crowley was saved "on a floating bale of cotton" after suffering terrible hardships. He retained the bale until the war of Rebellion, when he sold it for \$1.65 per pound. This transaction he has always regretted. Mr. Crowley is a hale, hearty old man, and is now and has been for many years in the employ of the Stonington Line, as baggage-master.

A. A. FOLSOM

BOSTON, MASS.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a special meeting held February 24, it was decided to purchase a site for the new building in Eighth avenue (Central Park West) between Seventy-sixth and Seventy-seventh streets. It has a frontage on the avenue of two hundred and four feet four inches, with a depth of one hundred and twenty-five feet on each street, the north side being opposite Manhattan square. The society will pay \$286,500 for the ten lots.

The stated meeting for March was held on Tuesday evening the 3d instant. Hon. John A. King presided. A very interesting paper entitled "The Story of An Old American Town: Castine, Maine," was read by Mr. Edward I. Stevenson, who said among other things in relation to the early history of the place: "In the links of the story we behold first of all Champlain gazing at its woods for the first time. Its soft French name calls up to the poetry-reader's mind Mr. Longfellow's fanciful 'Tales of a Wayside Inn;' and the heroic figure of the Baron de St. Castin, who named it, looms up like some mythical type, and says, 'This is my town.' Recalling Mr. Whittier's 'Mogg Megone,' we watch the hollow-eyed French Jesuit, in his black robe, hurrying about, eager to baptize a dirty Tarratiné Indian; or to be burned as a martyr by him! Dutch pirates come sailing up Castine's Bay, and then sail away, leaving a robbed and terrified community behind them, and little else. Sir John Moore, a dashing young soldier, with his dog in the Peninsular War far ahead of him, walks

past us. We hear the guns of Revolutionary skirmishers; we watch one fort after another go up, one fleet after another maneuvering in Castine's harbor. We have the worthy General Wadsworth routing the British invaders and being routed by them. We find the Revolutionary activity subsiding as the nation's liberty is achieved. And, last, there are no more shapes from the land of shadows; but, instead, sunny fields and peaceful farms and rural prosperity, with only a great fort's green glacis to make one believe that war ever rolled its thunders in so tranquil a spot as Castine is, for peace to enjoy and to adorn."

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting January 20, 1891, Vice-President General A. C. McClurg in the chair. After the reading of the reports from the secretary and treasurer, the president, Edward G. Mason, was introduced, and entertained the society and its guests by the reading of his paper, entitled "The Story of James Willing: An Episode of the Revolution." Samuel H. Kerfoot, in moving a vote of thanks, remarked that he did so not as a mere matter of form, but on account of the intrinsic merit of the paper read, recalling as it did, and placing it in a new light, a most interesting event in Revolutionary times, to which Illinois was directly related.

THE OHIO ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its sixth annual meeting February 20, the vice-president,

Dr. Moore, in the chair. The proposition to change the name of the society to the "Ohio Historical Society" was considered and it was decided to make the change. The officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, F. C. Sessions; vice-presidents, Dr. Moore and General R. Brinkerhoff; treasurer, S. S. Rickley; secretary, A. A. Graham. The annual dinner which followed was largely attended, and the speech-making included addresses by Hon. Charles P. Griffin on "The Maumee Valley in History;" by Hon. D. D. Taylor on "The Old Moravian Missions in Ohio;" and General Brinkerhoff on "Ohio at the Columbian Exposition."

NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—At the recent monthly meeting of this society, held in the Berkeley Lyceum, General James Grant Wilson in the chair, Dr. George Stewart, F.R.G.S., president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, read a most interesting paper on the first administration of Louis de Buade, Count Frontenac. He traced the early career of the distinguished soldier and statesman, and described briefly the *salons*, the court beauties of King Louis' reign, and the men and women who swayed the destinies of France. The count's mission to the new world was then touched upon, Dr. Stewart showing how eager the governor was to build up the country and spread the spirit of colonization and Christianity among the people. He called a convention in 1672, seeking to inaugurate a monarchical form of government, and, with much pomp, created three estates of his realm, the clergy,

nobles, and commons. The king, however, opposed the scheme, and Frontenac was sharply reprimanded for his pains. He possessed wonderful power over the Indians, knowing well when to apply blandishments, and when to threaten and punish. The lecturer gave several examples of Frontenac's method of conciliating the savage tribes which infested the districts, and gave a graphic account of the great Indian council at Fort Frontenac, and the comparative facility with which the governor turned the tables on the Iroquois, and forced them from antagonism into submission. The lecturer presented the society with a large photograph of the massive bronze statue of Frontenac, the work of Mr. Hebert, a Canadian sculptor of fine ability, which was placed last autumn in one of the niches in front of the Parliament buildings in Quebec.

THE NEW CENTURY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Marietta, Ohio, held its second annual banquet on the 6th of February 1891, on which occasion many brilliant speeches were made touching upon the historic features of that interesting region of country. A monumental stone is about to be erected in memory of the men and women, the real founders of the state of Ohio, who settled Marietta in 1788, braving the perils of life in the wilderness, and the terrors and hardships of Indian war, with provisions so scarce that starvation stared them in the face. The stone will mark the site of Campus Martius, the principal fortification in those early times, the ground where it stood remaining almost unoccupied and very beautiful in situation. It is a most

fitting spot for the proposed memorial, and the New Century Historical Society is to be congratulated on the good work it has achieved.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY listened to the reading of an excellent paper at its January meeting by Howard L. Osgood on "The One Hundred Acre Tract," and committees were appointed to take into consideration the placing of historical tablets throughout the city of Rochester, and to preserve old landmarks. At the February meeting Hon. Charles E. Fitch read a paper on "Interviewing a Statesman," in which he told how in a dream he discussed political questions with Henry Clay; Judge J. M. Howell of Canandaigua read the "Legend of Canandaigua Lake;" and George S. Conover of Geneva spoke of the generosity of the State of New York when several states were disputing for its territory, each holding a royal grant for the same. Among the gifts presented to the society was a collection of sermons preached by the clergy of early Rochester, several pamphlets by Henry O'Reilly, and a piece of the Charter Oak.

THE WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting February 11, on which occasion, after the reading of several interesting reports, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, A. T. McClintock, LL.D.; vice-presidents, Rev. H. L. Jones, Hon. E. B. Coxe, Captain Calvin Parsons, Hon. L. D. Shoemaker; corresponding secretary, Sheldon Reynolds; recording secretary; Joseph D. Coons; treasurer, A.

H. McClintock; librarian, Hon. J. R. Wright; historiographer, George B. Kulp.

THE VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A meeting was held on the 7th of February in the Westmoreland Club-house, Richmond, Vice-President William Wirt Henry in the chair. A large number of gifts were reported, and the following gentlemen elected members of the society: John Elfretts Watkins, United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.; Hon. Thomas J. Semmes, New Orleans, La.; Edwin W. James, Norfolk, Va.; George William Harris, librarian of Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.; Charles V. Meredith, Richmond, Va.; Alexander F. Robertson, Staunton, Va. Hon. E. S. Mallory of Jackson, Tenn., was elected a life-member.

Mr. Brock reported that the printing of the current publication of the society, the second and concluding volume of the "History of the Virginia Convention of 1788," had been completed.

THE SAUGATUCK HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Westport, Connecticut, held its annual meeting on the 7th of February, at which time the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: president, Horace Staples; vice-presidents, William J. Jennings, William H. Saxton, Captain William G. Staples; secretary, Rev. James E. Coley; librarian, William Gray Staples; treasurer, Dr. L. T. Day. February 23, the society held a public meeting and papers were read by President Horace Staples, Captain William G. Staples, Rev. H. S. Still, and a scholarly review of Major Powell's lectures on "Course of Human Progress" by Mr. H. S. Pratt.

BOOK NOTICES

THE HISTORY OF EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA. From the earliest times to the present. 1739-1885. By REV. UZAL W. CONDIT, A.M. Illustrated. Royal 8vo, pp. 500. Published by George W. West, Easton, Pennsylvania.

Easton is a most interesting old town, founded in the forests when our country was new, in a locality chosen for its beauty and convenience, and for the abundance of game which roamed through the rich valleys and along the mountain sides. It grew into a place of importance, and took a prominent part in the old French and Indian wars, and was the scene of the great Indian treaties in 1756, 1757, 1758, of which a full history is given in this handsome volume before us. In the war of the Revolution Easton was active and useful, and at one time the headquarters of General Sullivan in the organization of his famous expedition against the Indians at Wyoming. An equally prominent part was taken by Easton in the war of 1812 and in the late civil war.

In the year 1753 the people of Easton contemplated building a court-house, and there was great opposition to the scheme. It was said that the hills were so high and steep as to endanger one's life to approach the village. The inhabitants "cast lots" in those days for almost everything, from church privileges to doing guard duty against the Indians, but they do not seem to have been willing to run any risks of that sort about the court-house. They built a jail, however, with more celerity. Courts could be accommodated at private houses, but desperate criminals could not be confined in log cabins. In 1755 a school-house, which was also to be used as a church, was built of logs, with one large and three small rooms. There were forty families living in the place at that date. Since then the little hamlet has budded and blossomed into a great busy city, and the steps of its progress and its present condition are fully presented in this volume. The author has evidently been untiring in his labor of collecting valuable material, and has exercised great care and discrimination in the selection of authoritative data. The part of the work touching upon the early history of Easton is exceedingly picturesque, and much the most interesting portion of the book for the general reader, but the extended history of the churches, common schools, Lafayette college, the city government, and the commercial interests of the place render it of peculiar local consequence, and we do not see how any resident of Easton or of the county can afford to miss it from their tables. The publisher has brought it out in excellent style,

and we commend it heartily to all the good libraries of the country. It is invaluable as a work of reference.

SOCIALISM NEW AND OLD. By WILLIAM GRAHAM, M.A. [The International Scientific Series.] 12mo, pp. 416. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1891.

Few subjects of modern times attract more attention from the thinking than the subject of this book. Socialism is in the air of the century, and in a vague way every one feels that it is a topic of importance. There is much scientific discussion of socialism and more unscientific discussion. The former has generally a professorial emanation; the latter, a proletarian or a wicked one. The work before us is from the hands of the professor of political economy and jurisprudence at Queen's college, Belfast. In common with most of his class the author treats the subject with a degree of respect born of long contemplation *in abstracto*, which would be oftentimes amusing were it not appalling when he is discussing some of the most pernicious of theories yet born of human brains.

The historical part of the text of this book is no doubt excellent, and conveys to the reader a very clear idea of the literary manifestations of socialism. In the chapter on "Socialism before the Nineteenth Century" the Jewish and Catholic manifestations are treated of, and there is a view of the conceptions of Hobbes and Locke, whence the author passes to Rousseau, the great apostle of what we may call artificial socialism. This chapter is lucid and instructive, but fails, we think, to distinguish clearly the difference between the concrete and the abstract phases of the subject as exhibited in the Pentateuch and the Gospels. There is a moral side of the text in both these sources which refers only to morality and admits of no such precise application to the economic problems of the modern state. Chapter III. on "Modern Socialism, from St. Simon to Karl Marx," is a very clever discussion of modern theories, but would have been the better for emphatic allusion to Bentham, the arch-father of all the modern legislative panaceas for social ills.

We have not space to follow in detail the plan of this excellent book, which will prove a mine of instruction to the general reader. We know of no other work which surpasses it in a candid and lucid discussion of a large subject. With Chapter IX., on "Practicable State Socialism," begins what we may call the didactic part of the treatise. This part is moderate in tone and suggestive; in short, altogether good and worthy of the prior chapters of the volume. In pro-

nouncing this opinion we would say, without any reference to Professor Graham, that the calm and glacial tone of most professorial discussions of modern socialism is somewhat disturbing to the common mind. To admit that communism inevitably tends to the destruction of monogamy, and then scientifically to discuss communism as a possibility, is somewhat shocking. To calmly survey the possible destruction of that wonderful institution the private family, with its touching incidents; even to contemplate its conversion into something public or something different—all this is a characteristic of scientific treatises on socialism.

Is it not time that some vigorous practical mind should think it worth while to give reply to the claims of the socialists? Should not more denounce the vice in socialist theories in plain speech as wicked, anarchical, and impossible? We hold as firmly as any socialist that labor must be ennobled; but, depend upon it, it will ennoble itself ultimately as sure as the tide serves. Already the modern joint-stock corporation, which the professors and socialists regard only to decry, points to the only practical solution of coöperation. The time will no doubt come when labor and capital will be compelled to divide the stock in every great undertaking on decent and orderly plans, leaving the grand institutions—the family, private property, and individual liberty—intact. Human society is a normal growth, invariable in its action as a vegetable growth. But legislation cannot generate a growth; it can only cultivate it, or thwart it.

In England, where land is scarce, orderly legislation can safely be depended on to correct an evil which has no existence in America where every industrious family may if they will own a farm. In America the most vulgar and ridiculous plutocracy the world has ever yet seen has no doubt been fostered by legislation, and grown rich on indiscriminate charters and legislative privilege. But this is an anomaly, which the greatest body of intelligent, small proprietors of private property the world has ever yet seen may be depended on to cure ultimately without resort to the crimes of the socialists, and while preserving all that is sacred in human institutions. But it is a paradox to call such curative legislation state socialism. If it is, most legislation is state socialism and ever has been. While commending this book before us we say, away with the so-called science and hideous phantom of socialism and its inevitable concomitant slavery, with the apostles of socialism for task-masters. Remember that in any aspect, pure legitimate socialism means no family home, no privacy, no individual property; it means back to the blackest night of deepest barbarism. Do not confuse humanitarian legislation with socialism. Pure socialism is destructive of some fundamental existing institution—this is its

characteristic. We suggest that a classification of the various theories of the socialistic gentry has no greater claim to be regarded as part of the science of sociology than a treatise on the black art, or on the deftest modes of pocket picking. We have reviewed the book before us a little on the principle of the artists in black and white, leaving many things to be filled in by an artistic imagination. What we mean to say, in short, is, that Professor Graham's book is a good book, but on an inferior subject, and one taken much too seriously for the general good.

THE YEAR BOOK OF THE HOLLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, 1888-89.

Edited by the secretary, GEORGE W. VAN SICLEN. Octavo, pp. 268. Published by the Society, New York, 1891.

This quaint-looking, profusely illustrated volume in orange covers contains the circumstantial account of the tour of about fifty members of the New York Holland Society to the Netherlands, "who made the journey of twice thirty-five hundred miles solely from a desire to see the land of their ancestors." These sentimental pilgrims conversed in genealogical parlance during their voyage across the Atlantic, according to the statements of their chroniclers, each becoming intensely interested in his own forefathers, with a languid concern about the ancient relatives of the rest of the party, and arrived at their destination in merry mood. They were warmly welcomed by their Dutch cousins, and entertained during their sojourn in Holland with lavish hospitality. The volume opens with a sketch of the first part of the expedition by Mr. Sheldon T. Viele of Buffalo, who says: "It was only nine days in all, but it gave us experiences and pleasures that will ever remain in our memories. Of Holland and its people too much cannot be said in praise. Thrift, prosperity, and commercial activity are everywhere apparent. A noticeable indication of this prosperity was the fact, that of the many children we saw, both in the cities and the country districts, all were comfortably clad and none were barefooted. When the children are thus cared for, all is well with the nation."

The second part of the narrative of the journey is by Rev. J. Howard Suydam, D.D., who describes in glowing colors the generous courtesies bestowed upon the travelers by citizens, societies, and municipalities. He gives the details of ovations, processions, and banquets, including many of the addresses and speeches on these memorable occasions. The volume also contains a graphic record of the annual dinner of the Holland Society in New York, on the 8th of January, 1889, with many of the brilliant utterances on that evening, to-

gether with admirably executed steel portraits of several of the speakers. Following this is a brief account of the Holland dinner in Albany, on the 14th of February, 1889, and a complete list of the officers and members of the New York Society, occupying twenty-six pages.

THE VIKINGS IN WESTERN CHRISTENDOM, A. D. 789 to A. D. 888. By C. F. KEARY, M.A., F.S.A. With maps and tables. 12mo, pp. 571. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891.

This ably written volume is concerned with that period in the history of the Scandinavian peoples when they were growing, but had not fully grown, into nationalities, and when therefore their true national history had not begun. The author tells us that the Viking age of the Northern folk differs from the corresponding epochs in the history of other nations, in that it is illuminated by a faint ray of real history lent from the pages of contemporary but alien chroniclers of Christian Europe. He further says: "All histories (almost) of Scandinavian lands begin with prehistoric antiquities, which are not history. Or it may be that the historians of these countries have not liked to realize how far down in time their history begins; so that prehistoric discoveries or unauthenticated traditions preserved in the sagas of a later age have been brought in to fill up what is for history in the proper sense of the word a mere blank."

The work is interesting from the very first page. "Heathendom" is the title of the opening chapter, and the reader is at once engaged in the study of the old Roman roads, in the dim dawn of history so to speak, the cloud gate of time having rolled aside. "The Character of the Vikings" is one of the specially interesting portions of the volume. The Scandinavian people were beginning to make themselves known; they had learned the use of the sail from the Romans, but were slow in changing the general construction of their boats. They ventured upon unknown waters in very unsafe crafts. Their military achievements were remarkable, and they possessed vast courage and many fierce qualities. They were addicted to practical jokes, some of which as related by the author were extraordinary. "The amassing of treasure had for the Viking a half religious character, which it is impossible for us in these days to understand." The Vikings roved about on the wilderness of waters and at last found Ireland, about 807, and later on aimed at something like a definite conquest of that country. Nothing of their history or their birthplace was known to the Christian chroniclers of the time. As early as 843 they had established something like a Norse kingdom over fully one-half of Ireland.

They first came like the swallows as summer visitants, and occupied themselves with raids and in plunderings; then they came to stay. It was to the Norsemen that Ireland owed the beginning of a fleet, and of such commercial prosperity as she has ever had.

The book is crowded with information gathered from many sources, and the style in which the material is presented to the reader is charming. We cannot here follow the Vikings in their visits to the countries of ancient Europe, but the theme is one of peculiar interest. Genealogical and chronological tables are arranged at the close of the volume, which is supplied with a good index.

BIOGRAPHY OF FRANCES SLOCUM.

The Lost Sister of Wyoming. A complete Narrative of her Captivity and Wanderings among the Indians. By JOHN F. MEGINNESS. 8vo, pp. 238. Williamsport, Pennsylvania. 1891.

There is nothing in the history of American Indian life more pathetic, romantic, and impressive than the story of the captivity, experiences, wanderings, and death of Frances Slocum. The scene of the capture was in the lovely valley of Wyoming, and the time November 2, 1778. The little girl was between four and five years old, and in her subsequent remarkable history there were peculiar developments following her associations with the Indians, notably the loss of her mother tongue and the tenacity with which she clung to the strange people with whom her lot was cast. From the time she was borne away on the shoulders of a stout Indian into the deep forests, shrieking frantically to her mamma for help, no authentic tidings of her reached the family for sixty years, when suddenly a train of circumstances brought to light her whereabouts.

Colonel Meginness presents the thrilling account of her wanderings while in captivity, in her own language, as simply related by herself through an interpreter, after the problem of her identity was settled. She had been twice married and was living happily with her children when found by her friends. Her second husband was a Miami chief, and founded "Deaf Man's Village," where she resided. "She looked like an Indian, talked like an Indian, lived like an Indian, seated herself like an Indian, ate like an Indian, lay down to sleep like an Indian, thought, felt, and reasoned like an Indian; she had no longings for her original home, or the society of her kindred." Yet the author tells us: "There was a moral dignity in her manners entirely above ordinary savage life; her Anglo-Saxon blood had not been tainted by savage touch, but bore itself gloriously amid the

long series of trials through which it had passed. She was the widow of a deceased chief; she was rich; all that abundance and respectability could do for a woman in savage life was hers. Such was the former Frances Slocum of Wyoming, now Maconaquah, the queen of the Miamis." The book is one of intense interest and great value. The facts stated have all been verified in the most careful manner.

CANADIAN STUDIES IN COMPARATIVE POLITICS. By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L. Royal square quarto, pp. 92. Dawson Brothers. Montreal, 1890.

In this work Dr. Bourinot sketches the character of Canadian institutions, draws critical comparisons between the political systems of Canada and the United States, and closes with a chapter entitled "Canada and Switzerland," in which he touches upon many suggestive facts in relation to the political system of Switzerland, from which he thinks conclusions of much value may be drawn for the Canadian people, "who are endeavoring to establish a permanent federation by harmonizing radical difference of race and creed on the sound basis of compromise, conciliation, and justice."

The conspicuous ability with which the author has discussed the themes presented in this volume invests it with more than ordinary interest. The history of Canada is contemporaneous with that of the United States; and developing under the fostering care of England, Canada has been able to survey at a reasonable distance the details of the governmental affairs of her neighbors. The value of such opportunities would seem to be worth noting, and it is to be remembered that within a very few years Canada has made remarkable strides in the path of national progress, through the influence of a political system eminently adapted to stimulate the best energies and expand the thought and intellect of her people. Dr. Bourinot says: "The federal system which now unites the Swiss cantons has many features in common with that of Canada, and especially with that of the United States." He dwells at some length upon the powers of the cantons, and the methods by which the Swiss people assert their rights as free citizens of a pure democracy. We regret that we can only in our limited space briefly call attention to the salient features of this carefully prepared political study. It overflows with instruction, and we cordially commend it to the thoughtful reader of every country. "The student of comparative politics will find much to interest him in the names of the various local divisions, and of the machinery of local administration in the provinces of Canada, since he will see in them many illustrations of the closeness

with which Englishmen everywhere cling, even under modern conditions, to the nomenclature and usages which associate them with the primitive times of English government." Dr. Bourinot believes that the great governing principle of the world in the future is federation, by which all communities, whether of the same or different nationalities, can successfully unite on the basis of great common interests. He says, with much emphasis: "The force of a national sentiment, and the ability of a federal state to fight for union, were shown in the ever memorable civil war in the American republic. Slavery became a subsidiary question as the struggle proceeded, and the preservation of the union was essentially the great motive power that gave strength to the north and west."

THE PACIFIC COAST SCENIC TOUR. By HENRY T. FINCK. With illustrations. 12mo, pp. 309. New York, 1890. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The author of this book declares himself in love with the Pacific coast, because after living on it eleven years at various times, and twelve years on the Atlantic, he finds the scenery grander and the climate more delightful and exhilarating on the western side of our continent than on the eastern; and climate and scenery in his estimation make up fully one-half the sum of human happiness. Scenery, he says, requires some æsthetic culture for its appreciation, but climate affects all alike. Mr. Finck has produced a volume that is exceptionally interesting and informing, and the reader will not be inclined to lay it aside after reading the first chapter until the final page is reached. Beginning with Los Angeles County, both the tourist and the agriculturist have a vividly painted panoramic view prepared for their benefit, leading them through Southern California, over the Mexican border to Santa Catalina island, Santa Barbara and the Yosemite, San Francisco and Chinatown, Portland and its sea-beaches, the Columbia river to Tacoma, Alaska, and Yellowstone Park. Our guide travels with his eyes open, and does not fail to chronicle what he sees. In Southern California he observes that in many cases the large useless hotels built in the small towns have already been secured at a bargain for school buildings. The home of the palms and orange groves is visited, and he tells us about "a cow eating oranges off a tree."

There is such a superabundance of material in the book worthy of mention that we can only pause in our effort to give a glimpse of its varied contents, and commend it, as a whole, to the examination of all who may intend journeying on the Pacific coast, and also, and particularly, to the other half of the human race who expect to stay at home.

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Reserve on Policies at 4%,		\$136,668,368 00
Liabilities other than Reserve,		505,359 82
Surplus,		9,981,233 38
Receipts from all sources,		34,978,778 69
Payments to Policy-Holders,		16,973,200 05
Risks Assumed,	49,188 policies,	160,985,985 58
Risks in force,	206,055 policies,	638,226,865 24

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Real Estate and Bond & Mortgage Loans,	\$76,529,231 72
United States Bonds and other Securities,	51,311,031 54
Loans on Collateral Securities,	8,624,400 00
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	3,556,441 59
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred, etc.,	7,133,256 35
	<u>\$147,154,961 20</u>

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

The business for 1890 shows INCREASE over that of 1889, as follows:

In Assets,	\$10,753,633 18
In Reserve on Policies and Surplus,	10,554,091 94
In Receipts,	3,859,759 07
In Payments to Policy-holders,	1,772,591 67
In Risks Assumed,	4,611 policies, 9,383,502 21
In Risks in force,	23,745 policies, 72,276,931 32

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Payments to Policy-Holders.	Receipts.	Assets.
1884...	\$34,681,420...	\$351,789,285...	\$13,923,062 19...	\$19,095,318 41...	\$103,876,178 51
1885...	46,507,130...	368,981,441...	14,402,049 90...	20,214,954 28...	108,908,967 51
1886...	56,832,719...	393,809,203...	13,129,103 74...	21,137,176 67...	114,181,963 24
1887...	69,457,468...	427,628,933...	14,128,423 60...	23,119,922 46...	118,806,851 88
1888...	103,214,261...	482,125,184...	14,727,550 22...	26,215,932 52...	126,082,153 56
1889...	151,602,483...	565,949,934...	15,200,608 38...	31,119,019 62...	136,401,328 02
1890...	160,985,986...	638,226,865...	16,973,200 05...	34,978,778 69...	147,154,961 20

New York, January 28th, 1891.

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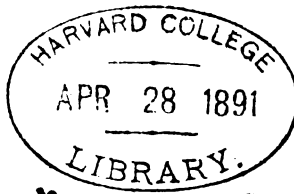


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THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

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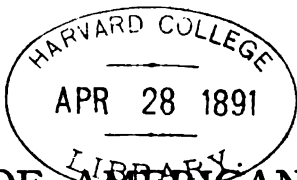
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

MAY, 1891

No. 5

A GREAT PUBLIC CHARACTER

1801-1872

NO period in the world's history has been more remarkable for material progress than that spanned by the life of the great American statesman William H. Seward. The year of his birth was marked by the political whirlwind which placed Thomas Jefferson in the presidential chair of the United States. When Fulton's steamboat first startled the farmers along the Hudson river with the noise of its clumsy machinery and paddle-wheels—the earliest successful application of the steam-engine to ship propulsion—the boy was six years old. The war of 1812 with all its important chain of consequences, the building of the Erie canal, the longest water-way on the globe at the time, the invention of gas, of the railroad, of the magnetic telegraph, the rise of public schools, the establishment of innumerable important and useful institutions, and the foundation of the great newspaper system of the country, were among the swiftly passing events of his maturing individuality. He had for his birthright the intellectual energy of that peculiar age. He was a studious child, and in 1816 entered Union College, then in the zenith of its prosperity under the direction of the able and justly celebrated President Eliphalet Nott, D.D.

From first to last the career of William H. Seward was singularly interesting. His youth was cast among influences which turned his mind toward politics and the law, and years afterward he wrote, "I cannot but think that, at that period when recollections of the Revolution were quite recent, and the world engrossed with the tremendous Napoleonic wars in Europe, men were more intensely earnest than they are now. Of course whatever thoughts I had took their shape and complexion from the debates that I heard on every side." His autobiography covering these years is exceptionally pleasant and instructive reading. But his active experiences in public affairs later on—as governor of New York, as a prominent opponent of slavery in the senate of the United States, and as secretary of state during the turmoils of the late civil war—form a conspicuous feature of our national records.

While young Seward after leaving college was reading law with John Anthon of New York and John Duer and Ogden Hoffman, the celebrated De Witt Clinton was governor of the state, and politics was the chief topic of conversation among all classes of the people. A fierce struggle was going on between the "Bucktails" and the "Clintonians," which finally resulted in a new state constitution framed and adopted in the autumn of 1821. No man in the development of a grand idea for the common good was at this period more abused than De Witt Clinton. The opposing faction styled his prospective canal "a big ditch in which would be buried the treasure of the state, to be watered by the tears of posterity," and interposed every known obstacle in the way of its accomplishment. Mr. Seward was committed through his early training to the support of this faction, but his ideas broadened with his years and opportunities and he actually cast his first vote in 1824 for the Clintonian party. During the same year he first met his lifelong friend Thurlow Weed, under curiously romantic circumstances. He was traveling with some gentlemen in an old-fashioned stage-coach, which suddenly lost a fore-wheel while passing through a street in Rochester, and the passengers were pitched headlong into a muddy ravine. Mr. Seward in describing the accident said, "Among a crowd which quickly assembled one taller and more effective, while more deferential and sympathizing, than the rest lent the party his assistance. This was the beginning of my acquaintance with Thurlow Weed. He had acquired the printer's art through severe trials, was then editing and conducting a newspaper at Rochester, which he printed chiefly with his own hand, and he had already become distinguished for public spirit and eminent ability."

Auburn, the residence of Mr. Seward, was then about as far from New York city in respect to time as Seattle is now. The postage on a letter to Albany was eighteen and three-quarter cents, and to New York City thirty-seven and a half cents. Travelers by stage usually went with their pockets filled with letters which they were conveying for friends to distant places to deliver when their destination should be reached. Frederick W. Seward in his valuable work recently issued in three handsome volumes, entitled *William H. Seward*, has presented much of the personality of his father through the frequent glimpses of his home life, conversation, and correspondence.* The first of these engaging volumes consists of an autobiographical narrative covering the years from 1801 to 1834, followed by a brief memoir and a discriminating selection from many autograph letters

* William H. Seward. By Frederick W. Seward. Vols. I., II., III. 8vo, pp. 832, 650, 720. Profusely illustrated. Derby & Miller, 149 Church street, New York city.

and documents. The second volume continues the story from 1846 to 1861, and throws a most effective light upon the stirring events of that memorable period. In the third volume we have a graphic picture of the secretary of state in the midst of his surroundings at a period when "it required all the wisdom of the wisest and all the bravery of the bravest and all the unrecorded sacrifices of thousands unknown to fame" to prevent destruction of the nation's life.

During no other ten years of American progress did the character of the country change so rapidly and materially as in the decade from 1847



THE OLD STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON.

to 1857. The west was the great disturber of the public repose in its sudden leap into settlement and consequence. Prosperity and population advanced with a celerity unparalleled, while men's opinions were not sufficiently nimble to keep abreast in the race. Problems as well as interests multiplied. The political mind was bewildered with the uncertainties of the situation. At the time William H. Seward was elected to the senate of the United States, in 1849, the city of Washington contained only about forty thousand inhabitants, and in all social and industrial aspects it was a southern town. The streets were unpaved and dusty when they were not muddy, the houses were without numbers and widely scattered,

and the slave-pen and the auction-block were prominent on a public thoroughfare. Mr. Seward was not yet forty-eight years old, his eye was bright, his step elastic, his hair had a brownish tinge but as yet hardly a touch of gray, and his manners were urbane, gentle, and winning.* As he crossed the threshold of the senate chamber and walked up the main aisle to take the oath of office and his senatorial chair, he saw around him such men as Daniel Webster, the tall and courtly figure of Henry Clay, the dark-complexioned, genial Corwin, the portly form of General Lewis Cass, the towering ex-president of Texas, Samuel Houston, the classic head of Colonel Benton, the long, gray locks and sharp, attenuated features of John C. Calhoun, the erect, slender figure of Jefferson Davis, the swarthy, foreign-looking face of Pierre Soulé, the energetic, black-clothed "little giant" Stephen Douglas, and the familiar countenance of his own colleague the silver-haired Daniel S. Dickinson.

Mr. Seward had already passed through scenes of great excitement as governor of his own state, and had won the reputation of a ready and impressive speaker, which he sustained admirably in this new field. His speeches ranged from a practical and statistical analysis of the questions affecting steam navigation, deep-sea exploration, the American fisheries, the duty on rails, and the debt of Texas, to flights of passionate eloquence in favor of extending sympathy to the exiled Irish patriots, and moral support to struggles for liberty like the Hungarian revolution. But his masterly arguments against the admission of slavery into the new states and territories gave him enduring fame. Early in the session he announced the rule which would govern his action in presenting anti-slavery views, a rule from which he did not swerve during his twelve years' senatorial career. He remarked: "I assail the motives of no senator. I am not to be drawn into personal altercations by any interrogatories addressed to me. I acknowledge the patriotism, the wisdom, the purity of every member of this body. I never have assailed the motives of honorable senators in any instance. I never shall. When my own are assailed, I stand upon my own position. My life and acts must speak for me. I shall not be my own defender or advocate."

Early in January, 1850, Henry Clay rose from his chair in the senate chamber, and waving a roll of papers announced with dramatic eloquence to a hushed auditory that he held in his hand a series of resolutions pro-

* The portrait of William H. Seward as he appeared during his senatorial career forms the frontispiece to this number, through the courtesy of the publishers, Derby & Miller. This magazine in July, 1885, published another portrait of Mr. Seward, made while he was secretary of state. We are further indebted to the publishers for other illustrations of this article.

posing an amicable arrangement of all questions growing out of the subject of slavery. This plan of compromise was to admit California, establish territorial governments in New Mexico, and other regions acquired from Mexico, without any provisions for or against slavery; to pay the debt of Texas and fix her western boundary; to declare it "inexpedient" to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but "expedient" to restrict the slave-trade there, and to formally deny that congress had any power to obstruct the slave-trade between the states. Then began that long, historic debate which continued for eight weary



MR. SEWARD'S HOME IN LAFAYETTE SQUARE.

months. Mr. Seward presently found himself the object of suspicions, sneers, and attacks. His record on the slavery question was looked up, and it showed him to have declared for emancipation. He was quickly made to feel the wrath of his opponents whenever he was speaking or even when sitting silently in his chair. On one occasion a senator rose and in a loud voice read this passage from one of Mr. Seward's former speeches, "Slavery can and must be abolished, and you and I must do it," which produced a genuine sensation.

Mrs. Seward was in the gallery one morning and wrote to her sister that Mr. Seward said "a few words about Austria, which drew upon him

the tornado ; not because," she continued, "they cared what he said, but because one who entertained anti-slavery principles should venture to speak at all. I wish you could have heard the speeches ; that which is published gives you but a faint idea of the violence or vulgarity of that which was spoken. I amused myself by watching its effect upon the different members of the senate. Mr. Seward looked the personification of indifference, with his face turned directly toward the speaker. Henry Clay smiled occasionally at the sallies of wit, which were about like those we hear from the clown at the circus. Daniel Webster looked grave—I saw no muscle of his face relax. The Vice-President was fidgety, occasionally grasping the little mallet with the intention apparently of interrupting the speaker, then relaxing his grasp and leaning back with a hopeless air as though overcome by his pertinacity. Colonel Benton (who, by the way, is one of the finest-looking men in the senate) must have written over half a quire of paper, as he never raised his eyes or checked the motion of his fingers." Rev. Dr. Nott in one of his letters about this time said to Mr. Seward, "I am glad to see you do not lose temper ; that you do not return railing for railing ; but that no array of talent, no manifestation of rage, deters you from speaking and acting as a freeman ought. You stand in no need of my advice, and were I to suppose you did I should only say persevere ; be calm, be courteous, just to the south, but true to your own principles."

Mr. Seward's bold utterances were a constant surprise to the senate and to the public. Letters came from all parts of the country asking for copies of his speeches, and when he was finally persuaded to print them in pamphlets, such was the pressure of the demand for them that the editions frequently ran up into hundreds of thousands. In one of his letters to Thurlow Weed he said, "Did it ever fall to the lot of any man in such a conjuncture of his own fame and interests to fall into the senate of the United States in such a national and legislative crisis as this? My entrance into the executive office in Albany bewildered me, but that experience was nothing compared with my trials here. In both cases, however, I have enjoyed your aid, and in both the malignity of adversaries has done for me more than I could do for myself."

His dissent from such honored leaders as Henry Clay and Daniel Webster brought upon Mr. Seward the censure of many of his own party. His vivid description of what a civil war in the United States would be, and his prediction that it would inevitably bring sudden and violent emancipation, attracted less attention than it would have done could it have been realized at the time that the scenes portrayed would ever

actually occur. He wrote to Thurlow Weed March 15, 1850, "I have just read your note, and of course I am satisfied that the occasion for the difference between Mr. Webster's views and my own was an unfortunate one. But it was there and had to be met. The first element of political character is sincerity. In any event, this question is to continue through this year and longer. We know which class of opinion must gain and which must lose strength. Remember that my dissent on the fugitive slave question alone would have produced the same denunciation if I had gone with Mr. Webster. This thing is to go on to an end near a revolution. While it is going on, could I with consistency or safety be less bold or firm? After it shall be over, could I endure that the slightest evidence of irresolution should have been given on my part?"

Mr. Seward's plea for California, which the objections raised to her admission to the Union by Calhoun and others inspired, was a brilliant piece of eloquence. He began by saying: "Four years ago California, a Mexican province, scarcely inhabited and quite unexplored, was unknown even to our desires, except by a harbor, capacious and tranquil, which only statesmen then foresaw would be useful in the commerce of a far distant future." Sketching her unparalleled growth into a state, asking admission to the family of states, Mr. Seward continued: "Yes. Let California come in. Every new state, whether she come from the east, or from the west; every new state, coming from whatever part of the continent she may, is always welcome. But California, that comes from a clime where the west dies away into the rising east; California, that bounds at once the empire and the continent; California, the youthful queen of the Pacific, in her robes of freedom, gorgeously inlaid with gold, is doubly welcome."

At this time, as we all know, the anti-slavery men were a powerless minority, and the facts and philosophy of the situation in connection with subsequent events invest the slight, graceful figure of the senator from New York, which towered so high in the midst of the assembled statesmen, with a halo of light, and we begin to understand the secret of his peculiar power. He was never ultimately obtrusive with his clear-cut and positive opinions, or hesitant when discussion was appropriate, while his animated countenance at all times revealed his firm faith in his own foresight.

His private letters from Washington during the stormy twelve years of his senatorial service present the man and measures of the period as in a mirror, in clear outline. Judicious extracts from these have been made by his son, for which the country will owe him a debt of gratitude. In 1859 Mr. Seward visited Europe, and his long and closely written

correspondence described the incidents of each day's travel. He attended at the opening of parliament in the house of lords, and listened attentively to the queen's speech, saying: "She read it sitting, and read it beautifully. The scene was a very brilliant one. The figures were the queen in royal attire, with the great officers of state in their robes, the bishops in their robes and mitres, the judges in wigs and robes, the lords in scarlet robes, and the peeresses in magnificent costumes, all arranged with the art of a tableau." The next day Mr. Seward was at the queen's ball, and tells us: "The queen danced gayly and joyously many hours." He went to Scotland, journeyed on the continent, being entertained at the European courts and by representative public characters in all countries; passed some time in Italy, sailed over the blue Mediterranean to Egypt, and went through the vale of Sharon, up to Jerusalem and down the Jordan. After an absence of eight months he returned home in December, 1859, and found the whole country in a ferment. He resumed his seat in the senate early in January, 1860.

The exciting events of that year are familiar to the American public. Mr. Seward was styled the "great arch-agitator" by the southern journals, from one of the most prominent of which the following passage may be quoted: "Unlike others who are willing to follow in the wake of popular sentiment, Mr. Seward leads. He stands a head and shoulders above them all. He marshals his forces and directs the way. The abolition host follows. However we may differ from William H. Seward, we concede to him honesty of purpose, and the highest order of talent. He takes no half-way grounds. He does nothing by halves. Bold, fearless, talented, and possessed of all the requirements of a great political leader, turning neither to the right nor to the left, gifted with a self-possession possessed by few men, he listens to the assaults of his enemies with the most perfect *nonchalance*, and receives the warmest greetings of his friends with a wonderful composure. He has fought us at every step, disputed every inch of ground. He is at once the greatest and most dangerous man in the government."

Mr. Seward's great speech for the admission of Kansas into the Union was graphically described by Henry B. Stanton in the *New York Tribune*, who said: "The audience filled every available spot in the senate galleries, and overflowed into all the adjacent lobbies and passages, crowding them with throngs eager to follow Mr. Seward's argument, or even to catch an occasional sentence or word. It was on the floor itself that the most interesting spectacle was presented. Every senator seemed to be in his seat. Hunter, Davis, Toombs, Mason, Hammond, Slidell,

Clingman, Benjamin, and Brown paid closest attention to the speaker. Crittenden listened to every word. Douglas affected to be self-possessed, but his nervousness of mien gave token that the truths now uttered awakened memories of the Lecompton contest, when Lecompton, Seward, and Crittenden, the famous triumvirate, led their allies in their attacks on the administration. The members of the house streamed over to the north wing of the Capitol, almost in a body, leaving Mr. Regan of Texas to discourse to empty benches while Seward held his levee in the senate.

His speech was upon the problem awaiting solution by the whole



INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

body of our people. It was the utterance of a man of sharply defined opinions pronounced twenty years ago, then finding feeble echoes, but which have been reiterated until they have become the creed and rallying cry of a party on the eve of assuming the control of the national government. His exposition of the relation of the Constitution to slavery contained in a few lucid sentences all that is valuable upon that subject in Marshall, Story, and Kent. The historic sketch of parties and politics, and the influence of slavery upon both from the rise of the Missouri compromise onward to its fall, exhibited all of Hallam's fidelity to fact, lighted up with the warm coloring of Bancroft. The episodal outline of

the Kansas controversy and of the Dred Scott *pronunciamento* have never been compressed into words so few and weighty. Nothing could be more felicitous than his invitation to the south to come to New York and proclaim its doctrines from Lake Erie to Sag Harbor, assuring its champions of safe conduct in their raid upon his constituents; while the suggestion that if the south would allow republicans the like access to its people, the party would soon cast as many votes below the Potomac as it now does north of that river, was one of the happiest retorts, whose visible effect upon senators must have been seen to be appreciated. Finally this speech closed by an exposition alike original, sincere, and hearty, of the manifold advantages of the Federal Union, the firm hold it has upon the people, and the certainty that it will survive the rudest shocks of faction."

Mr. Seward's prominent position in the republican party made him the most conspicuous candidate for the next presidential nomination. The memorable Chicago convention met on the 16th of May, 1860, and although Mr. Seward received one hundred and seventy-three votes in the first ballot against one hundred and two given to Mr. Lincoln, the latter was eventually nominated. Mr. Seward soon afterward canvassed the western states in behalf of Mr. Lincoln, telling the young men of the country that if it had devolved upon him to select from all the men in the United States a president to whom he would confide the standard of the cause of freedom against slavery, that man would have been Abraham Lincoln. Mr. Seward was everywhere received with enthusiasm. In Kansas honors innumerable were accorded him. At Atchison, for instance, the streets were filled with arches, one of which, formed of oak-boughs, bore the inscription, "Welcome to Seward, the defender of Kansas and of Freedom." As the canvass progressed the greatness of the crisis grew more manifest. The leading men of each political organization were speaking to excited audiences in every part of the land. Douglas himself was traveling from point to point, earnestly advocating his own principles. Breckinridge had the leading political orators of the south almost unitedly in his service. Then came the election and its results.

President Lincoln made Mr. Seward secretary of state, which department was then located in the old two-story brick building that stood on ground now occupied by the northern end of the treasury department. The two rooms in the north-eastern corner of the second floor were usually occupied by the secretary—one for study, the other for receiving visitors. The building was of plain drab color, with no ornamentation save a portico of six white columns on the northern side. On the morning after his ap-

pointment Mr. Seward quietly entered and took his chair, summoning Mr. Hunter, in whose charge the department had been left on the retirement of Judge Black. Mr. Hunter, originally appointed by John Quincy Adams, had been in the department ever since then as chief clerk or assistant secretary. His life had been devoted to its service; he was its memory and guiding hand, while successive presidents and secretaries came and passed away. Mr. Seward made inquiry as to how many of the clerks were loyal to the Union, and every disunion sympathizer was promptly dismissed. He made no inquiry into their politics, but their stay in the department was to depend upon their fidelity in the discharge of their official duties. No case of disloyalty subsequently occurred in this branch of the government, and the same incumbents have continued in place from that day to this, such vacancies only being filled that have occurred through death, resignation, or promotion. One day during his first week in office Mr. Seward asked his son to provide him with a blank-book, remarking that as the epoch would probably be one of historic importance, he would begin to keep a diary. A suitable book was obtained and laid upon his table. On the following morning he came out of his room with it in his hand, and giving it back, said: "There is the first page of my diary and the last. One day's record satisfies me that if I should every day set down my hasty impressions, based on half information, I should do injustice to everybody around me, and to none more than my most intimate friends." The book still remains with its one written page.

Describing the condition of public affairs at the beginning of the new administration, Mr. Seward said: "It found itself confronted by an insurrectionary combination of seven states practicing insidious strategy to secure eight others. Disaffection lurked, if it did not openly avow itself, in every department and every bureau, in every regiment and in every legation and consulate from London to Calcutta. Of four thousand four hundred and seventy officers in the public service, civil and military, two thousand one hundred and fifty-four were representatives of states where the revolutionary movement was openly advocated and urged, even if not actually organized. No provision had ever been made to anticipate this unprecedented disturbance. The magistracy was demoralized and the laws were powerless."

As important events crowded and overlapped one another, and the pressure of the public danger and its far-reaching consequences kept the president and the cabinet almost constantly in consultation, Mr. Seward wrote to his wife: "I think that care and responsibility will make me forget everybody and everything but the country and its perils. I leave

you in order to discuss national affairs with our minister to France. I have already instructed the ministers to Belgium, Prussia, England, and Austria. I have to fight everybody to get time to study." Presently dire perils began to thicken around the city of Washington in all directions. The enemy held meetings, mustered state troops, stopped trains, burned railway bridges; then came word that railroad communication through Baltimore to the north was entirely cut off and the telegraph ceased to work.

Several humorous incidents of this period of terror are related by Frederick W. Seward. At a meeting of President Lincoln's cabinet, sitting around the historic green table, one of the ministers asked General Scott who had been summoned to the conference: "How are we defended on the river below here? What force is there in Fort Washington at present?" "I think, sir," responded the general with his customary precision, "I think, sir, that Fort Washington could be taken with a bottle of whiskey. At last accounts it was in charge of a single old soldier who is entirely reliable when he is sober."

On one occasion an indefatigable applicant for a place was urging his claims upon the secretary so late in the evening that when the interview terminated and he attempted to leave the department, sentries posted for the night would not allow him to pass out without the countersign. Informed of the dilemma the secretary hastily wrote on a slip of paper, "Let the bearer pass," and signed it. In 1863 this pass was returned to the secretary by the commanding officer at Fredericksburg, who found the holder had traveled on it, up and down, within the lines of the army of the Potomac for two years!

Menaces of disaster seemed to start up on every side, not the least of which was the action of foreign governments. Many of the statesmen of Great Britain, for instance, seemed to think the disruption of the United States would be a benefit to England, the logical consequence of which was sympathy with those who were trying to disrupt it. Mr. Seward learned through the legation of St. Petersburg that an understanding had been effected between the governments of Great Britain and France, that they should take one and the same course on the subject of the American war. From a joint announcement of neutrality it would be only a step to joint mediation or intervention. On the morning of the 15th of June, 1861, a scene occurred at the state department, which though little known to the public had more influence on the fortunes of the Union than a pitched battle. Mr. Seward was sitting at his table reading dispatches when the messenger announced: "The British minister is here to see you, sir, and

the French minister, also." "Which came first?" asked the secretary. "Lord Lyons, sir; but they say they both want to see you together." Mr. Seward instinctively guessed the motive for so unusual a diplomatic proceeding. He paused a moment, then said: "Show them into the assistant secretary's room and I will come in presently."

A few minutes later, as the two ministers were seated side by side on the sofa, the door opened and Secretary Seward entered. Smiling and shaking his head, he said: "No—no—no. This will never do. I cannot see you in that way." The ministers rose to greet him. "True," said one of them, "it is unusual, but we are obeying our instructions." "And, at least," said the other, "you will allow us to state the object of our visit?" "No," said Secretary Seward, "we must start right about it, whatever it is. M. Mercier, will you do me the favor to come to dine with me this evening? There we can talk over your business at leisure. And if Lord Lyons will step into my room with me now, we will discuss what he has to say to me." "If you refuse to see us together," began the French minister, with a courteous smile and shrug—"Certainly, I do refuse to see you together, though I will see either of you separately, with pleasure, here or elsewhere." Thus the interviews were held severally, not jointly, and the papers which they had been instructed to jointly present and formally read to him were left for his informal inspection. A brief examination of them only was necessary to enable him to say courteously but with decision, that he declined to hear them read or to receive official notice of them. He wrote at once to Minister Dayton in Paris, saying: "France proposes to take cognizance of both parties as belligerents, and for some purposes to hold communication with each. . . . This government insists that the United States are one whole, undivided nation, especially so far as foreign nations are concerned; and that France is, by the law of nations and by treaties, not a neutral power between two imaginary parties here, but a friend of the United States." To Minister Adams in London he also wrote at considerable length, defining his position, adding: "This government is sensible of the importance of the step it takes in declining to receive the communication in question."

Of the daily life of Secretary Seward at this time we have many particulars in the admirable work of his son. His residence was in Lafayette square. He used to rise between six and seven, dress and shave with his own hand, and when the family assembled in the breakfast room, he would be found hastily running over the morning papers, throwing each aside as soon as dispatched. "You do not stop to read details of news, governor," said a friend. "I have only time to see whether there is anything that concerns

us in the government. The rest is for others to read," he replied. Breakfast was soon over, unless, as often happened, friends had come from New York by the night train, and availed themselves of the brief opportunity of seeing him before going to the department. Walking thither he was ensconced in his chair generally before the throng of morning visitors began to assemble. A huge pile of opened letters and dispatches that had come by the morning mail lay in a mahogany box at his right hand. A similar box empty at his left was ready to receive them as he marked upon each the disposition he desired to have made of it. Of course the bushels of communications to the secretary of state had already been sifted by the chief clerk of the department."

It would be interesting to quote further if space permitted, to note how cards of visitors who came to confer on public affairs interrupted the examination of correspondence, how the arrival of foreign ministers before noon to interview the secretary about some ship or subject or treaty or policy that was interfered with by the war, and which required careful judgment and prompt action, and the vast amount of other business that passed under his eye and through his hands each day without his ever seeming worried or anxious or flustered with it. He wrote to his daughter, "My occupations are various. I keep on writing dispatches to foreign nations for my regular occupation. But the war brings labors, cares, and duties of a domestic nature upon us all. I am counseling with the cabinet one hour, with the army officers the next, the navy next, and I visit all the troops as fast as they come."

The prominent events of that exciting period have been narrated so often that they need no repetition in these pages. Our readers are familiar with the exigency which led the government to send three unofficial envoys to the courts of Europe, to promote healthful opinions concerning the great cause for which our country was engaged in arms. These private ambassadors were Thurlow Weed, Bishop McIlvaine, and Archbishop Hughes. Agents from the confederacy were already in Europe when they arrived, and Mr. Weed wrote to Secretary Seward presently, December 2, 1861: "The storm in England and France intensifies. The public mind, as I wrote to you, was poisoned in advance. I saw a letter from a high source from London in which it is again said that you want to provoke a war with England for the purpose of getting Canada. This writer asks the correspondent to inquire whether your personal relations with Lord Lyons were unpleasant. . . . You are in a tight place and I pray that you may be imbued with the wisdom the emergency requires. This is true." Three days later Mr. Weed wrote: "If in earnest, as they

seem, they are really preparing for war here. War gives them cotton and a market in the south." Again on December 6, Mr. Weed wrote: "Everything here is upon a war footing. Such prompt and gigantic preparations were never known. There is general distrust of and hostility to yourself; how created or why I know not. It has been skillfully worked. I was told yesterday repeatedly that I ought to write the President demanding your dismissal."

Shortly after the decision in the *Trent* case was made a note from the French minister was received by Secretary Seward, enclosing a copy of his instructions from the French government, which plainly foreshadowed that France would make common cause with Great Britain in any war that should grow out of it. Mr. Seward replied briefly that the case had been decided, which rendered discussion unnecessary. All the European mails brought overwhelming evidences of unfriendly feeling. "If I had not nerves of steel," wrote Mr. Seward to Thurlow Weed on January 2, 1862, "I should give up my place and let some less offending man take it." Mr. L. E. Chittenden, who was in the treasury at the time and cognizant of many facts not generally known, says: "The two countries were saved from a war which could have had none but evil consequences, by the good sense of President Lincoln and of two statesmen, Lord Lyons and William H. Seward. Lord Lyons had the traditional love of the Anglo-Saxon for fair play. He thoroughly understood the controversy between north and south, and knew that upon its issue depended the supremacy in the republic of freedom or slavery. His sympathies were heartily with the north, but he was at the same time a faithful representative of his own nation, and watchful in the protection of her interests. We have no special information as to what passed in the private interviews of Secretary Seward and Lord Lyons, but may pretty safely assume that the reading of Earl Russell's *pronunciamento* did not disturb the equanimity of either. Probably after knocking the ashes from his cigar Lord Lyons observed: 'You will give up the men, of course. As prisoners they may be of consequence enough to cause a war; set free they are no good to anybody. You did not authorize their capture; their surrender involves no dishonor. Say yes, and you may deliver them up in your own time and in your own way.' Seward probably replied, 'Your lordship is perfectly right. Your views are such as we had a right to anticipate from your justice and your knowledge of the facts. We don't want these people. But we have mischief-makers among us who will try to arouse opposition to the surrender, especially if it is made the occasion of display in one of our larger ports or to one of your larger

vessels.' I had it from good authority at the time, that Lord Lyons declared his complete indifference as to the time and place of surrender, and said it was all the same to him whether it was in New York bay or in the harbor of a fishing village on Cape Cod. The representatives of the two countries had come to a perfect understanding and separated on the best of terms."

Volumes might be written on the events of the year 1862. Mr. Seward wrote to his wife in July: "The agitations and discussions of a vast republic are unintelligible to us all. The waves chase each other, rebound and break against each other. They seem to render it impossible for government to adhere to and persevere in any policy. Yet the nation is recovering its equanimity, naturally enough shaken by the sights and sounds of adverse results in a painful war." The day came presently when there seemed but one course to pursue. The President had listened patiently to delegations and statesmen and generals who urged a proclamation that would give the slaves their freedom, but he steadfastly refused to give any assurance that it would be issued. He, however, prepared a draft of one for consideration, and read it aloud at a cabinet meeting. Various suggestions were made. Mr. Seward approved the tone and purpose, but thought the time inopportune for issuing it. This cabinet meeting is portrayed in Carpenter's historical picture, "The Emancipation Proclamation," which hangs on one of the stair-cases of the Capitol at Washington. President Lincoln sits at the head of the long green table, holding the document in his hand. Mr. Seward occupies his usual place at the President's right hand, and is making his suggestion "to wait until after a victory." Mr. Wells and Mr. Bates are in their usual seats at the side and end of the table. Mr. Smith and Mr. Blair have arisen and are standing by the fire-place. Mr. Chase with folded arms stands near the President, and Mr. Stanton has drawn away his chair and sits facing Secretary Seward, to whom he is listening.

The suggestion of Mr. Seward was adopted and the measure awaited a favorable turn in the national fortunes. The emancipation of the slaves could be effected only by executive authority and on the ground of military necessity. Shortly after the battle of Antietam, in the latter part of September, President Lincoln called a special meeting of the cabinet and every minister was present. Mr. Lincoln remarked: "You all remember several weeks ago I read to you an order I had prepared, which on account of objections made by some of you was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been much occupied with this subject, and I have thought the time for acting upon it would come. I think the time has come now."



THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

THE SCENE WHEN PRESIDENT LINCOLN FIRST READ THE DOCUMENT TO THE MEMBERS OF HIS CABINET.

He then read the draft aloud, commenting on each paragraph as he went on. Mr. Seward asked: "Would it not make the proclamation more clear and decided to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President, and not merely say that the government 'recognizes' but that it will *maintain* the freedom it proclaims?" Mr. Chase said: "The proclamation does not indeed mark out exactly the course I would myself prefer, but I am ready to take it just as it is written and to stand by it with all my heart. I think, however, the suggestions of Secretary Seward very judicious, and shall be glad to have them adopted." Each of the ministers was asked by the President for his opinion, and all approved the suggested changes. The draft was handed to Secretary Seward, who had it duly engrossed in official form, bearing the signature of the President and his own.

We must pass rapidly on to the year 1865, the second inauguration of Lincoln, and the swift series of military successes which brought the war to an end. On the 5th of April, Mr. Seward while out for his customary drive was thrown from his carriage and seriously injured. The ninth day after the accident he was still helpless and suffering and by no means out of danger. Night came, the physicians had taken their leave, the gas-lights were turned low and all was quiet. Mr. Seward's daughter Fanny was with him in the sick-room and an invalid soldier nurse, George T. Robinson. The other members of the family had gone to their respective rooms. Just then a tall, well-dressed man presented himself at the door below, and telling the servant he came with a message from the doctor was allowed to ascend the stairs to Mr. Seward's room. He was met by Frederick W. Seward, who refused him admission, explaining that the sleeping invalid must not be disturbed. The man paused a moment, and when advised to leave his message and report to the doctor, said: "Very well, sir, I will go;" and turning away took two or three steps down the stairs. Suddenly turning again, he sprang up and forward, having drawn a navy revolver, which he leveled with a muttered oath and pulled the trigger. And now in swift succession, like the scenes of some hideous dream, came the bloody incidents of the night—of the pistol missing fire; of the struggle in the dimly lighted hall between the armed man and the unarmed one; of the blows which broke the pistol of the one and fractured the skull of the other; of the bursting in of the door; of the mad rush of the assassin to the bedside and his savage slashing with a bowie-knife at the face and the throat of the helpless secretary, instantly reddening the white bandages with streams of blood; of the screams of the daughter for help; of the attempt of the invalid soldier nurse to drag the assailant from his victim,



THE ALASKA TREATY.
EXECUTING THE DOCUMENT AT MIDNIGHT.

receiving sharp wounds himself in return ; of the noise made by the awakening household, inspiring the assassin with hasty impulse to escape, leaving his work done or undone ; of his frantic rush down the stairs, cutting and slashing at all whom he found in his way, wounding one in the face and stabbing another in the back ; of his escape through the open doorway and his flight on horseback down the avenue. Five minutes later the aroused household were gazing horrified at the bleeding faces and figures in their midst—were lifting the insensible form of Mr. Seward from a pool of blood and sending for surgical help. Meanwhile a panic-stricken crowd was surging from the street to the hall and rooms below, vainly inquiring or wildly conjecturing what had happened. For these the horrors of the night seemed to culminate when later comers rushed in with the intelligence that the President had also been attacked at the same hour—had been shot at Ford's Theatre—had been carried to a house in Tenth Street and was lying there unconscious and dying !

We all know the sequel. The whole civilized world was shocked by the news of these bloody crimes. For several days Mr. Seward lay in a critical state. His son who heroically disputed the murderer's entrance to his chamber lay forty-eight hours motionless and unconscious. Mr. Seward's recovery was slow, and long before he could reach the state department except as he was carried, he resumed his work, swathed in bandages. One of the first occasions on which his own signature was again appended to an official document was the promulgation of President Johnson's amnesty proclamation.

The first treaty negotiation after the war was the joint convention with Morocco for the establishment of a light-house at Cape Spartel. It was signed at Tangier by representatives of the United States, Austria, Belgium, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Sweden ; the sultan of Morocco agreeing to protect and defend the light, the other powers to divide the expense of its maintenance.

A more interesting incident, however, was when in December, 1865, news came that Alabama had ratified the proposed constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, which being the twenty-seventh state filled up the needed complement of three-fourths. One morning shortly after, a great parchment sheet was spread out on Mr. Seward's table, awaiting the signature of the secretary of state to make valid the amendment to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States, and it must have been with special gratification that he affixed his name to this crowning and closing act of the long struggle.



THE DARIEN CANAL TREATY.

Mr. Seward made a voyage to the West Indies in the early part of 1866, and on his return to Washington found numerous important matters to engage his attention, chief among which was the negotiation for the annexation of Russian America. On Friday evening, March 29, 1867, as Mr. Seward was playing whist in his parlor with some of his family, the Russian minister was announced. "I have a dispatch from my government by cable," said the visitor. "The emperor gives his consent to the cession. To-morrow if you like I will come to the department, and we can enter upon the treaty."

"Why wait until to-morrow, Mr. Stoeckl? Let us make the treaty to-night," said Mr. Seward smiling. "But your department is closed, you have no clerks, and my secretaries are scattered about the town," replied the minister. "Never mind that," replied Mr. Seward. "If you can muster your legation together before midnight, you will find me awaiting you at the department, which will be open and ready for business."

Light was presently streaming from the department of state, and by four o'clock in the morning the Alaska treaty was engrossed, signed, sealed, and ready for transmission by the President to the senate. The picture, from the painting by Leutze, presents the scene with fidelity. Mr. Seward by his writing-table, pen in hand, is listening to the Russian minister, whose extended hand is just over the great globe at the secretary's elbow. Mr. Chan, the chief clerk, is approaching with the engrossed copy of the treaty for signature; in the background Mr. Hunter and Mr. Bodisco are comparing the English and French versions, while Mr. Sumner and the assistant secretary are sitting in conference.

The following June the negotiations with Nicaragua resulted in a "treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation." With Belgium three treaties were negotiated, one of which was the naturalization treaty, all of which were signed at Brussels by the American minister, Mr. Sanford. Mr. Seward negotiated treaties for the purchase of the Danish West India Islands and the Bay of Samana, and he made a treaty with Colombia to secure American control of the Isthmus of Darien, which, however, failed of approval by the senate.

Within the eight years of Mr. Seward's secretaryship he negotiated upwards of forty treaties, nearly all of historic importance, of which three were with Great Britain, three with Mexico, three with Italy, and three with Peru. On his retirement from public life Mr. Seward visited Alaska, a trip attended with many noteworthy incidents. He also visited California, Mexico, Cuba, and made a journey round the world.

Martha F. Lamb

AN EARLY WEST POINTER

Captain Adam A. Larrabee (father of the Honorable William Larrabee of Clermont, Iowa, eighteen years a state senator, and more recently governor of the state) graduated from the United States military academy at West Point, March 1, 1811. In accepting his appointment he wrote to the secretary of war, General Henry Dearborn, as follows:

“ WINDHAM, CONN., *February 8, 1808.*

SIR: I have been honored with an appointment of cadet of artillery attached to the military school at West Point, and in compliance with your request I transmit you my answer as accepting said appointment, at the same time pledging my sacred honor and my life in defense of my country and its liberties. I avail myself of this opportunity of tendering my sincere acknowledgments to his excellency the President of the United States for the important favor which he has been pleased to confer upon me, at the same time assuring him that when my country calls no exertions shall be too arduous to deter me from fulfilling my duty.

I am, sir, with the most profound respect, your obedient and humble servant,

ADAM A. LARRABEE

HON. HENRY DEARBORN,
Secretary of War.”

In pursuance of this appointment the young man, then twenty-one years of age, reported at the academy in due season and remained until his graduation. Upon the completion of his studies he was appointed second lieutenant of light artillery. His promotion to a first lieutenancy followed a couple of months later. His service at that time was in garri- sons on the Atlantic coast, though he also participated in the campaign along the northern frontier in 1812. His next service was under General Wilkinson on the St. Lawrence, where he was engaged in the attack on La Colle Mills, March 30, 1814. In this engagement he was shot through the lungs, the bullet lodging against the shoulder-blade, whence it was removed by the surgeon, really passing through his body.* He was reported killed, but fortunately recovered from the terrible wound. It was almost a miracle for the surgeons of those days to save the life of

* Rossiter Johnson's *War of 1812*, p. 252.



CAPTAIN ADAM A. LARRABEE.

GRADUATE OF UNITED STATES MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT, MARCH 1, 1811.

a soldier so badly wounded, though it speaks volumes as to the powerful vitality and fine physical condition of the patient.

In this fight General Wilkinson had attacked some two hundred of the British forces who were strongly posted in the stone mill at La Colle. Two pieces of artillery were brought up and planted within two hundred yards of the mill. General Wilkinson surrounded it, expecting to dislodge and capture the enemy, in which he failed on account of the strength of the walls. Captain McPherson fell, shot through the thigh, and was carried off the field. Lieutenant Larrabee took his place, but was very soon wounded, when the command devolved upon Lieutenant Sheldon. After being thus wounded Lieutenant Larrabee was hauled about twenty miles in an open sleigh to the house of the illustrious Chancellor Reuben H. Walworth, where he was tenderly cared for by the family. It was no doubt due to this excellent nursing that his life was saved. He was soon after promoted to a captaincy, but resigned his commission in 1815.

Captain Larrabee was married to Hannah Gallup Lester in 1817, who bore him nine children, all of whom survived him except John, who died in 1852. In 1822 the subject of this brief sketch was chosen a member of the Connecticut house of representatives. President Jackson appointed him a member of the board of visitors to the military academy in 1828. He also served as presidential elector in the great Tippecanoe campaign of 1840.

The business of his civil life was farming rather than politics, and in this he won very conspicuous success. He was for over fifty years continuously one of the trustees of the old savings bank of Norwich, Connecticut, the deposits in which at the time of his death had increased to almost \$9,000,000. He was also connected with several other leading banks. Tradition assures us that he was a most excellent financial manager, an enviable trait which was transmitted to more than one of his sons. He was not only a hard worker, but very frugal and saving in his own habits, as any one would judge upon seeing his portrait in the Iowa State Library Collections; but to proper objects of charity, and the cause of religion, he was always a most liberal giver. He was punctual in the discharge of every trust that was committed to him, always present at the meetings of the bank trustees, and taking a thorough interest in all its transactions. The scars which he carried to his grave, as well as the promotions he received, afford abundant evidence that his youthful pledge to the President of the United States, who had appointed him to his cadetship, were faithfully and patriotically carried out.

When peace was declared he had no liking for the monotony of regu-

lar army life, but promptly resigned to take his chances in a business career. His systematic training at West Point was visible in all his after years, and his ideas of hard work, economy, business integrity, order, and punctuality were a most precious legacy to his sons, who have been abundantly prospered through the same praiseworthy qualities. He was born in Ledyard, Connecticut, March 14, 1787, and died in Windham, Connecticut, October 25, 1869.

In the same compartment of the Iowa State Library Collections which contains his autograph letter there is one addressed to him, as follows:

"Norwich, Connecticut, 22d July, 1813.

Sir: I have received your letter of the 12th instant. The militia are again ordered to New London, and I hope will make a good fight if the enemy should attack.

I am

Sir

With esteem

Your most ob't servant

JACOB KINGSBURY,

Inspector General.

To Lt. ADAM LARRABEE, Groton, Connecticut."



IOWA STATE LIBRARY, DES MOINES, IOWA.

A LOST CHAPTER IN AMERICAN HISTORY

THE FIRST EUROPEAN ATTEMPT TO COLONIZE THE NEW WORLD

During the latter part of the fifteenth and early part of the sixteenth centuries the spirit of adventure, particularly in the way of discovery beyond seas, became an absorbing passion in all the nations of western Europe. Nowhere, however, was this more prevalent or fruitful than among the Portuguese, then the most intelligent and enterprising people in christendom. They had explored the whole western coast of Africa, colonized the islands near it, rounded the cape of Good Hope, and by opening the way to India by that route had revolutionized the trade of the east. Still pushing onward they discovered the Moluccas and even established themselves in China.

While thus active in their southerly explorations it could hardly be expected that a people so energetic would altogether neglect the opposite quarter of the world. In the northwest was a "sea of darkness," exciting the inquiry of the curious and the awe of the superstitious as to the wonders hidden behind it. Among the islands of which it was believed America was composed, a passage might be found to India and the spice countries, also unknown islands and even continents of gold, pearls, and heathen men, from the merchandise of which might be reaped rich returns. There were rumors from more than one source of such lands and peoples having been actually seen. Traditions were handed along among the maritime races to the north of the settlements of the Norsemen in Greenland and their voyages to Vinland and other distant regions. Scholars are now coming to believe that Basque and Breton fishermen in the fifteenth century, even before the voyages of Columbus, visited the banks and coasts of Newfoundland. Such information, though probably in vague and uncertain shape, could scarcely have failed to reach the Portuguese.*

Ignorant of the size of the earth, they regarded the lands discovered to the west as part of Asia, and the distance to be sailed to reach the regions of fabled wealth much less than it is in reality. And with an intense desire to reach them was mingled the fear that Spain might in this direction find a shorter way to invade Portuguese dominions in the east. These considerations gained force in the reign of Emmanuel "the fortunate,"

* Several Portuguese writers maintain that some of their own voyagers had reached America prior to Columbus. But critical historians do not consider the evidence sufficient to establish this.

who ascended the throne in 1495, and was ready to follow any indication of openings for discovery in the northwest. When, therefore, Cabot had fully established the existence of land in that quarter this monarch became inspired with the idea of reaching it. Accordingly, on the 25th October, 1499, he granted a commission to John Fernandez to seek and discover lands and islands in that direction, and appointed him governor of all that he might discover. Nothing seems to have come of this, for less than seven months after, on the 12th May, 1500, we find Gaspar Cortereal given the command of an expedition to the northwest with the same powers and privileges. He was of a noble family in the Azores, his father being hereditary governor of the island of Terceira, and the family distinguished by a spirit of maritime enterprise. It is significant that Gaspar is stated to have been already engaged in explorations on his own account and at his own expense and at the risk of his life, and he engaged to pay part of the expense of this expedition. In consideration of all the circumstances the king granted to him and his heirs in perpetuity the government absolute over all the lands and islands he might discover or *rediscover*, with the right of high and low justice without appeal, and one-quarter clear of all the revenue direct and indirect.*

Three days later, with one or two vessels, he sailed for the unknown coasts. It appears that he first touched at the family island of Terceira, which was under the government of his elder brother Vasqueanes, and thence proceeded to the northwest. In due time he saw land, which from his course, crossing as it would the broad eastern portion of the Gulf Stream, and from the prevalent westerly winds which he must have encountered, there can scarcely be a doubt was on the east coast of Newfoundland at what has ever since been known as Conception bay, probably so called from the day of its discovery. According to report he thence voyaged northward to high latitudes, where he struck land which he supposed to be Greenland and accordingly called it Terra Verde. Finally he is represented as having reached a river at sixty degrees north latitude, which he called *Rio Nevada*, or snow river, where his progress was stopped by ice. This is supposed to have been in the latitude of Hudson strait. On his return he touched at a harbor to refit his ship and refresh his crew, and duly arrived at Lisbon in the autumn of the same year.†

* Copies of this commission, with a number of other documents connected with the family, will be found in *Do Canto Os Cortereals*, published at Santa Delgada St. Michael in 1883, and in the appendix to HARRISSE'S *Les Cortereals*.

† For most of our information regarding this voyage we are indebted to Ramusio's collection of voyages.

This voyage was sufficiently successful to induce a renewal of the enterprise in the following year. Accordingly, on the 15th May, 1501, the navigator again sailed from Lisbon with three vessels, directing his course west northwest. After proceeding two thousand miles the voyagers reached a land along which they cruised in a northwesterly direction six or seven hundred miles without reaching the end of it. Hence they concluded that it must be connected with Terra Verde, which they had visited the year before. They then returned homeward, but stopped on their way to capture a number of natives. Two of the vessels continued their course homeward and reached Lisbon in a month, having sailed twenty-eight hundred miles. They reported having met with rivers so large as to indicate that the land they discovered was no island. They described the country as covered with abundant forests, especially of pine suitable for ship-building, and its waters well stored with fish of various kinds.* They brought home between fifty and sixty natives, described by a writer who saw them as "of like color, stature, and aspect, and bearing the greatest resemblance to the gypsies;" adding, "His Serene Majesty contemplates deriving great advantage from the country not only on account of the timber, but of the inhabitants, who are admirably calculated for labor, and are the best slaves I have ever seen."

The third vessel, in which was Gaspar who remained to sail along the coasts of the new country long enough to determine whether it was an island or terra firma, never returned. When months had passed without any tidings of the commander or his vessel, his younger brother Miguel, who had already manifested a deep interest in the enterprise and had contributed liberally to its expense, obtained permission from the king to go in search of the missing explorers, and at the same time secured a concession of the privileges granted to Gaspar. He sailed from Lisbon on the 10th May, 1502, with three vessels. Arriving on the American coast, the better to conduct the search, it was deemed advisable to separate, and appointing a rendezvous for the 20th of August the vessels took different courses. Two of these met at the appointed time and place, but the third, in which was their commander, did not appear, and the others after waiting for some time returned home.

The following year the king sent out another expedition of two vessels, to ascertain if possible the fate of the two missing navigators, which, however, returned without tidings or trace of them, their vessels, or their

* For most of our information of the second voyage we are indebted to a letter from Pietro Pasqualego, the Venetian ambassador, and one from Alberto Cantino, agent of the Duke of Ferrara, both of which will be found in HARRISSE and DO CANTO.

crews. Then the eldest of the three brothers, Vasqueanes, asked permission of the king to renew the search, but that monarch refused to risk the lives of any more of his subjects. Thus the fate of the two brothers has remained and must ever remain a mystery.

With the voyage in search of the lost Cortereals, exploration in north-eastern America on the part of Portugal ceased as far as the government was concerned, with the exception probably of the voyage of Fagundez hereafter to be noticed. But the enterprise of these energetic but unfortunate men was attended with important results. In the first place, it gave the nations of Europe a better idea of the geography of these regions. This appears in the early Portuguese maps, which enable us to determine with some degree of accuracy the course and extent of the explorations made by the Cortereals or their successors. At the same time it has been observed they mark a decided change in the cartography of the age as to this part of America. The first was sent by Cantino, the agent of the Duke of Modena at Lisbon, to his principal, accompanied by a note dated 19th November, 1502, showing that it must have been prepared immediately after the return of the vessels of Gaspar's second voyage. It gives a representation of the coast of the United States from Florida northward. To the east in mid-ocean, so far as to be beyond the line of demarkation between the Spanish and Portuguese territories, is represented the east coast of an island, indented by bays and studded with islands. This is marked "Terra del Rey du Portugall." On it is the legend in Portuguese, "This land was discovered by the order of the high and most excellent prince the King Manuel, King of Portugal, which Gaspar de Cortereal, gentleman of the palace of the said king, discovered, who, when he had discovered, took in his vessel certain men and women found in the country, and he remained in the country with the other ship and never returned, and it is believed that he has perished, and that there is plenty of trees to make masts."

This island is unquestionably Newfoundland, and the map clearly indicates that it was the principal scene of the unfortunate Gaspar's explorations. Here, as Harrisse remarks, "instead of the indefinite lines of previous maps, we have a most exact delineation, with the capes, estuaries, and sinuosities approaching too near the truth not to have been seen and explored by seamen by profession."

Subsequent maps give a fuller view of the Cortereal discoveries. One of the earliest of these in a collection of old sea-charts found in the archives of the Bavarian army at Munich, is supposed to have been constructed about the year 1504. It contains Iceland and Greenland laid

down with almost modern accuracy, both as to latitude and contour. To the west of the latter lies a large country called "terra de cortte Ral." Its position, as well as the configuration of the coast, shows that it represents the east coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. The former must have been explored somewhat minutely. Kohl says, "We must come to the conclusion that Cortereal entered and explored nearly every bay and gulf on the east coast of Newfoundland." Beyond this, however, he seems to have followed the coast of Labrador to Hudson strait.

But did he enter the gulf of St. Lawrence? While the author of the map does not appear to be aware of the existence of the straits of Belle Isle, there is reason to believe he did. Harris says there are only two suppositions, that he did; and the rivers which he saw, so large as to convince him he was on the shores of a continent, were either those which emptied into the river St. Lawrence or which empty into that part of Hudson's bay known as Migava bay, and he favors the former conclusion. Asher says in like manner, "Cortereal's explorations, as far as they can be ascertained from a few vague fragments of intelligence, embrace the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the gulf into which the river falls, with some of the islands within, and part of the east shore of Newfoundland."

These maps, as well as some others of about the same date, contain a number of names attached to prominent places on the last-mentioned coast, all Portuguese, most of which held their place on maps for a long time, and a number continue to the present day. Thus we have Cape Razo, in Portuguese meaning flat or level cape, now corrupted by the English into Cape Race; Cabo or Baya de Concepcion, still retained in Conception bay; C da espera, now corrupted into Cape Spear; R d San Francisquo, a name still retained in Cape St. Francis; B de S Cyria, a name which long appeared on maps, now Trinity bay; Ilha de freylius, supposed to have been so called in honor of a friar who accompanied the expedition, a large island near the present Cape Freels, a name which is plainly a corruption of the original; I dos bacalhos, still existing in the island of Bacalhao or Baccalieu; Cape and I de boa ventura, now Frenchified into Bonaventure; I dos gamas, translated into Deer island; I dos aves, long on maps, afterward in French as Isle des oiseaux, and in English Bird island, supposed to be what is now called French island; while far in the north San Johan probably represents the present Cape St. John.

Limited space will not permit reference to later maps and charts of the sixteenth century in which we find frequent mention of Portuguese exploration in the name Terra de Cortereal or Terra Corterealis, though there is

no uniformity in its application. A map of 1520 contains a line intended to mark the line of demarkation between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions near the Cape Breton at about sixty degrees west longitude. By it Newfoundland, Labrador, and Greenland belonged to the Portuguese, and in several maps the Portuguese flag is represented as flying over them, and even farther west we find also many Portuguese names the same as we have noticed, but unknown or forgotten, while a few represent other names of the present day. Thus we have Boa Vista or Bona Vista, the name of one of the Cape Verde islands; Fogo, in Portuguese meaning fire, also the name of one of the same group; and Cape Blanco, which appears in our maps as White bay; and on the south coast San Pedro, the modern St. Pierre. These maps contain a number of other names now unknown, which we have reason to believe were not imposed by the fancy of map-makers, but were once in actual use and serve as memorials of the presence of this people.

Besides the names we have taken from these maps there are others now in use of which some are undoubtedly and others probably of Portuguese origin. At the head of Conception bay we have Portugal cove, and another of the same name on Trepassey bay. Just opposite the former is Carbonear, originally Carboniero, the name of a leading cape on the coast of Portugal. On the Great Bank we have Portuguese shoal; and in the Canaries, applied to a group of islets off the coast, have we not a name suggesting reminiscences of some western islanders? Catalina is either the Portuguese or Spanish form of Catherine. But *Brigus* I am informed is Portuguese, probably from *briga*, a "quarrel" or "fight," and *brigoso*, "quarrelsome" or "warlike;" while *Fermuse*, north of Cape Race, the beautiful, is from the same source; and *Flowers Island* seems a translation of "Flores in the Azores."

I refer to this point particularly because I deem it of prime importance in our present inquiry, and because I believe its full significance has not been recognized. The fact that so many names should have been affixed to places so firmly as to adhere to them through all the changes of well nigh four hundred years clearly implies occupancy and that for some time. The mere visit of an explorer could not of itself have effected such a result. Cartier assigned names to almost every place that he visited in the gulf of St. Lawrence, but though his narrative was published soon after his return home, in which he commonly gives a description of each, with the courses and distances between them, yet in very few instances have the names assigned by him adhered, and indeed as to many of them it is still disputed as to the places to which they refer. The fact then of

names continuing shows that they were not derived from the fancy of an explorer, but came into common use among the fishermen or others who frequented the localities. And it is noticeable that most if not all of the oldest names on the east coast of Newfoundland are Portuguese, showing a predominant influence of that people at the time of the first contact of these shores with European civilization.

The maps we have been considering show that the Cortereals or their successors visited Labrador. The authors seem to have regarded it as a continuation of Newfoundland. But there can be little doubt that the fishermen explored both shores through their whole extent.

The Cortereal voyages were attended with more practical results than the increase of geographical knowledge. Both kings and peoples who engaged in such expeditions had an eye to business. In this instance the immediate object was to find a new and shorter route by which to reach the treasures of the east. There was disappointment, but it ended in results important to the national wealth. These voyages, if not the commencement of the Portuguese fisheries in this part of the world, gave a great impulse to that industry. Immediately after Gaspar's first voyage, in 1500 or 1501, a fishing company was formed in the harbors of Vianna, Aveiro, and Terceira—all places traditionally devoted to fishing—for the purpose of founding establishments in Terra Nova, as the new-found regions were called, and colonizing it. And so rapid was the progress of the industry that in the year 1506 the king gave orders that "the fishermen at their return from Newfoundland should pay a tenth part of their profits at his custom-houses." In subsequent years the industry was prosecuted energetically both by individuals and companies. At different times the port of Aveiro alone had sixty vessels sailing to that fishery. In 1550 it owned one hundred and fifty fishing-vessels, while an equal number sailed from Oporto and other ports, so that the business became the source of a large increase of revenue to the king.*

But did the investigations of Portuguese explorers and the enterprise of her fishermen and traders extend no farther than the shores of Newfoundland or Labrador? In the nature of things this could scarcely be the case. Their little craft, caught in easterly gales, must sometimes have been driven to Nova Scotia or even New England. If not the love of exploration, the desire of finding fishing-grounds unknown to their rivals or places for trading with the natives without competitors must have urged them onward. The maps of the sixteenth century show that they were acquainted with them. Some of them reveal an acquaintance with Nova

* Cordeiro, in *Compte-Rendus d Congrès des Americanistes*, 1875, pp. 295-297.

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Scotia and adjacencies such as is not exhibited on the maps of any other nation in that century.

There is reason to believe this part of the American coast was formally explored under the authority of the Portuguese government. A map of Lazaro Luiz, in an atlas published in 1563, presents a country seemingly representing in part the coasts of Nova Scotia, which is marked in Portuguese as "discovered by Jaom Alvarez." This has always been understood as referring to explorations supposed to have been made by Joam Alvarez Fagundez in or about the year 1521, under the authority of King Manuel. Most writers have hitherto regarded the evidence of such a voyage as unsatisfactory. But recent investigations among the Portuguese archives in my view leave no doubt of its truth. A copy of a royal commission to him has been found, dated 13th March, 1521, which refers to similar privileges previously granted to him, and includes the lands and islands which "*he went to discover, and has now certified us by trustworthy evidence that he did discover*, the lands and islands following, to wit: the land which is called terra firma from the line of demarkation which bounds the possessions of the crown of Castile from ours on the south until it comes to the boundaries of the land which the Cortereals discovered on the north, at the three islands in the bay of Aguada, on the northeast and southwest coast, and the islands to which he gave the names of these saints, to wit: St. John, St. Peter, St. Ann, and St. Anthony; and the isles of the archipelago of St. Pantelion with the island of Pitigaoem, and the isles of the archipelago of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and the island of Santa Cruz, which is at the end of the bank; and another island which is also called St. Ann's, which was seen but not landed on."

Fagundez must then be reckoned among the early explorers of north-eastern America, and the terms of his grant, as well as Luiz's map, indicate that his explorations were somewhat extensive. They leave no doubt that the sphere of them was specially Cape Breton and Nova Scotia with lands adjacent to the east and west. As to the extent of his grant it must have included that province, and extended so far to the west as to take in part of what is now the United States, and eastwardly so far as to include part of the south coast of Newfoundland. We must therefore rank him with the Des Monts and the Alexanders, who obtained from the crown grants of land, we may say of imperial extent, on the northern part of the American continent, and earlier than them all. Further, it is curious to note that this included much the same territory afterward granted to the former by the king of France and to the latter by the king of Scotland, and we think with as good if not a better right.

This grant was not intended to be a dead letter. In conjunction with some noblemen of Vianna plans were laid for founding a colony in Cape Breton. What we know of the result of the effort will be told presently, but let us follow the traces of the Portuguese explorations along the coasts of Nova Scotia as presented in the maps of the sixteenth century. These generally exhibit the southern coast of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and even part of the continent opposite, as presenting one continuous line of coast. The oldest map hitherto discovered representing Nova Scotia at all as a peninsula is by a Portuguese named Diego Homem, but residing in Venice, who published in 1558 the best delineation of that province made till that of Sescarbot in the following century, to which it is scarcely inferior.

It is represented as a peninsula, with the southern coast extending from "cap de Bertoen" or cape of the Bretons in a west-southwest direction, which is the true course to Bai Sablon, at the present Cape Sable. Thence it is represented as turning northward, as the coast of Nova Scotia actually does, a wide bay separating it from the continent. There is a nameless arm of the sea penetrating a considerable distance into the land, which we have no difficulty in recognizing as St. Mary's bay. Beyond this the bay extends northward, reaching a group of islands, after which it divides into two. This plainly represents the bay of Fundy with its two branches of Chiegnecto bay and Minas basin. The author had delineated the southern coast of the province with an accuracy like actual surveys. But here his information seems to have been vague and general, and he has been obliged to leave the two arms undefined.

This is the oldest map known in which we have a representation of the bay of Fundy. Those of older date which show the southern coast of Nova Scotia represent it as continuous with the state of Maine, or only separated from it by a river with a broad estuary, sometimes called Rio Fondo. Even later maps, such as that of Gastaldi in 1566, and of the renowned Mercator in 1569, eleven years after Homem's, have the same representation. The whole shows that previous to 1558 Portuguese mariners had not only explored the southern and western coasts of Nova Scotia so as to be able to plot them with an approach to accuracy, but had penetrated well into the bay of Fundy. In this map the southern arm is represented as having a river with a broad and lengthened estuary entering it from the south, which every person acquainted with the geography of the place will recognize as intended for the present Avon river. They must have witnessed with wonder the mighty sweep of the bay of Fundy tides—wide expanses of meadow covered at each returning tide, now forming the riches of a thriving people dwelling on its shores.

The name bay of Fundy is Portuguese. They called it Baya Funda, or deep bay, referring not to the depth of its waters but to the depth to which it penetrates the continent. Minas is either Spanish or Portuguese, meaning, besides mines, springs, sources, origins, and is applied to places at or near the heads of rivers, and was probably given to that part of the basin which they regarded as its head or extremity.

In this map there are some but not many names on the southern coast of the province, now unknown. There is every reason to believe they were really in use among the fishermen. A few, which Kohl describes as half French, half Portuguese, may be traced up to the present day. Besides Bai Sablon, already mentioned, we have not far from it golfo de Petis, and on quite recent maps we have the name Pettys island, or Petits island, at the entrance of Shelburne harbor. Then, again, there is La Beau bai, which Kohl supposes to be represented by the French name, still retained, of Port Joli. Farther we have Des Jardins, and farther east R. des Jardins, which plainly appears in a corrupted form in the present Jordan river. These are all near the southern extremity of the province, and in the same neighborhood we may notice among existing names Baccaro point, evidently a form of Baccalao, the name in Spain and Portugal for dried cod-fish; and Brazil rock, a name originally connected with the western islands, and which we cannot suppose to have been given by any other than the Portuguese. In this neighborhood are situated some of the finest fishing-grounds on the coast of America. The number of Portuguese names found on the map so early as 1558, as well as the others mentioned, show that this enterprising people had discovered these favorable positions for the prosecution of their industry. But before they could have reached this far they must have felt their way along the whole southern coasts of Newfoundland, Cape Breton, and Nova Scotia, testing the riches of their waters, noting the contour of their shores, and searching out their harbors.

There are only a few names on this map to the eastward, and none that can be recognized at the present day. Some others recently in use are of Portuguese origin. Off Cape Breton lies Port Novy island, originally Porto Novo. Not far away is Mira, a remarkable river, or as it has been described, "lake prolonged into the sea." This is the name of a river in the south of Portugal, and also of a smaller one farther north emptying into a long estuary, and the resemblance no doubt caused Portuguese visitors to give it the name. On the map of Viegas of 1534 we have San Paulo, now restricted to a rocky islet off Cape North, though it is not certain that it was then intended to denote the same spot. We have also a harbor or bay at the strait of Canso named S^o P^o (San Pedro), a name

still retained in our present St. Peter's. Coming to the mainland we find Tor bay, a corruption of Torre (the Portuguese for tower) bay, and I cannot conceive of the name Tangier being given to any part of this coast but from some reference to the place of that name on the Morocco coast, then held by the Portuguese.

There is one other point of importance on the map of Homem. It is the oldest map known which presents anything like a correct view of the coast of the state of Maine and New England. All former maps represent it as extending easterly and westerly and as a continuation of Nova Scotia. But this shows it as running north and south, thus giving for the first time its true configuration. Was the gulf of St. Lawrence unknown to these daring sailors? We cannot suppose that they in the prosecution of their toilsome business, having braved the storms of the Atlantic to visit the banks and coasts of Newfoundland, having pushed their explorations and their industry on the one hand along the coasts of Labrador to Hudson bay, and on the other along the shores of Nova Scotia to the New England coast and the head of the bay of Fundy, impelled alike by national rivalry and greed of gain to seek new fields, would have remained ignorant of the advantages offered them by the abundance of creatures of various kinds to be found in the waters of that sea. The neighborhood of the straits of Belle Isle from the time they were known was favorite whaling-ground, and in pursuing these monsters of the deep fishermen could scarcely avoid being led into the gulf beyond. They had ever before them the great object of a passage to the Orient, and when after finding bay after bay closed they discovered these straits showing a continuance of open water their hopes must have been kindled that here was what they had long sought. Naturally they would press onward, and with the broad expanse of waters opening before them feel perhaps that their object was gained. Cartier, after passing through the straits of Belle Isle, met a vessel of Rochelle seeking the port of Brest, to which he gave the necessary directions. This plainly shows that at that time fishermen frequented the northern coasts of the gulf of St. Lawrence by the straits of Belle Isle.

Still more likely is it that, resorting as they did to the coasts of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, they would discover the broader passage between them. We do not see how they could miss it. We believe that in fact the fishermen were sooner and better acquainted with the gulf of St. Lawrence than the map-makers and geographers at home. Charlevoix reports that he had read in memoirs that an inhabitant of Honfleurs, Jean Denys, traced a chart of it at as early a date as 1506. The Portuguese as

well as French fishermen must have early explored the gulf of St. Lawrence, and it was from them it received the name of Golfo Quadrado, or square gulf, as we find it called in the sixteenth century. This is rendered certain by a map in the National Library at Paris bearing the name of Gaspar Viegas and the date 1534, the year in which Cartier sailed on his first voyage. It depicts Newfoundland, Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, and the gulf of St. Lawrence. The entrance to the last is in something like its true proportion, but the gulf itself is far too small. On no previous map yet known is it represented with as near an approach to accuracy. Around its shores are traced islands, rivers, and bays, to which are attached names now unknown, those that are legible being all Portuguese.

The fact that these names were applied and in use proves that before Cartier entered the gulf of St. Lawrence Portuguese fishermen had explored its coasts and prosecuted their industry in its waters. These names did not afterward adhere so generally as on the coast of Newfoundland, or we may say of Nova Scotia, which shows that their visits here were of a more temporary nature than there. A careful study of the names on the gulf might furnish evidence of Portuguese influence. M. Cordeiro maintains that Anticosti is from this source, having been originally D'anta Costa. I should like an explanation of the fact that the commercial capital of Canada, the city of Champlain and Maisonneuve, after being built and occupied for more than a century by the French, should still have its name in the Spanish or Portuguese form of Monte Real rather than the French Mont Royal.

We have not evidence enough to affirm that the Portuguese passed up the river St. Lawrence under the rocky steeps of Cape Diamond, visited Stadacona and Hochelaga; but there are reasons which render it highly probable. In all their explorations they never lost sight of the idea of a passage to the east; and it is worthy of remark that in the narrative of Cartier's intercourse with the natives of these places there never appears to be the indications of wonder and suspicion shown by savages on the *first* visit of white men in the garniture of civilization.

We do not maintain that the Portuguese were the only people on the field. But giving due recognition to the presence of others, enough has been adduced, we think, to show that they occupied a prominent, even the foremost, place in the exploration of the northeast coast of America in the sixteenth century. They were the first to explore the east coast of Newfoundland and Labrador minutely, and in seeking to gather the treasures of the deep they had thus early, along with the fishermen of other nations, visited the shores of Nova Scotia and the gulf of St. Lawrence, fishing in

these waters, trading with the rude aborigines, and giving names to the points with which they had become familiar. They had penetrated the bay of Fundy, and at least visited the New England coast, of both of which they were the first to make known the true configuration, and possibly had anticipated Jacque Cartier in visiting Stadacona and Hochelaga.

But was there no attempt at permanent settlement? The European princes who sent expeditions on maritime exploration had as their first object the discovery of a passage to the east, yet at the same time they contemplated the colonization of the lands they might meet in their way. When discovery revealed fields superior for fishing attention was at first directed to that industry. Those connected with it did not favor colonization, but rather threw obstacles in its way, yet the governments never lost sight of such purpose. As we have seen, in the year 1521 the king of Portugal granted John Alvarez Fagundez the lands discovered by him, embracing Nova Scotia and adjacent regions. Shortly after some gentlemen of Vianna in conjunction with him formed an association for its colonization, and, as it appears, about the year 1525 sent two vessels there with colonists. Thus nearly a century before Des Monts' colonists landed at Port Royal or the Puritans at Plymouth Rock the Portuguese had commenced settlement on our shores. The most information we have of this attempt is contained in a tract by Francesco de Lonza, entitled *Tratado das Ilhas novas*, etc. It was originally written in 1570, and was supposed to have perished in the Lisbon earthquake. But it has lately been recovered and was published at Santa Delgada, St. Michaeli, in 1877. In it the writer, in immediate connection with the discoveries of Fagundez and the desire to turn to advantage the governorship with which he had been invested, says: "It will be forty-five or fifty years since certain gentlemen of Vianna associated themselves together, and, according to information which they had of the Terra Nova de Bacalaos,* they determined to go to settle some part of it, as in fact they did go in one ship and one caravel. But finding the country to which they were bound very cold, they sailed along the coast from east to west. Then they sailed from northeast to southwest. And having lost their vessels there we have had no more news of them except through the Biscayans, who are in the habit of going to that coast for the purpose of procuring and exporting many things that are to be found there. These men give information that they had asked them to tell us at home how they were situated there, and that

* Terra Nova was at this time used generically for all the newly discovered lands to the northwest and not specifically for Newfoundland, though that was the best known.

they desired priests to be sent to them; that the natives were mild, and the country fertile and good, as I have been more fully informed otherwise, and as is well known to those who sail thither. And *this is in Cape Breton, at the commencement of the coast which runs to the north*, in a beautiful bay, where they have plenty of provision and the earth produces things of great value, many nuts, chestnuts, grapes, and other fruits. Whence the country appears to be good. There were in the company some families from the Azores, whom they took on their way, as is well known. May God in His mercy open a way by which succor may come to them. My proposal would be to go to this coast by the way when going to the island of San Francisco, which could be done in one voyage."

That the party landed on some part of the island of Cape Breton agrees with the courses stated. Newfoundland would naturally be the first objective point of their voyage. If dissatisfied there they would naturally direct their course westward. Taking a southwest direction they must necessarily have struck some part of the island of Cape Breton. The subsequent history of this company is almost entirely unknown, and it is some years before we find in Portuguese history any reference to further colonization in Terra Nova. The governorship of these regions continued to be held by the Cortereal family. On the 17th September, 1506, King Manuel, in consequence of the death of Gaspar and Miguel and the expenses and debts they had incurred in their voyages, issued letters patent to their elder brother Vasqueanes, giving him as governor of Terra Nova des Cortereals the same privileges as had been granted to them. After his death the king, on the 6th March, 1538, granted a commission to his son Manuel, appointing him to the same position. The governorship of these regions at this time must have been a position of merely nominal authority and its emoluments equally shadowy. But the family still held to the idea of making the position serve both their honor and profit. Accordingly we find Manuel preparing to send out a colony in three ships. On the 4th May, 1567, the king issued a commission to the corregidor of the Azores, in which he states that Manuel Cortereal "is now sending out two ships and one caravel with people and supplies to begin to settle Terra Nova, and is sending out a person who in his name shall take possession of the captaincy of the said Terra Nova, which he holds by grants, and who shall serve as captain and exercise jurisdiction and administer justice." And because the people were to go from the island of Terceira the king authorizes the said corregidor to appoint a notary public for the said colony, who, however, should only act for three years, in which time a

beginning might be made of peopling the land, and the king might provide such officials as were found necessary.

The history of this colony is unknown. The fact of its being under the direction of one of the Cortereals to settle land granted to the family would point to Newfoundland as the scene of operations. But whether they went to Cape Breton we cannot tell. Probably further information will yet be obtained from the Portuguese records. There is independent evidence of the existence of the Cape Breton colony. Champlain says: "In this place (Cape Breton) there are several harbors and passages where they catch fish; viz., English harbor (Louisburg), distant from the Cape Breton about two or three leagues, and the other Niganis (Ingonish), eighteen or twenty leagues more to the north. The Portuguese at one time wished to inhabit this island, but the severity of the season and the cold made them abandon their settlement." De Laet in his *Novus Orbis*, 1632, makes a similar statement.

English writers refer to it. Anthony Parkhurst, in a letter to Richard Hakluyt, dated 13th November, 1578, says: "I could find in my heart to make proof whether it be true or no, that I have read and heard of Frenchmen and Portugalls to be in that river (the St. Lawrence) *and about Cape Breton.*" Champlain, writing of the attempt in 1598 of the Marquis de la Roche to found a colony in America, and his leaving convicts on Sable island, says: "They found there bullocks and cows which the Portuguese had carried there more than sixty years ago." As Champlain wrote about 1612, this must have taken place before 1552. In exact accordance with this, the historian of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition in 1583 describes him as touching at Cape Breton, and intending to do so at Sable island, "upon intelligence we had of a Portugal, who was himself present when the Portugals, above thirty years past"—consequently before 1553—"did put into the same island, neat and swine to breed, which were since exceedingly multiplied."

Returning to the settlement in Cape Breton, have we any evidence to fix its site? I am convinced that it was at St. Peter's, called by the French Port Thoulouse, but now known by the name originally given by the Portuguese. A glance at the map will show that to the voyager sailing along the southern shore of Cape Breton, westwardly, this would be the first point at which the coast turns toward the north, as described by De Lonza; and those who have seen it will agree with him in describing it as a beautiful bay. At the head of this, in a commanding position, are the remains of the fort erected by the French after the cession of Nova Scotia proper in 1713; but a short distance to the west of it are the remains

of a similar structure, undoubtedly much older. The place is still known as "the old fort," and formerly had in the neighborhood the name of "the pirate fort." The late Hon. T. C. Haliburton stated to his son that it was the fixed tradition of the Micmacs that these works were constructed by a people who had been there before the French. This is confirmed by the fact that about fifty years ago some persons in pursuit of money, digging at one angle, unearthed a small cannon made as the early ones were, of bars of wrought iron bound together by iron hoops or bands.

As guns of this kind were not used later than the sixteenth century it indicates the establishment here of Europeans long before the date of any French settlement. And as the Portuguese had at this period commenced a settlement in Cape Breton, as attested by their own and French writers, while history makes no mention of any attempt of the kind by any other nation, we think that the finding of this cannon, together with the agreement of the situation with the description given by De Lonza of the locality, conclusively shows that this was the site of their settlement, *the first attempt by Europeans at colonization in the northern parts of the American continent.*

What became of this settlement? About this little is known. Do Canto tells us, and refers to the Lisbon Geographical Society as his authority, that the heirs of Fagundez sold out all their rights to the English; and Mr. R. G. Haliburton was informed by a gentleman in Vianna that the tradition in that town was to the same effect, the settlers being dissatisfied with the country in consequence of the cold. This seems to be confirmed by the manner in which the Portuguese received Sir Humphrey Gilbert on his arrival in Newfoundland in 1583. He came under a commission from Queen Elizabeth to take possession of the country in her name, which he did at St. John on the 5th August. On that occasion there were in the harbor vessels belonging to different nations, Spanish, Portuguese, French, and English. But singular to say the historian has to praise "the Portugal fishermen for their kindness above those of other nations." They presented him with "wines, marmalades, most fine ruske and bisket, sweat oyles, and sundry delicacies." Again, on leaving he says, "they put aboorde our provision, which was wines, bread or ruske, fish wette and drie, sweete oyles, beside many other, as marmalades, figs, lymmons barrelled and such like. Also wee had other necessary provisions for trimming our shippes, nettes, and lines to fish withal, boates or pinnesses fit for discoveries. In brief wee were supplied of our wants commodiously, as if we had been in a countrey or some citie populous and plenty of all things."

Until this time the Portuguese had claimed the sovereignty of these regions. In 1538 Manuel Cortereal was appointed governor in succession to his father, and his authority was confirmed by King Sebastian on the 12th July, 1570. But he had died and was succeeded by his son Vasqueanes, the fourth of the name, who, on the 26th May, 1579, was confirmed by the king as governor of Terra Nova. This was the year previous to the annexation of Portugal to Spain. Even after that event the office was still claimed as hereditary in the family, so that when Vasqueanes died it was claimed as having passed to his widow, Marguerite Cortereal. When an agent of the British government comes to take possession of the land and inaugurates the new authority by solemn public ceremonies the Portuguese give him a royal welcome. This can be explained only on the supposition that arrangements had been made for the transfer of their claims. Their power may have been for some time nominal, but still it was such as family pride and national honor alike would make them unwilling to relinquish, particularly in favor of a nation from whom they had hitherto been so separated in race and religion. Probably their relation at this time to the Spaniards as their conquerors, and the known feelings of the English toward that people, may have rendered them willing to concur as they actually do in a rival's taking possession of the rights granted to both Fagundez and the Cortereals.

The result of our whole investigation is to show that the Portuguese occupied a foremost place in the exploration of this part of the continent; that for a long period they exercised a commanding influence along its shores and derived from its waters if not also from the land an important addition to their national wealth; and that they were even the first Europeans to attempt colonization on our shores, and for a time seemed likely to rule the destiny of these lands.

Portuguese influence in this quarter has passed away as an exhalation of the night, the first and great reason being what they call "the sixty years' captivity" (1580-1640), when they were subject to Spain. By this their genius was repressed, their maritime power destroyed, and their energies paralyzed. During the same period England and France entered on their career of colonization in America, and when Portugal recovered her independence the field was occupied, and she was in no condition to reclaim her position against such powerful competitors. Thus her people disappeared, and a few names are all that remain to tell of their former presence.

George Patterson

THE FIRST AMERICAN SHIP

The tablet erected by the Holland Society of New York in September, 1890, at numbers 41 to 45 Broadway, New York city, bears an inscription to the effect that the *Restless*, launched at Manhattan Island in the spring of 1614, was the first vessel built by Europeans in this country.* This statement as it stands is somewhat misleading.

In 1607 a pinnace called the *Virginia* which crossed the Atlantic several times was built by the adventurers under Popham and Gilbert, at Sagadahoc.†

In 1611 a pinnace of some eighty tons called the *Deliverance*, and another of twenty-nine foot keel measure called the *Patience*, were built at Bermuda by the Virginia colonists to take the place of the *Sea Venture*, the account of whose wreck is supposed to have suggested to Shakespeare the plot of "The Tempest."‡

In 1594 a small bark of some eighteen tons was built at Bermuda by the crew of a French vessel commanded by M. de la Barbotière, which had been wrecked on the islands in December, 1593.§

In 1526 a small vessel called a *gavarra* was built by Ayllin's company to replace the loss of a brigantine with which he had sailed from Puerta de la Plata in June. The place of building this vessel was the mouth of

* One cold night in November, 1613, the *Tiger*, a Dutch vessel under the command of Captain Adriaen Block, took fire at its anchorage just off the southern point of Manhattan island, and the officers and crew escaped with much difficulty to the shore. The vessel burned to the water's edge, and as there was no other ship in the harbor the unfortunate seamen had no alternative but to make friends with the Indians and provide such habitations, probably of the wigwam family, as would protect them from the storms and cold of an American winter. Captain Block was a plain man of no inconsiderable tact and capacity, who had left the profession of the law to study the science of navigation, in which he had become an expert; and with the slender materials at command in such a desolate wilderness he constructed, during the lonely winter days, a small yacht of sixteen tons burden, which was named the *Restless*. When this craft was found seaworthy, in the spring of 1614, it was launched off the southeasterly shore of Manhattan island, and Block with his heroic crew sailed in it to explore the tidal channels to the northeast, where no large ship had yet ventured, passing the islands in the East river and the foaming strait called Hell Gate, and then were charmed to find themselves in a "beautiful inland sea," now called Long Island sound. The *Restless* was the first vessel, as far as known, to glide over these blue waters.—EDITOR.

† Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., xviii.; Winsor's History, iii., p. 177.

‡ Swackey's Narrative, Jourdan's Narrative, and Lefroy's Memorials of the Bermudas, pp. 49, 50

§ Henry May's Narrative, Lefroy's Bermudas, p. 7.

the "Jordan," in latitude 33° 40', and in the vicinity of the present site of Georgetown, South Carolina. This same company proceeded northward to the Chesapeake, and according to John Gilman Shea began the settlement of San Miguel at the place where, eighty years later, the Virginia colonists founded Jamestown.*

It is almost certain that the Spaniards built many other vessels in America in the period of more than a century before the Dutch settlement at New York, during which they maintained a prosperous system of colonies in America.

The New York tablet might be modified in either of two ways. It might bear witness to the fact that it marks the spot where was built the first vessel in this country by Dutch navigators, or that the *Restless* was the first ship built by Europeans on the coast between Cape Cod and Cape Hatteras. The phrase "this country" will inevitably be interpreted to mean America, or North America, at the very least, and will thus perpetuate a mistaken apprehension of historical fact.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Lyman Brown Goode". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, prominent 'L' and 'G'.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

* Shea's Ancient Florida, in Winsor, ii., p. 241.

SOME CALIFORNIA DOCUMENTS

No race of people preserve letters and documents of every sort with more scrupulous care than the Spaniards. Even the poorest and most broken-down descendant of the proud native California families of the last century has possession of materials that will be of much value to the future historian. The remarkable collections of family papers accumulated by Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft were possible in few other countries except California. Having passed the period of great collections, though more is left than most people imagine, we are now entering upon a period when the publication of neglected materials will add many interesting details to the larger outlines that have already been completed by the specialists.

I have lately spent some months in looking over papers that were in the possession of General Manuel Castro, whose portrait appears in the January *Century*. The general is an old man, of extremely dignified, even grand, personal appearance. He is in reduced circumstances like many of his class, having lost all his lands after being involved in endless litigations and visionary schemes of almost every description. He always has a story for every occasion, and if California history were to be written in accordance with the magnificent results of his picturesque imagination it would out-Mexico all the stories of New Spain. It has always seemed to me that at least three or four mute, inglorious romances of a high order were buried by lack of education and opportunity in this group of Spanish-Californian leaders of the period between 1830 and 1848. They mingle the most impossible narratives, full of subtle literary effects, with the everyday events of the time. The California of their youth looms up as strange and full of legends as some floating island of the seas in the veracious chronicles of mediæval navigators who wrote on their maps, "Hereabouts there be Mermayds."

But every one of the interesting group of which old General Manuel Castro is a type reverences the written paper; the smallest scrap of correspondence is scrupulously kept and either accompanies his wanderings or is concealed in some secure hiding-place. Some of the Spanish pioneers think there is money in their *documentas*, and they always need money badly; others seem to hold these things in almost superstitious reverence, as all that is left to them of the ancient splendors of their fallen family—the casual memoranda of league-wide estates, long ago passed from their

hands, and built upon by American city-makers. In one thing, at least, they all agree: the *Gringo*, the despoiler, the lean and hungry American, is fair prey, if by any means he can be led through courtly and sweet-sounding praise and appeal to disgorge his silver and gold for sight or use of the precious family papers. Lawyers looking for evidence, newspaper men on the trail of a story, collectors of "Californiana," have each and all admired the Oriental bargaining which brings out, one by one, week after week, documents of interest mingled with utter rubbish, and keeps the investigator constantly expectant of something wonderful that is about to materialize, but never does rise clearly out of the mists of imagination. It is not that vulgar and commonplace thing that men call a swindle, even when the results are ludicrously disproportioned to the expenditure of time and money. You have been taken by devious ways and with extreme secrecy to some garret in an old shanty, and you have seen a few carefully tied packets of papers brought out from some satchel or box, or curious place of concealment; perhaps they were stuffed under the sweat-leathers of a saddle or sewed up in the bottom of a wheat-sack. You have heard a trembling voice explaining, in rich, provincial Spanish, that "these, these, Senor, are what no one else has ever been allowed to gaze upon"; and although you reserve an opinion on that point you cannot but feel that it is not acting, particularly when a moment later the old Spaniard unfolding his treasures that he has not thought of for months seizes a faded paper and presses it to his lips, saying, "It was my mother's." All the money in California would not persuade the broken-down gentleman of the Spanish period to let any one else touch the few faded lines; he puts them away and brushes the tears out of his eyes as he goes on unfolding other packages.

Enough of these preliminaries. Any collector could make a story out of such experiences. A few illustrative letters and documents may serve to show how fresh and interesting is the field of Pacific coast historical documents.

The first relic that I will present is General José Castro's proclamation of 1846, a very characteristic piece of Napoleonic imitation. General José, an uncle of Manuel, from whom this particular document was obtained, was early educated in the school of political bombast. He played a very important part in California politics before the conquest, being the leading force in several revolutions and local disturbances of long-forgotten consequence. His little *pronunciamiento* of 1846, written "on the way to Sonora," is particularly typical of the bombastic literature of the period. It reads as follows:

"General José Castro's proclamation: 1846

The Commander of the Department to its inhabitants:

Fellow citizens! With my heart full of bitterest grief I am leaving you and the country where I was born, yet with the hope of returning to destroy the slavery in which I leave you. The day will come when our unfortunate country shall duly punish a rapacious and unjust usurpation, and for the peace of the world demand satisfaction for its wrongs. My friends, I trust in your loyalty and patriotism, and as a proof of the confidence that you deserve I leave you my wife and innocent children. They remain without fortune and without the means of subsistence. Be their protection and their help. All I ask is to save the national honor.

Thankful for the attachment that you have always shown me, I pray you anew not to abandon your feelings of love toward the mother-country, and to preserve in your breasts the holy fire of liberty until the day of vengeance comes; and may you never dishonor the name of Mexican.

Fellow citizens! As I leave you my soul is filled with bitterness when I think that I leave you slaves. But the glorious day will come when your chains shall be broken, and the sweet sound shall greet you of those sacred names—Liberty and Independence.

JOSE CASTRO "

(Written on the way to Sonora, August, 1846.)

It is almost inconceivable that this eloquent outburst of native Californian patriotism was written by the captain of two-score lancers, in the mountains, cut off from their supplies, and hastening out of the country to which they had laid claim. It sounds like the thunderbolt of a military genius forced into temporary exile. But one looks in vain for the "return from Elba." General José only came back from Sonora after the whole coast was in American possession.

Of more ancient memory is a "land-memorandum" of 1830, signed by a famous name, that of the governor of California. This memorandum runs as follows:

"Spanish Land Memorandum

Abstract showing the amount of land owned by the persons here named:

Searg't citizen Ignacio Vallejo, 1 siteo, 8½ caballerias.

Widow and children of Searg't José Pico, 8½ caballerias.

Citizen Antonio Castro, 16½ caballerias.

Corporal Francisco Soto, $8\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.
Corporal Simeon Castro, $20\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.
Citizens José and Angel Castro, $14\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.
Citizens Mariano and Feliciano Lobezañes, $4\frac{1}{10}$ caballerias.
Citizen José Mariano Estrada, 3 sitios, $24\frac{1}{2}$ caballerias.

NOTE.—The sitios (a league square) are for cattle and horses, and in all the grants of the irrigated and unirrigated lands are to be proportioned in the best manner possible.

[Signed.]

ECHEANDIA

MONTEREY, *September 30, 1830.*"

The caballeria that old Echeandia talks of was a tract of thirty-three and a third acres, which was the portion assigned after the Spanish conquest to each cavalry soldier. This was usually irrigated land in a town, and often afterward proved to be of great value. San José, Santa Clara, Los Angeles, and San Francisco have had many and furious lawsuits over these old caballeria grants of the early part of the century. The permanence of institutional forms is shown in the fact that the caballeria served as a measurement of land in all the provinces of New Spain, and is still known in Mexico.

Half a century older, I find the registers of immigrants, and these are of the greatest value to historians. I copy several descriptions of prominent Californians at the close of the eighteenth century from a Castro manuscript of about 1812, from the Spanish Register:

"Office of the Royal Presidio of Monterey. Register

Ignacio Vincente Vallejo, son of Geronimo and of Antonio Gomez, born at Nuestra Señora de las Cañadas, Obispado, Guadalajara: business, farmer; age, thirty-three years; stature, five feet, five inches, six lines. Religion, Catholic. Marks as follows: hair, chestnut; eyes, gray; nose, short; full beard; color, fair. He enlisted voluntarily for ten years in this Presidio to serve in his Company. Could write, and signed at Monterey, June 8, 1787, before Mariano Verdugo and Manuel Vargas and approved by Governor Fages in the same date.

Macario de Castro, corporal at Monterey, enlisted in the Mission of San Carlos September 12, 1788. In October also. December 2, 1787, Macario de Castro at San Juan, September 1, 1787.

José Manuel Rodriguez, son of José and Maria Antonia Estrada, born in the city of Guadalajara, enrolled at the Presidio of Monterey as carpenter. Stature, five feet; age, thirty years; color, swarthy; hair, black;

eyes, gray ; eyebrows, black ; a mole on the nose near the left eye : enlisted for ten years at Monterey, December 13, 1789, and signed before Sergeant Manuel Vargas and Corporal Macario de Castro."

Let us now turn to the Commodore Jones affair of 1840-42. It has received considerable attention from writers, but some of the correspondence among the Castro papers may be of interest. The first document that I have obtained is a letter of acting Governor Jimeno to the Alcalde at Monterey referring to the claim of Lorenzo Carmichael of Monterey—a British subject—for \$7,380, damages suffered by reason of his arrest and expulsion from the province. These "difficulties with foreigners" continued, and Americans were deeply involved. Next comes a letter of Governor Alvarado to Judge José Fernandez at Monterey, enclosing the following letter to Commodore Jones :

,"November 13, 1842.

To his Excellency, Thos. apC. Jones, as follows :

Yesterday evening, the 8th, there was placed in my hands the official letter of your Excellency of October 11th last, at which time the squadron under your command had not anchored in the bay of Monterey. But believing that this was a slip of the pen I proceed to answer your said letter, stating that in consideration of my absence from Monterey and the uncertainty of my return I have requested the Prefect to give some explanation of his conduct, to whom under this date I send the formal request. One of the principal reasons of my absence was occasioned by the insurrection of a number of the savage Indians who had been reduced to order at this point and others in the district, who, doubtless believing that the events of the 19th gave them a favorable opportunity, on the same day divided into scattered bands in the mountains and forests to commit robbery and outrages upon the defenseless ranches of the jurisdiction. On this account my presence was indispensably necessary at these points to give protection to the unfortunate farmers.

With respect to the demands for indemnification made by certain subjects of the United States, who were conveyed to San Blas in April, 1840, I have always supposed that the business would be arranged by the supreme government of the Republic, besides the fact that the commander of an English man-of-war brought forward this matter anew, to whom it might not be discourteous to allow him to complete any statements and claims that he has to make in reference to the subject of his nation.

The same may now be done with regard to the American citizens before the justice of the peace and judge of the primary court of claims

of this capital of Monterey, Don José Fernandez, who has been vested with authority to hear and do justice to all complaints and claims presented as demands for justice by any foreigner who may appear before the court.

And in virtue of your claim that an express hearing shall be given to the American citizens referred to in said communication I repeat my orders to the aforesaid justice of peace that he shall hear the complainants and hasten any settlement that he considers just for the benefit of the said citizens of the United States.

[Signed.]

ALVARADO

To the Judge :

And I direct you on the receipt of the present communication to declare to the commodore that the court under your charge will be open at all hours to hear any complaint or claim made by the citizens of the United States and that you will assist all right testimony and certification of their claims, advising me of any difficulties that may arise within the ten days wherein this matter must be arranged.

To your prudence and activity I now recommend this business to prevent any new action on the part of the commodore of the naval forces and to overcome any difficulty.

God and Liberty.

[Signed.] ALVARADO "

Leaving the stormy period of revolution immediately preceding the conquest and passing over the conquest itself the difficult epoch of reconstruction is worth attention. This was the time of almost continual litigation over land titles. A typical petition of native Californians to the congress of the United States, signed by several hundred prominent Spaniards, is worthy of especial note. Among the signers are such names as Pico, Suñol, Estudillo, Sobranes, Galindo, Soto, Robles, Pacheco, and many others that were great landholders in their time. Their petition, dated February 21, 1859, reads even now as a strong and earnest appeal, and one marvels at the legislation that totally ignored its claims. It runs as follows :

" We, the undersigned, residents of the state of California and citizens of the United States, formerly citizens of the Republic of Mexico, respectfully represent : That during the war between the United States and Mexico the officers of the United States on different occasions as commanders of the land and naval forces offered and promised in the most solemn manner to the inhabitants of California protection and security for

their persons and property, and the incorporation of the said state of California into the American Union, holding out to them great advantages that would result. That in consequence of such promises and representation very few of the inhabitants of California resisted the invasion; some received the invaders with open arms, and a great part of the people received the change with satisfaction, welcoming their new guests, since their connection with the Mexican government had been very weak, and they had seen with envy the growth, greatness, prosperity, and glory of the Great Republic of the North.

When peace was established between the two nations by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo they took part in the rejoicing of their new American compatriots; in conformity with the literal sense of that solemn instrument they assumed at once the position of citizens of the United States, and from that time have held it with zeal and fidelity, believing that all their rights were embraced in the treaty which declares that '*their property would be inviolably protected and secured.*'

The people of California being obliged to devote themselves to a pastoral life and in their rural occupations ignorant of even the laws of their own country, without assistance from counselors to advise them legally, of whom there were but few in California, chose from themselves judges who were ignorant of the intricate and technical terms of law and were consequently unprepared for the exacting position of American judicial magistrates. Our population, scattered over a great extent of territory, could scarcely hope that the title by which their ancestral lands were located and held, in many cases for more than half a century, could successfully bear a close critical examination before a court. We heard with surprise and dismay that by an act of congress a commission was named with power to examine all such titles, and to confirm or annul such as they saw fit, though we did not doubt that this honorable body would take as its guide the best interest of the state. But all classes of titles were at once rendered doubtful, their source questionable, and in so far valueless unless confirmed by said commission, all having been, in fact, *compelled* to present their titles under penalty, in case of neglect, of their lands being declared public.

Your petitioners, ignorant of the forms and procedures of American courts, were obliged to employ American lawyers to represent their claims, paying them enormous fees, and having no other means save their lands to meet the cost, were compelled to give a part of their land, a fourth in many cases, and sometimes more.

The discovery of gold caused an immense immigration to this country,

and finding that the titles of the old inhabitants were placed in doubt and their validity was questioned, many swooped upon the land, taking possession of the best as if it were public, often seizing even the houses in which people had lived with their families for many years, taking and killing their cattle and destroying their harvests, so that those who before that time had possessed great numbers of cattle, counted by thousands, presently found none, and men who had been masters of many leagues of territory had peaceable possession and use of not a single acre.

The expenses of the new state government were great, and the means to meet these expenses could only be met by taxes on property, and there was very little property in the new state except the said lands. Heavy taxes were imposed by new laws, which being unpaid the lands were sold. Deprived of the use of lands from which they got no lucrative return, the owners were obliged to mortgage them to meet the payment of taxes due. With such mortgages, depreciated by the uncertainty of title, without income or rents, the owners of the said lands could only obtain ready money by the payment of enormous interest. Ordinary interest at this time was very high, and with such security it was exorbitant : even then they were compelled to sell or lose their land, for they were obliged to get ready money to buy the necessaries of life.

Hoping that the land commission would take prompt action upon their titles, they mortgaged their lands, paying interest at from three to ten per cent. per month. Relief did not come ; the action of the commission was much delayed, and after the said commission had passed judgment on said titles it was still necessary to pass a rigorous ordeal in the district court, and some cases are still pending in the supreme court of the nation. Though titles were finally confirmed the surveys of the surveyor general of the United States were very greatly delayed.

Many paid the surveyors' fees, and this was made cause of objection at Washington ; the surveys made by such surveyors were disallowed and patents refused simply because the costs had been paid. More than eight hundred petitions were presented to the land commission, and though more than ten years have passed not more than fifty patents have issued. Those of your petitioners who were unable to meet such exactions, interest, taxes, and the cost of litigation and maintain their families were obliged to sell by degrees the greater part of their ancient possessions. Some who had been once rich proprietors have not a foot of ground left, living on charity in sight of the land that was once covered with thousands of cattle ; and those of us who by strict economy and great sacrifices have been able to save a small part of our property have heard that new meas-

ures have been proposed to keep us in suspense and absorb and consume to the last fragment the property which our forefathers left us.

Your petitioners respectfully submit that, if the faith and honor of the United States government so solemnly pledged should be sacredly kept as regards themselves, that Sonora, Lower California, and the whole north of Mexico, seeing with envy the happy state of the native Californians under their new government, would soon eagerly clamor for admission into the glorious federation; but now knowing the unfortunate condition in which the Californians lie they cling with frantic desperation to the mere shadow of protection which they still have under the jarring, weak, and insecure government of unfortunate Mexico.

It would have been much better for the state and for the new settlers themselves if all land titles which appear regularly registered in the Mexican archives should have been declared valid and the possessors of titles granted under preceding governments had been declared owners in perpetuity and possessors of the lands in question, and if the government or whatsoever person or official pretended the contrary must make their claim only before the regular courts of the country in accordance with the usual course of judicial proceedings. This would have increased the glory of the conquerors, obtained the confidence and the respect of the conquered, and contributed to the material prosperity of the whole nation."

There were many of these early petitions of the native Californians, none of which served to stay the drift of legislation and court decisions, which gradually and steadily transferred vast ranches and whole valleys, once in Spanish hands, to the restless and ambitious American squatters.

In the long run it would have been far better to have recognized the Spanish claims in the spirit of the old Spanish laws under which they were created. For a quarter of a century insecure land titles were the curse of California, and even now there are thousands of acres of fertile land upon which no man will lend a dollar because of the clouded titles, a legacy of the long and bitter race-struggle that ended in the dispossession of the native Californian.

Charles Howard Shinn.

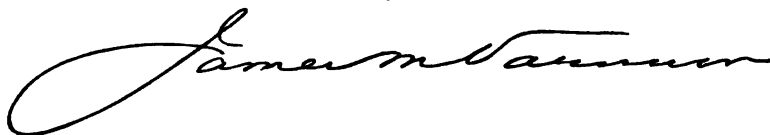
NILES, CALIFORNIA.

GENERAL VARNUM ON A CONSTITUTION OF GOVERNMENT

Editor Magazine of American History:

The following letter, written in August, 1787, by General James M. Varnum, of the continental army, has, to the best of my knowledge, never been published. The original is in my collection. It is historically most interesting as an expression of well-considered views as to the proper form of government for the United States, and it will be noticed that the suggestions therein contained were afterward, to a considerable degree, embodied in the federal Constitution.

General Varnum was recognized as one of the leading lawyers in Rhode Island, and he had been in the continental congress from 1780 to 1782, also from 1786 to May 2, 1787. This letter was written only a few months after he had ceased to be a member of that congress. The person to whom it is addressed, Hon. Mr. Holton, was probably the Hon. Samuel Holton, of Massachusetts, a member of congress, and one of the most zealous and active patriots of his day.*



"August 4, 1787

My worthy Friend:

You have several times hinted the difficulty of expressing upon paper one's ideas of an energetic federal government, altho' convinced of the inadequacy of our present system. Permit me to devote fifteen minutes to this subject; and as detail or amplification is unnecessary to an informed mind, I shall confine myself to principles.

These principles may be considered under two heads. The first as originating from the confederacy and directing the various powers that should be exercised by the nation collectively, and by the States individually. The second, as flowing from the nature of civil Society, having due regard to the customs, manners, laws, climates, religions, and pursuits of the Citizens of the United States. Under this head may be considered the manner of exercising these powers, or the government of the Nation.

* For life and portrait of General James M. Varnum see *Magazine of American History* for September, 1887.

In the first place, whatever respects the citizens collectively, or as immediately relating to the whole confederacy, whether foreign or domestic, must be subjected to the national controul, and whatever respects the citizens of a particular State, and has relation to them as such, should be directed by the States respectively. But as interferences may sometimes arise, the collective power must decide and enforce. This check would be better placed in the judiciary than the legislative branches.

In the second place, the government of the United States should be so modified as to secure the rights of the different classes of citizens. But as these are distinguished by education, wealth, and talents, they naturally divide into Aristocratical and Democratical. It is necessary, then, to form a Supreme legislative, perhaps as Congress is now formed, to originate all national laws, and submit them to the revision of a Senatorial body, which shall be formed out of equal districts of the United States, by the appointment of the Supreme legislative, and whose commissions shall be so modified as to retain an equal number of old Members in office with the new, who may form a succession. In this body should reside the power of making war and peace.

The execution of the laws both civil and military should be placed in an executive council, consisting of a President of the United States, and the Officers of the great departments of War, Finance, Foreign Affairs, and Law, to be appointed by the Senate, and commissioned during good behavior, excepting the President, who should be appointed by both the legislative and senatorial bodies, and commissioned for a term of years, or for life. All appointments of Judges and other officers, civil and military, should be made by the President, by and with advice of the council and commissioned in his name. These officers should be accountable for their conduct and triable before the respective tribunals before whom their actions would respectively be made cognizable. I think the President should not be liable to any direct prosecution, as in him would reside that part of the sovereignty which displays itself in the etiquette of nations.

In this system, the balance would be secured; military objects would be directed by the Senate, executed by the President and Council, and checked by the fiscal power of the legislative.

The subjects of revenue should be few, simple, and well defined, and in case of a very uncommon emergency, the States respectively should be called upon from contingents, which would form an ultimate and never-failing check against encroachments upon the political system.

I am Sir, Y^rs,

TO HON^{BLE} MR. HOLTON."

J. M. VARNUM

PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND THE SLEEPING SENTINEL

Mr. L. E. Chittenden in his recently issued work, *Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration*, gives the following interesting version of a memorable historic incident:

"The story of the President and the sleeping sentinel has been so many times told that its repetition may seem like the relation of a thrice-told tale. The substantial facts are common to all its versions. A soldier named Scott, condemned to be shot for the crime of sleeping on his post, was pardoned by President Lincoln, only to be killed afterward at the battle of Lee's Mills on the Peninsula. The incidental facts are varied according to the taste, the fancy, or the imagination of the writer of each version. The number of persons who claim to have procured the intervention of the President to save the life of the soldier nearly equals that of the different versions. As these persons worked independently of each other, and one did not know what another had done, it is not improbable that several of them are entitled to some measure of credit, of which I should be most unwilling to deprive them.

The truth is always and everywhere attractive. The child loves and never outgrows its love for a real true story. The story of this young soldier, as it was presented to me, so touchingly reveals some of the kinder qualities of the President's character that it seldom fails to charm those to whom it is related. I shall give its facts as I understood them, and I think I can guarantee their general accuracy.

On a dark September morning in 1861, when I reached my office, I found waiting there a party of soldiers, none of whom I personally knew. They were greatly excited, all speaking at the same time and consequently unintelligibly. One of them wore the bars of a captain. I said to them pleasantly: 'Boys, I cannot understand you. Pray, let your captain say what you want and what I can do for you.' They complied, and the captain put me in possession of the story, in substance as follows: William Scott, one of these Vermont boys, just of age, accustomed to his regular sound and healthy sleep, not yet inured to the life of the camp, had volunteered to take the place of a sick comrade who had been detailed for picket duty, and had passed the night as a sentinel on guard. The next day he was himself detailed for the same duty and undertook its performance. But he found it impossible to keep awake for two nights

in succession, and had been found by the relief sound asleep at his post. For this offence he had been tried by a court-martial, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot within twenty-four hours after his trial, and on the second morning after his offence was committed.

His comrades had set about saving him in a characteristic way. They had called a meeting, appointed a committee, with power to use all the resources of the regiment in his behalf, and the committee had resolved to call on me for advice because I was a Vermonter, and they had already marched from the camp to my office in Washington since daylight that morning.

The captain took all the blame from Scott upon himself. Scott's mother opposed his enlistment on the ground of his inexperience, and had only consented on the captain's promise to look after him as if he were his own son. This he had wholly failed to do. He must have been asleep or stupid himself, he said, when he paid no attention to the boy's statement that he had fallen asleep during the day, and feared he could not keep awake the second night on picket. Instead of sending some one, or going himself in Scott's place, as he should, he had let him go to his death. He alone was guilty. 'If any one ought to be shot, I am the fellow, and everybody at home would have the right to say so. There must be some way to save him; he is as good a boy as there is in the army, and he ain't to blame. You will help us, now, won't you?' he said, almost with tears.

The other members of the committee had a definite if not a practicable plan. They insisted that Scott had not been tried and gave their account of the proceeding. . . . They had subscribed a sum of money to pay counsel and offered to pledge their credit to any amount necessary to secure the boy a fair trial. . . .

'Come,' I said, 'there is only one man on earth who can save your comrade. Fortunately he is the best man on the continent. We will go to President Lincoln.' I went swiftly out of the Treasury over to the White House, and up the stairway to the little office where the President was writing. The boys followed in a procession. I did not give the thought time to get any hold of me that I, an officer of the government, was committing an impropriety in thus rushing a matter upon the President's attention. The President was the first to speak. 'What is this?' he asked. 'An expedition to kidnap somebody, or to get another brigadier appointed, or for a furlough to go home to vote? I cannot do it, gentlemen. Brigadiers are thicker than drum-majors, and I couldn't get a furlough for myself if I asked it from the War Department.' There

was hope in the tone in which he spoke. I went straight to my point. 'Mr. President,' I said, 'these men want nothing for themselves. They are Green Mountain boys of the Third Vermont, who have come to stay as long as you need good soldiers. They don't want promotion until they earn it. But they do want something that you alone can give them—the life of a comrade.'

'What has he done?' asked the President. 'You Vermonters are not a bad lot, generally. Has he committed murder or mutiny, or what other felony?' 'Tell him,' I whispered to the captain. 'I cannot! I cannot! I should stammer like a fool! You can do it better.' 'Captain,' I said, pushing him forward, 'Scott's life depends on you. You must tell the President the story. I only know it from hearsay.' He commenced like the man by the Sea of Galilee who had an impediment in his speech; but very soon the string of his tongue was loosened and he spoke plain. He began to word-paint a picture with the hand of a master. As the words burst from his lips they stirred my own blood. He gave a graphic account of the whole story and ended by saying: 'He is as brave a boy as there is in your army, sir. Scott is no coward. Our mountains breed no cowards. They are the homes of thirty thousand men who voted for Abraham Lincoln. They will not be able to see that the best thing to be done with William Scott will be to shoot him like a traitor and bury him like a dog! Oh, Mr. Lincoln, *can you?*'

'No, I can't!' exclaimed the President. It was one of the moments when his countenance became such a remarkable study. It had become very earnest as the captain rose with his subject; then it took on that melancholy expression which later in his life became so infinitely touching. I thought I could detect a mist in the deep cavities of his eyes. Then in a flash there was a total change. He smiled and finally broke into a hearty laugh as he asked me: 'Do your Green Mountain boys fight as well as they talk? If they do, I don't wonder at the legends about Ethan Allan.' Then his face softened as he said: 'But what can I do? What do you expect me to do? As you know, I have not much influence with the department.' 'I have not thought the matter out,' I said. 'I feel a deep interest in saving young Scott's life; I think I knew the boy's father. It is useless to apply to General Smith. The only thing to be done was to apply to you. It seems to me that if you would sign an order suspending Scott's execution until his friends can have his case examined I might carry it to the War Department, and so insure the delivery of the order to General Smith to-day through the regular channels of the war office.'

'No! I do not think that course would be safe; you do not know these

officers of the regular army. They are a law unto themselves. They sincerely think it is a good policy occasionally to shoot a soldier. I can see it where a soldier deserts or commits a crime, but I cannot in such a case as Scott's. They say that I am always interfering with the discipline of the army, and being cruel to the soldiers. Well, I can't help it, so I shall have to go right on doing wrong. I do not think an honest, brave soldier, conscious of no crime but sleeping when he was weary, ought to be shot or hung. The country has better uses for him. Captain,' continued the President, 'your boy shall not be shot—that is, not to-morrow, nor until I know more about his case.' To me the President said: 'I will have to attend to this matter myself. I have for some time intended to go up to the Chain Bridge. I will do so to-day. I shall then know that there is no mistake in suspending the execution.' I remarked that he was undertaking a burden which we had no right to impose; that it was asking too much of the President in behalf of a private soldier.

'Scott's life is as valuable to him as that of any person in the land,' he said. 'You remember the remark of a Scotchman about the head of a nobleman who was decapitated. It was a small matter of a head, but it was valuable to him, poor fellow, for it was the only one he had.' I saw that remonstrance was vain. I suppressed the rising gratitude of the soldiers, and we took our leave. Two members of 'the committee' remained to watch events in the city, while the others returned to carry the news of their success to Scott and to the camp. Later in the day the two members reported that the President had started in the direction of the camp; that their work here was ended, and they proposed to return to their quarters. Within a day or two the newspapers reported that a soldier sentenced to be shot for sleeping on his post had been pardoned by the President and returned to his regiment."

JOHN LAW OF INDIANA

A plain marble slab, in accordance with his often-expressed request, marks the resting-place in the Vincennes cemetery of John Law, the historian of Vincennes, a place better known in early times as "Au Poste." To the student of American history who may chance to visit this beautiful city on the Wabash, Judge Law is one of the most interesting characters as well as one of the most noted men who ever dwelt there. This interest in him is due in part to his scholarship, his social traits, his beneficent and conspicuous public services to his country, and to the fact that he was the first authentic historian of Vincennes, or the "fort" on the "Ouabache," first known among the Indians as Chippe Coke or Brush Wood. Post Vincennes was a very important point during the Revolutionary struggle and in the early opening of the great northwest, and for this reason Judge Law's history becomes a valuable source of information to all students.

New London, Connecticut, was the birthplace of Judge Law, and he first saw the light October 2, 1796. His early life was in nowise distinguished from the ordinary youth of his day. When eighteen years old he was graduated from Yale, afterward studied law, and in 1817 was admitted to the bar of the supreme court of his native state. The same year, which was that after Indiana was admitted into the Union, he started for the "great far west," as Post Vincennes was considered when there were no railroads or telegraph lines in the country. In that pioneer French town he opened a law-office and practiced his profession. He soon gained prominence, and in the course of a long and useful life held many responsible official positions. His talents and eloquence advanced him in public estimation, and for nearly half a century he was a leading citizen of the southern part of Indiana.

Not long after the alliance of his interests with those of Vincennes he was elected prosecuting attorney of that circuit, then embracing nearly one-half of the settled portion of the state. It was during his term of office, while Judge Jacob Call was occupying the bench, that the first legal execution took place in Knox county. He was elected to the legislature in 1823 and served in that body actively and well, yet his tastes did not run in political directions and when his term expired he returned to the practice of his profession. In 1830 the Indiana legislature elected him

judge of the seventh judicial circuit, a position he held for one year, retiring March 30, 1831. He presided, however, as judge upon the same bench from March, 1844, to March, 1850. President Van Buren in 1838 appointed him receiver of public moneys for the district of Vincennes, a post he filled faithfully four years. His commission included the power to adjust land titles.

Associated with James B. McCall, Lucius H. Scott, and his brother William H. Law, Judge Law purchased a tract consisting of seven hundred acres of land on the Ohio river, adjoining Evansville, and laid it out in lots, giving it the name of Lamasco, now a part of Evansville. The name was derived from the first letters of the names of the owners of the land. After the completion of the Wabash & Erie canal to Evansville he moved there with his family in 1851. In 1855 President Pierce appointed him judge of the court of claims for Indiana and Illinois, the court to be held at Vincennes. Being a man of large intellectual calibre his decisions were rarely called in question. His patriotic friends induced him to run for congress from the first district of Indiana in 1860, and he was elected, serving on the library committee and on the committee on Revolutionary pensions. As chairman of the latter committee he drew and reported a bill to the national legislature, and it was passed, allowing the twelve remaining soldiers of the Revolutionary war a pension of one hundred dollars a year each. By this act he made happy these old veterans as they tottered to the grave. Law was reelected to congress in 1862, and his congressional career was eminently useful. He impressed his fellow-members with his broad and liberal intellect, and gained their respect, and received the regrets of his constituents when he retired once more to private life. On several occasions he was a prominent candidate for the United States senate. He died in Evansville October 7, 1873, and in accordance with his request was buried at Vincennes, where his wife and children are also buried.

Judge Law married Sarah Ewing, a daughter of Nat Ewing, the first receiver of public moneys at the Vincennes land-office. He reared a large family of sons and daughters. His son Richard was a prominent officer in the United States navy. One of his daughters married Judge Chambers Patterson of Terre Haute, Indiana; and another married D. J. Mackey, the railroad magnate of Evansville.

The Law family through many generations has a notable history for distinguished public service. Jonathan Law, the great-grandfather of the subject of this brief sketch, was chief-justice and lieutenant-governor of Connecticut for many years, and governor of that colony from May, 1741,

to his death in 1750. His son Richard, the grandfather of John Law, was a delegate to the old congress, and after the Revolution with Roger Sherman revised and codified the statute laws of Connecticut; in May, 1786, he was appointed chief-justice of that state. His son Lyman, born in 1770, the father of John Law, was an eminent jurist and a member of congress from 1811 to 1817. Thus three generations of the Laws have figured in the national congress. John Law's maternal grandfather also, Amasa Learned, was a member of the first congress under the Constitution, and therefore contemporary with the great men who framed the government and put the machinery in motion.

Colonel François Vigo presented a claim against the United States for provisions and war materials furnished General George Rogers Clark in 1779, when Clark captured Vincennes from the British, and Judge John Law was his attorney in this celebrated case against the government. More than forty years after the goods were furnished congress agreed to pay the principal of the draft drawn by General Clark. The claim was for nearly eight thousand dollars, but Colonel Vigo refused the proposed payment unless the interest was also paid. Both principal and interest were paid in 1877, but prior to the settlement both Colonel Vigo and Judge Law had passed away. Justice was never done them by the government they served. The payment of the claim to the heirs was the sorriest sort of justice.

Judge Law and Thad Stevens were warm friends, and maintained a correspondence until Mr. Stevens' death in 1868. Judge Law was also on intimate friendly relations with President Lincoln. It is a fact not generally known that he gave Mr. Lincoln his first case in the supreme court of Illinois, and always admired the martyred President for his many genial and noble traits of manly manhood, and no one grieved more than he over the unfortunate death of Mr. Lincoln.

Many of the people of Vincennes remember Judge John Law, and in talking with them about him some idea is obtained of the mental make-up of the man. He had a fine legal mind, and to him the evidence and reasons for things, past and existing, must stand out clearly or be put in the category of unproved matters. When he began to look into or weigh a subject he was not satisfied with a post-haste survey of its topography, so to speak, but he took his angles and bearings and blazed every line he laid out. His mind was penetrative rather than discursive, logical rather than oratorical. Not a Titan, still he was a man of large and commanding figure and possessed a well-formed and well-developed physique. He was a little above the average stature, portly and distinguished in appearance,

and weighed about two hundred and twenty-five pounds. His general air was that of an intellectual, dignified man. His features were benevolent not harsh, his cheek-bones prominent, and he had what is called a Roman nose. His voice was clear and strong and would easily reach the farthest auditor. By many he was esteemed one of the finest orators in the state.

His greatest work, that which will do him the most honor in after generations, is *The History of Vincennes*, at first an address before the Indiana Historical and Antiquarian Society when he was its president. Two thousand copies of it were soon exhausted, and in 1858 he published a new edition with additions and illustrations, which was also soon exhausted, so that now it is extremely difficult to secure a copy.

VINCENNES, INDIANA.

Frank A. Myers,

THE FAIRY ISLE OF MACKINAC

A SONNET

Thy breezy isle, O Mackinac, I sing—
 Thou emerald brooch on Huron's bosom set—
 Unkissed of Michigan's blue billows yet,
 Though their twain waters swift to blending spring.
 O'er thee old Romance and fresh Nature fling
 A thousand charms which hasty footsteps let,
 Or prick necessity with keen regret—
 When seeing fades to faint remembering.
 Three flags thy forests and thy forts have waved
 Successive to the winds of inland seas;
 Thy Indian warriors crimson battles fought,
 Their dusky maids thy cliffs with love tales fraught,
 And History's hand thy grotesque rocks has graved
 With famous legends for three centuries.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS.

Wm. L. Richards

MINOR TOPICS

THE HISTORIC FRIGATE "CHESAPEAKE"

1807 AND 1813

In the year 1807, when the ill-starred frigate *Chesapeake* was attacked and disabled by the British while leaving her port for a distant service, Dr. John Bullus was among her passengers, on his way to a consulate in the Mediterranean, accompanied by his wife and three young children. They were at dinner when the vessel was fired into by the British frigate *Leopard*, which had followed the *Chesapeake* to sea, and having made a signal to speak, the latter "hove to" on the starboard tack. No trouble was anticipated, Commodore Barron of the *Chesapeake* supposing dispatches were to be forwarded to Gibraltar. The *Leopard* sent an officer on board the *Chesapeake* to demand the right of search for alleged British deserters, which was promptly rejected, and the firing of a broadside into the *Chesapeake* immediately followed. There was no chance for defense; the crew were not at quarters, and the wet hempen cables of the day were coiled over and lumbered many of the guns, only one of which was fired into the *Leopard*. Mrs. Bullus, who was the daughter of Colonel Charles Rumsey of Maryland, and her children were removed from the cabin to a temporary place of safety, but Dr. Bullus was on deck during the whole affair. On the occasion of the death of this lady, in 1868, Mr. Hamilton Morton wrote a sketch of her for the *New York Times* in which was the following statement:

"An officer from the *Leopard* came on board the *Chesapeake* (reported to be sinking) with a message from Captain Humphries to Dr. Bullus, suggesting the removal of his family to the *Leopard*. Dr. Bullus (before in the navy), whose patriotism and indignation had been sternly aroused, repelled the suggestion, and also conveyed to the official visitor in terms so unmeasured and unmistakable, his own opinion of the outrage perpetrated upon the honor of his country by Captain Humphries, as to induce the party addressed to place his hand upon his sword, whereupon Dr. Bullus, seizing a sword from the side of a by-stander, opened a cut-and-thrust combat in singular contrast with the so-called one to which it was a sequel, but which speedy interposition prevented resulting disastrously to either party.

Four of the crew of the *Chesapeake* were killed and sixteen wounded. Of the impressed seamen, three were natives of America. About four years after this occurrence some provision was made by the British government to support the seamen who had been disabled, together with the families of the men killed or

wounded, and the two impressed Americans remaining alive were restored upon the same deck from which they had been wrested, the *Chesapeake* being then in the harbor of Boston. After the affair with the *Leopard* the *Chesapeake* returned to port.

Dr. Bullus relinquished the consulate appointment and received that of navy agent for the port of New York, which he held for many years, and was the intimate friend and hospitable entertainer of all the old school of naval officers and heroes as well as our most prominent citizens. During the war of 1812 his patriotism and indefatigable zeal were recognized and made available by Commodore Chauncey in accomplishing with astonishing dispatch the transformation of growing trees of the forest into formidable squadrons on the lakes."

The following letter from Lieutenant George Budd to the secretary of the navy at Washington, describing the capture of the *Chesapeake* in 1813, was published in a weekly New York newspaper of the period, known as the *War*, an original copy of which is now before me.—EDITOR.]

"HALIFAX, June 15, 1813

Sir, The unfortunate death of Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Augustus C. Ludlow has rendered it my duty to inform you of the capture of the late U. S. frigate *Chesapeake*.

On Tuesday, June 1st, at eight a. m., we unmoored ship, and at meridian got under way from President's Roads, with a light wind from the southward and westward, and proceeded on a cruise. A ship was then in sight in the offing which had the appearance of a ship-of-war, and which, from information received from pilot-boats and craft, we believed to be the British frigate *Shannon*. We made sail in chase, and cleared ship for action. At half-past four p. m. she hove to with her head to the southward and eastward. At five p. m. took in the royals and top-gallantsails, and at half-past five hauled the courses up. About fifteen minutes before six p. m. the action commenced within pistol-shot. The first broadside did great execution on both sides, damaged our rigging, killed among others Mr. White, the sailing-master, and wounded Captain Lawrence. In about twelve minutes after the commencement of the action, we fell on board of the enemy, and immediately after one of our arm-chests on the quarter-deck was blown up by a hand-grenade thrown from the enemy's ship. In a few minutes one of the captain's aids came on the gun-deck to inform me that the boarders were called. I immediately called the boarders away and proceeded to the spar-deck, where I found that the enemy had succeeded in boarding us, and had gained possession of our quarter-deck. I immediately gave orders to haul on board the fore-tack for the purpose of shooting the ship clear of the other, and then made an attempt to regain the quarter-deck, but was wounded and thrown down on the gun-deck. I again made an effort to collect the boarders, but in the meantime the enemy had gained com-

plete possession of the ship. On my being carried down in the cockpit, I there found Captain Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow, both mortally wounded. The former had been carried below previously to the ship's being boarded; the latter was wounded in attempting to repel the boarders. Among those who fell early in the action were Mr. Edward J. Ballard, the fourth lieutenant, and Lieutenant James Broom, of marines.

I herein enclose to you a return of the killed and wounded, by which you will perceive that every officer upon whom the charge of the ship would devolve was either killed or wounded previously to her capture. The enemy report the loss of Mr. Watt, their first lieutenant, the purser, the captain's clerk, and twenty-three seamen killed; and Captain Broke, a midshipman, and fifty-six seamen wounded.

The *Shannon* had, in addition to her full complement, an officer and sixteen men belonging to the *Belle Poule* and a part of the crew belonging to the *Terredos*.

I have the honor to be, with very great respect, etc.,

GEORGE BUDD

The HON. WILLIAM JONES,
Secretary of the Navy, Washington."

BURNING OF THE STEAMBOAT "LEXINGTON"

[An article entitled "Disasters on Long Island Sound," published in the June (1890) issue of this magazine, has awakened much interest [xxiv., 150; xxv., 341] relative to the actual survivors who lived to tell the thrilling story of the accident. The daughter of Hon. Jonathan Godfrey of Southport, Connecticut, Mrs. E. H. Schenck, who as a child was an eye-witness, sends us the following authentic statement concerning the facts in question.—EDITOR.]

The steamboat *Lexington* was built by Bishop & Simpson of New York in 1835, and owned by Cornelius Vanderbilt until 1838. On the afternoon of January 13, 1840, the *Lexington* left New York for Stonington, laden principally with bales of cotton. There were over fifty passengers on board. About half-past seven o'clock that evening the alarm of fire was given, but the flames spread so rapidly that every effort to save the burning steamer proved useless. The panic-stricken passengers rushed wildly to the life-boats, which, when lowered, filled with water, and all who sought safety in them were lost, among whom was Captain Childs of the *Lexington*. Several clung to the railing of the steamer and went down with her when she sunk about three o'clock in the morning. Others sought safety on bales of cotton, but as the night was bitterly cold and the waves ran high some of them were soon overcome with cold and fell off into the water. An effort was made by four brave men of Southport, Connecticut, who started out in yawl boats to go to the relief of those on the burning steamer, but after a fruitless search they returned about one o'clock in the morning, almost frozen from the cold and drenched with the spray of the waves which dashed over them.

Early in the morning Captain Meeker of Southport, Connecticut, sent out the sloop *Merchant* to obtain tidings of the *Lexington*. Off Stratford the *Merchant's* crew picked up five bales of cotton, and soon after they rescued from bales of cotton Captain Chester Hilliard of Norwich, Connecticut, the almost lifeless body of Captain Stephen Manchester, the pilot of the *Lexington*, and Charles Smith of Norwich. They also took from drift-wood two dead bodies. As evening approached the *Merchant* returned to Southport. Captain Hilliard, who had opened the bale of cotton he was on and covered himself as far as possible with its contents, was uninjured, and before the *Merchant* reached Southport was transferred to the steamboat *Nimrod*, bound for Bridgeport. Captain Manchester, whose limbs were badly frozen, was taken into the hospitable home of the Hon. Jonathan Godfrey, and after six weeks of great suffering recovered and left for home. Charles Smith was also badly frozen, and was taken care of by a Mrs. Jelliff until able to return home. The two unknown dead bodies were buried in the cemetery at Mill Plain. Another survivor of the ill-fated *Lexington* was the second mate, David Crowley, who on a bale of cotton reached Fresh Pond Landing, L. I., and bareheaded and in his shirt-sleeves, with frozen limbs, crawled over the ice on the beach and made his way three-quarters of a mile to the nearest house, where he fell fainting at the door. He also recovered and returned home. Captain Hilliard stated before the coroner's inquest held in New York a few days after the loss of the *Lexington* that not more than twenty minutes elapsed before the flames and smoke made it impossible to remain on the steamer. Charles Smith, who was near the steamer, stated that he saw her sink about three o'clock in the morning.

Several valuable boxes of specie sent from the Merchant's Bank of New York to Boston were lost. The Merchant's Bank sued the owners of the *Lexington* for the full value of the specie. The case was carried to the supreme court of the United States, where a decision was rendered in favor of the bank. This decision led to an act being passed in 1851 which changed the maritime laws of the country. But it was not till about 1866 that a decision was reached by which steamboats and public carriers in case of accident were not made wholly responsible.

E. H. SCHENCK

THE LIVINGSTONS OF AMERICA

Editor Magazine of American History:

If you can make room in your excellent periodical for the following letter I shall esteem it a favor. It appeared in the London *Athenaum* of February 22, also in the New York *Times* of March 29.

CLEMENT LIVINGSTON

IDELE, TIVOLI-ON-HUDSON.

"22 GREAT ST. HELENS, Feb. 14, 1891

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt of New York, the author of *The History of New York*, one of a useful series of historical manuals which was recently noticed in your

columns, in alluding to the leading families of his city in colonial times, makes the following assertion :

‘Many of the leading families in colonial times were descended from the Old World gentry. Many others sprang from successful adventurers of almost unknown ancestry. The Livingstons, for instance, one of the really noted New York families, were descended from a young Scotch factor, just like hundreds of penniless, pushing young Scotchmen who have come to this country in the steerage of sailing-ship or steamer during the present century. Of the men of high social standing in the Old World who came over to make their fortunes in the New, probably the majority failed, and their descendants slipped down into the lower ranks of the population.’—*Vide* Roosevelt’s *New York*, page 72, note.

Now, from the above paragraph it would appear that this distinguished and historical New York family was of ‘almost unknown ancestry,’ and it is surprising that a New Yorker like Mr. Roosevelt should not know better, considering the American Livingstons, ever since their settlement in the New World over two hundred years ago, have always claimed to be descended from the old Scottish Lords Livingston.

That this claim is no mere idle boast, recent researches undertaken by me into the history of this family both in Scotland and in America clearly prove. The result of these researches is briefly as follows :

The above founder of the principal American branch of the Livingston family (whose Christian name was Robert) was the youngest son of the celebrated Presbyterian minister, the Rev. John Livingston of Ancrum, who died in exile at Rotterdam in 1672. Robert emigrated to America during the following year. This John was the son of another well-known Covenanted minister, the Rev. William Livingston of Lanark, who acted as spokesman for his party in their welcome of the Marquis of Hamilton into Edinburgh as the King’s Commissioner in 1638. The Rev. William Livingston died in 1641. He, again, was the son of yet another Scottish minister, the Rev. Alexander Livingston of Moniabroch (now Kilsyth), and from some ancient family deeds, now in the possession of Sir Archibald Edmonstone of Duntreath, it is proved that he had been presented to this benefice, as its first Reformed minister, by William, sixth Lord Livingston, prior to the 15th of March, 1560-61, as upon that date he executed a deed by which he feued half his glebe to another William Livingston. This deed is also interesting from the fact that it is signed by both Lord Livingston the patron and Alexander Livingston the rector, and has both their seals attached in fairly good preservation. The minister’s seal bears the Livingston and Callendar quarters as borne by his patron, with this distinction, that in the Livingston quarters on the former seal there is only one cinquefoil instead of the usual three. This may have been intended as a mark of cadency. So far we have authentic documentary evidence to guide us, but now the link required to connect the Rev. Alexander Livingston with the head of his house is unfortunately missing. According to the statement made by the

Rev. John Livingston in his well-known autobiography, the father of the above Alexander was 'a son of the Lord Livingston, which house thereafter was dignified to the Earls of Linlithgow,' and was slain at 'Pinkie Field *anno Christi* 1547.' Unfortunately, so far this statement remains 'not proven,' though from the evidence already collected I consider it is a highly probable one. At any rate, leaving this out of the question, enough has been proved to show that the ancestors of the American Livingstons in the old country were men of position and standing, and that, therefore, it cannot be correct to state that the founder of this family in the New World was of 'almost unknown ancestry.'

As this is, I believe, the first *History of New York* ever published in London, your kind insertion of the above facts in your valuable paper will much oblige

E. B. LIVINGSTON, F. S. A. Scot.,

Author of 'The Livingstons of Callendar and their Principal Cadets.'"

ANECDOTES OF THE KING OF ITALY

A very cordial friendship exists between king and queen, and the former relies much on his wife's judgment, which is frequently clear and sound. Some pretty anecdotes are told of their domestic life. Thus the queen was anxious that her husband should follow the example of his father, and the fashion common among elderly Piedmontese officers, and dye his hair, which has become quite white. Her pleadings were in vain. Umberto's is an honest nature that does not love these subterfuges. Seeing petition was in vain, the queen had recourse to stratagem. She caused a quantity of fine hair-dye to be sent from Paris and put in the king's dressing-room, together with directions for its use, making, however, no allusion to the subject. The king, too, said nothing, though he could not fail to have seen the pigments. Now the queen has a large white poodle, of which she is very fond. What was her horror, a few days later, to see her pet come running into her room, with his candid locks of the deepest black hue! King Umberto had expended the dyes upon the poodle. From that day forth the subject of hair-dyeing was dropped between the royal couple. On yet another occasion, the husband gave the wife one of those quiet rebuffs into which enters a sense of humor, and which are on that account less hard to bear. It appears that Umberto once asked one of the queen's secretaries what would be an acceptable Christmas present for her majesty. This gentleman, a truer friend than courtier, had the courage to suggest to the king that the queen had a large number of unpaid milliners' and dressmakers' bills. The king took the hint, and begged that they should all be given to him. On Christmas morning Umberto placed all these bills, receipted, under the queen's table-napkin. There was no other present besides. It is said that she took the hint, and has been less extravagant since.—*Sovereigns and Courts of Europe.*

NOTES

CROMWELL'S ATTEMPT TO SETTLE NEW ENGLANDERS IN IRELAND—The interesting papers printed in Ellis's *Original Letters on English History* and Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts* in regard to the proposition of Cromwell, after his success in Ireland, to remove the New England settlers to the Emerald Isle, are supplemented by the following curious document published by the Rev. Dr. O'Rourke in his recent *History of Sligo*:

"Edmund Leech to be admitted tenant to the lands about Sligo.

Upon consideration had of the petition and proposalls of Mr. Edmund Leech and others for the plantation of the toune of Sligo, and some lands thereabouts, with families out of New England:—It is ordered that the Commissioners General of the Revenue do lett unto the said Edmund Leech the lands about Sligo, commonly called the Statue Mile, and the two little islands, viz.—Oyster Island and Coney Island (containing by estimation two thousand acres or thereabouts) for the use and behoof and interest of such English families as shall come from New England in America, in order to the said Transplantation for the tenure of one year from May next, upon such terms and conditions as they shall consider reasonable for the encouragement of said planters.

Dublin, 10th. April, 1655.

Thomas Herbert,
Clerk to ye Council."

I infer that the Edmund Leech re-

ferred to above is the same "Edmund Leach" who was so prominent in New Haven about 1649.

It is also curious to note the similarity of the names Oyster and Coney islands, both of which are identified with the harbor of New York.

WILLIAM KELBY

THE PRINCE DE BROGLIE—Mr. Thomas Willing Balch is about to publish, through Porter & Coates in Philadelphia, a translation of a book published in French by his father, the late Thomas Balch, in Paris, in 1872, *The French in America during the War of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783*. It is an account of the part taken by the French corps under Rochambeau, largely drawn from hitherto inaccessible material. Miss Elise Willing Balch printed in the *MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY*, in 1877, a translation of an unpublished memoir by the Prince de Broglie, who was here with Lauzun; and in Vol. XV. (1886) of this magazine she added some very important notes on the same theme. Now her brother proposes following his translation of his father's book with another volume giving the accounts written by Dupetit, Thouars, and Cromot Dubourg. The elder Mr. Balch was one of the few Americans able to write equally well in French and in English, and his son has the same mastery of both languages which marked Miss Balch's good translation of the Broglie memoir. Mr. Balch left among his papers a collection of letters written by American loyalists during the Revolution, and these

will add largely to our knowledge of their view of that struggle, when his son prints them.

UNIFORM OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY — Colonel Landmann, of the British army, describes in his *Recollections* the American officers on duty at the fort on the island of Michilimackinac (or Mackinaw) in May, 1799: "The American garrison was composed of two companies under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Birbank [Henry Burbeck]; and that amongst the officers under his command was Captain [Abner] Prior and Lieutenant Wiley [Richard Whiley]; the latter belonged to the corps of artillerists and engineers. The officers wore yellow leather breeches and hard boots up to the caps of their knees, some with and others without yellow tops. The uniforms were blue coats, red facings and linings, with plain yellow buttons. The bayonets were all

fastened on the muskets, and on coming off guard, the muskets being all loaded with balls, instead of drawing the charges the soldiers were made to fire them off at a target, when he who made the best shot was rewarded with half a pint of rum.

Lieutenant-Colonel Birbank, who resided in a very respectable building, which had been erected by the English government whilst that place was occupied by our troops, was a little man, as stiff as his boots, awkwardly consequential, and passed for a martinet. Captain Prior was a tall, rough, tobacco-chewing, rum-and-water man, with a few very brown teeth dispersed in various parts of his mouth. Lieutenant Wiley was a young, fair, beardless personage, on good terms with himself, and placed great reliance for his military dignity on the length of his boots and the thickness of his queue."

PETERSFIELD

QUERIES

REV. JOSEPH HANMER—In the interesting article on the *Chesapeake* and Lieutenant Ludlow in your last issue, reference is made to the marriage of Gabriel Ludlow of New York to a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Hanmer, chaplain to the British forces in the province of New Brunswick. As this was the year that Acadia was surrendered to France by the treaty of Ryswick, the statement is of importance as proving the presence of a minister of the Church of England in Nova Scotia at that early period. Reference to the authority on which

the statement is made is respectfully requested.

STUDENT

MISSING PORTRAIT OF DE WITT CLINTON—The Rochester Historical Society is looking for a portrait of De Witt Clinton which has been missing many years. It cost \$400 and was the gift of leading citizens to the Franklin Institute at the time when the Erie Canal made Clinton the idol of western New York. Will the readers of the *Magazine of American History* assist the good people of Rochester in their search for

this lost portrait by reporting any oil painting of De Witt Clinton they may know of, with *the name of the artist* if possible, in whose name lies the clue to ownership?

JANE MARSH PARKER,
Corresponding Secretary

GENERAL JACKSON'S BATTLES—*Editor of Magazine*: Can you or any reader give me the name by which each of the three encounters between General Jackson and the British near New Orleans is known (on the 23d and 28th December, 1814, and January 1, 1815)? Was not one known as the battle of Chalmette?

W. ABBATT

GENERAL JACKSON'S GOLD SNUFF-BOX—General Andrew Jackson directed in his will that the gold snuff-box given to him by the corporation of New York in 1819 with the freedom of the city, should be presented to the bravest soldier in the next war that occurred. After the close of the Mexican War it was claimed by several persons belonging to the First Regiment of New York Volunteers; the contest lay finally between Dyckman and Burnett. Andrew Jackson, Jr. (the adopted son of the general) refused to decide the merits of the claimants and took the box with him to South Carolina. What is the subsequent history of this interesting relic?

VETERAN

REPLIES

THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY [xxv. 244, 340]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: The *Hunters of Kentucky* (25, 244) was written by Samuel Woodworth, author of "The Old Oaken Bucket." In early childhood, (1827) my brother and I took great pleasure in reciting these verses, which we learned from a volume of Woodworth's poems belonging to our father.

BROOKLYN, April 4, 1891.

M

THE FIRST WHITE FEMALE CHILD BORN IN NEW YORK [xxv. 292]—There is an error in the statement made in the April number of the Magazine, where it is claimed that Elizabeth Gardiner was "the first white woman born in the limits of the present state of New York." Elizabeth Gardiner was born September

14, 1641, while Sarah Rapaelje, daughter of Joris Rapaelje, was born at Albany, June 9, 1625, being the first white female child of European parentage born in New Netherlands.

There seems also to be some error in the statement that Elizabeth Gardiner married a Conkling; she married about 1657 Arthur Howell. Her elder sister Mary, born at Saybrook, Connecticut, August 30, 1638, married about 1658 Jeremiah Conkling.

MINTO

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS [xxv. 255]—Junius was the name or signature of a writer who published, at intervals between the years 1769 and 1772, a series of political papers, forty-four in number, on the leading questions and men of the day, among them George III. The authorship was a mystery then and re-

mains a puzzle still, as it was apparent that the letters were the work of no common man. They were models of letter writing.

AMOS

THE LETTERS OF JUNIUS [xxv. 255]—
I believe in gratifying the curiosity of those in quest of useful information, and that Walter Hyde may understand the matter clearly, I quote from Byron's *Vision of Judgment*, which, though not intended for a biographical or historical any more than a "theological tract," may throw light upon the point of inquiry. Junius, in the poem, was summoned to testify in a cause then on hearing, wherein Satan was complainant and St. Michael respondent, involving title to the soul of George III., who was an applicant for admission through the gates kept by St. Peter. Byron, who reported the trial, asserts:

"The more intently the ghosts gazed [upon Junius] the less
Could they distinguish whose the features were;
The Devil himself seem'd puzzled even to guess;
They varied like a dream—now here, now there;
And several people swore from out the press,
They knew him perfectly; and one could swear

He was his father; upon which another
Was sure he was his mother's cousin's brother:

Another, that he was a duke or knight,
An orator, a lawyer, or a priest,
A nabob, a man-midwife; but the wight
Mysteriously changed his countenance at least
As often as they their minds; though in full sight

He stood, the puzzle only was increased:
The man was a phantasmagory in
Himself—he was so volatile and thin.
The moment that you pronounced him one
Presto! his face changed, and he was another;

And when that change was hardly put on,
It varied, till I don't think his own mother
(If that he had a mother) would her son
Have known, he shifted so from one to t'other;
Till guessing from a pleasure grew a task,
At this epistolary 'Iron Mask.'

Enough has been quoted to suggest to Mr. Hyde that the mystery pertains not so much to the letters as to the identity of their author. If he will read the poem he will learn Byron's conclusion, viz.: that the letters were written by "nobody at all," basing his hypothesis upon the idea that as letters are written without heads they may also be written without hands.

A. B. MASON

SAC CITY, IOWA, *March* 17, 1891.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY— The stated meeting for April was held on Tuesday evening, the 7th inst. The president, Hon. John A. King, spoke at length on the life and services of the late Rev. Dr. Howard Crosby, who was a member of the society for thirty-four years. He also made remarks on the death of the late George W. W. Houghton, who was active in the work of the society for many years.

Ainsworth R. Spofford, the Librarian of Congress, read the paper of the evening on "The Early History of the Press of the United States." Mr. Spofford began by briefly contrasting the obscure and humble origin of the American press with its mighty development in our own age, when its influence can scarcely be measured in words, while its profits have built palaces for the conduct of its daily business in almost every city from Boston to San Francisco. In so wide a field as that of the early press, he could not attempt more than to glean a few scattered ears which might have escaped attention in a field already well reaped. Ours was the only country in which journalism had become established without a long and severe struggle with power. From the days of the *Boston News Letter*, started as the first American newspaper in 1704, down to the close of Washington's administration in 1797, graphic sketches were given of leading journals, with brief extracts from their editorial and advertising columns, many of which were strong and spicy, and others very amusing to a modern reader. Dr. Franklin was alluded to as a great

journalist, though he never pursued it as his chief avocation. The period of the Revolution illustrated the public spirit and ability of the conductors of the press, which was the most powerful agency in that, as in all reforms. The able and vigorous opposition of the American Tories to the cause of independence, as carried on in the journals, was recognized, and their witty pasquinades in ridicule of the American rebels were quoted. The triumph of certain early printers in prosecutions for seditious libel was narrated, and it was shown that, as early as 1776, most states had engrafted in their constitutions the guarantee of absolute freedom of the Press. Some prevalent errors about the early press were corrected, and the abundant advertising of lotteries, negro slaves, etc., a hundred years ago, was pointed out, in evidence that "the good old times" were not all good. In the same direction, the party diatribes and personal abuse of President Washington were cited at some length. *Per contra*, the profuse publication of trivialities and scandals by the modern press was criticised, and the wanton waste of space and the time of readers over long details of personalities and crimes was characterized as deplorable. The mad rush for sensations, at the frequent expense of truth, was noted, and the reference to this subject in a historical address was because those engaged in the never-ending task of separating history from fiction have an interest in protesting against a conduct of the modern press whereby the area of fiction is in-

calculably enlarged, and that of history correspondingly curtailed. The speaker closed with a glowing tribute to the wit and wisdom which have animated the press in every age, from the earliest until now. Among its conductors were to be found men of the highest intellectual capacity and moral courage—laborious, and oftentimes unaccredited heroes, who were benefactors of our race, and worthy of immortal honor.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular meeting, March 14. "The Reminiscences of a Pioneer Settler" was the subject of a paper read by Mr. Charles H. Wiltsie. Mr. J. W. Bissell, notably identified with early Rochester, gave many of his recollections, answering questions, and telling amusing stories. Hon. Wm. F. Peck presented a paper correcting several common newspaper statements concerning Lawrence and Leonard Jerome when citizens of Rochester. Action was taken initiatory to the coöperation of the society with the Board of Education, in celebrating, in May next, the semi-centennial of the present public-school system. One of the committees on historical relics made a report upon the old sun-dial.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY held its April meeting on Friday evening, April 10. General Wilson presided. After the business part of the meeting, Rev. Arthur Wentworth Eaton presented an interesting address on "English Garrison Life" in Halifax, Nova Scotia, one of the most popular colonial military stations in the British dominions. Referring to the in-

terest lately aroused in Anglo-India society by Kipling's stories, Mr. Eaton took occasion to show the close resemblance between that and Halifax society, noting the high breeding and aristocratic traditions and gayety of Halifax people, of the magnificence of the fortifications, of the glitter of the soldier's uniform, the excitement made by the coming and going of the troops. He gave to his lecture great historic value by describing the founding of Halifax by Lord Cornwallis in 1749—an idea first suggested by the people of Massachusetts Bay—and its settlement under the auspices of the loyalists of the Revolution, who flooded Nova Scotia between 1776 and 1783. He spoke especially of the socially brilliant period of Sir John Wentworth's administration, and of Lady Wentworth's tact, and dwelt at some length on the residence in Halifax of the Duke of Kent. Also drew especial attention to the close relationship between many of the best Nova Scotia families and those of New York and New England, the Nova Scotians being largely descendants of New Englanders who settled on the Acadian lands after the exile of their French owners, and of the loyalists, thirty thousand of whom went to Nova Scotia from the United States during or shortly after the Revolution.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular monthly meeting March 10, the president, Hon. Charles W. Hutchinson, in the chair. Dr. M. M. Bagg reported the receipt of a number of books, among them several from the late Mrs. Catherine Rockwell, on religious subjects. The same lady gave a sea cap-

tain's outfit of two hundred and fifty years ago and an old mail bag. Mrs. McConnell gave a finely framed photograph of the first railroad train. The bound volumes number forty-nine, and the pamphlets sixty-one.

Daniel Batchelor offered the following resolution: That a committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety and advisability of removing the remains of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer from the farm in Danube, Herkimer county, to the monument grounds at Oriskany. The resolution was adopted, and Hon. Samuel Earl, Hon. Titus Sheard, of Herkimer, and Hon. Henry J. Coggeshall, of Oneida, were appointed as such committee.

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its annual business meeting in New York city on the thirteenth day of April at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, its president, Hon. John Jay, in the chair. There was an unusually large attendance. Reports of great interest were read by the secretary, also by the treasurer showing the prosperous condition of society, and by the chairman of the library committee reciting many important gifts for the benefit of the excellent library which the society has founded, and which is shelved in the elegant fire-proof building of the library of Columbia college, accessible at all times for study and reference. Officers of the society for the ensuing year were elected as follows: president, Hon. John Jay; vice-presidents, Edward F. De Lancey, Chauncey M. Depew, Henry M. Lester, Richard Olney, Hon. A. T. Clearwater, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop for Boston, Rev. D. D. Dem-

arest, D.D. for New Jersey, Hon. Thomas F. Bayard for Delaware, Joseph S. Perot for Pennsylvania, Colonel Richard L. Maury for Virginia, Daniel Ravenel for South Carolina; secretary, Banyer Clarkson; treasurer, P. W. Gallaudet.

A brilliant reception was held by the Huguenot Society of America at 404 Fifth avenue in the afternoon of the same day, from four to six o'clock, which brought many distinguished members from other cities, and in which entertainment two hundred or more guests participated, representing the best old families of New York and the country. The reception committee, who wore the historic white knot of the Huguenots embellished with a marigold centre, were President John Jay, his daughter Mrs. Chapman, Edward F. De Lancey, Chauncey M. Depew, Frederick J. De Peyster, Henry G. Marquand, William M. Lawrence, Peter B. Olney, Augustus C. Gurnee, Charles Lanier, Lawrence Turnure, Rev. Henry M. Baird, Rev. A. G. Vermilye, Banyer Clarkson, Henry M. Lester, R. F. Cutting, Miss Eliza C. Jay, Mrs. H. C. Stimson, Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, Mr. George S. Bowdoin, Miss Catharine Van Rensselaer, Mrs. James M. Lawton, Mrs. William H. Budd, and Mr. J. C. Pumpelly. A more interesting occasion has rarely been chronicled in New York social life. Among the well-known clergymen present were Rev. Philip Schaff, D.D., Rev. Henry Van Dyke, D.D., Rev. Dr. Da Costa, Rev. C. M. Pyne, Rev. W. W. Atterbury, Rev. Dr. Charles H. Gardner, Rev. Dr. Edward O. Flagg, Rev. Dr. Henry M. Baird, Rev. Dr. Gallaudet, and Rev. Dr. Demarest.

BOOK NOTICES

A PLEA FOR LIBERTY, An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation.

Essays by various writers, with an introduction by HERBERT SPENCER. Edited by THOMAS MACKAY. 8vo, pp. 414. New York : D. Appleton and Company. 1891.

In the preceding number of this magazine we called attention to Professor Graham's work on Socialism. We are now happy to state that the complement of that volume is to be found in the book before us. It is an able answer to the socialistic arguments, an answer, indeed, so weighty and timely that we bespeak for it the attention of our readers. Disputants and politicians will do well to examine its pages. Mr. Spencer's introduction shows us that discontent always accompanies a large measure of freedom, and that contentment is a characteristic of an early stage of development. He reviews the advance of social standards and emphasizes the improvement of present social conditions, and demonstrates that socialism means the enslavement of the masses, and, necessarily, an awful oligarchy composed of the taskmasters and socialistic leaders.

The essays on the various topics selected for discussion, such as state socialism, with its element of state ownership of railways, telegraphs, and other electrical appliances, challenge the strictest attention of the thoughtful, for the argument is very close and the statistics are convincing. The book is a plea for personal liberty and a condemnation of state interference in the realm of private contract. It is an eloquent argument for fair legislation which favors neither the classes nor the masses, but which preserves the liberty and freedom of all. Just now, when the leaven of socialism pervades even the ranks of the educated, these thoughtful essays on vital subjects, such as trades unions, housing the poor, and state ownership, denote fully their fallacies, and that individualism is the secret of progress and must triumph in the end, the agitators to the contrary notwithstanding.

RECOLLECTIONS OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HIS ADMINISTRATION.

By L. E. CHITTENDEN, His Register of the Treasury. 8vo, pp. 470. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1891.

The author of this exceedingly interesting and valuable book is the last surviving officer of the United States Treasury in President Lincoln's administration. He has no purpose in the production of the work beyond that of placing upon

permanent record his personal knowledge of many details of the events of the time that were imperfectly or inaccurately described in the numerous current publications. He says : "There were giants in those days. It has been a labor of love for me to recall some of their mighty works. The great war cabinet, the great soldier, and the President greater than all combined, have passed away." Mr. Chittenden opens his volume with a sketch of the noted political campaign which settled the presidential contest in 1860, then furnishes some informing notes on the peace conference, and gives a vivid picture of the scene when the election of Lincoln was announced at a joint meeting of the two houses of Congress : "The senate retired to its own chamber. A dozen angry, disappointed men were on their feet before the door had closed upon the last senator, clamoring for recognition by the speaker. For a few minutes the tumult was so great that it was impossible to restore order. There were jeers for the 'rail-splitter,' sharp and fierce shouts for 'cheers for Jeff Davis,' and 'cheers for South Carolina,' and hard names and curses for 'old Scott' broke out everywhere on the floor and in the gallery of the crowded hall." Of the conspiracy of assassination, the story of Mr. Lincoln's journey through Baltimore, and the scenes at his first inauguration, the reader will learn in these pages much that is new and intensely dramatic. At Mr. Lincoln's informal reception the evening after his arrival in Washington, Mr. William C. Rives referred to the request of the governor of Virginia that he (Rives) should unite in the grand effort to save the Union, saying : "But the clouds that hang over it are very dark." Mr. Lincoln quietly replied : "My course is as plain as a turnpike road. It is marked out by the Constitution. I am in no doubt which way to go. Suppose, now, we all stop discussing and try the experiment of obedience to the Constitution and the laws."

"Making United States Bonds Under Pressure" forms the twenty-fifth chapter of Mr. Chittenden's admirable work, and is indeed one of its most striking features. There were ten millions of these bonds to be signed in the seventy hours between the moment when the register of the treasury was summoned to the executive mansion and the hour when the securities must be on board the special train that would carry them to the steamer ; and the bonds must be regularly and lawfully issued, with nothing on their face to indicate that the issue was not made in the ordinary course of business. We cordially commend this chapter to every reader. The forty-second chapter, entitled "The Impartial Judgment of President Lincoln," is another record of great public interest,

referring as it does to the resignation of Secretary Chase, and the question of forgery that had arisen in the sub-treasury at New York, which resulted in the resignation of the assistant treasurer, Mr. Cisco. There really is no part of Mr. Chittenden's well-written volume that is otherwise than intensely readable and instructive. Space forbids our pointing out its many attractions for lovers of historic truth, but the book will unquestionably find a place in every good library on the continent.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF JOHN DICKINSON. 1732-1808. By CHARLES J. STILLÉ, LL.D. 8vo, pp. 437. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1891.

The story of John Dickinson's life embraces an important part of the history of Pennsylvania. He occupied a peculiar position in that province, particularly from the years 1760 to 1786. Dr. Stillé, the able author of the book, says he was the first to advocate resistance to the ministerial plan of taxation on constitutional grounds, and that for more than a year after the enforcement of the Boston Port Bill, in the opinion of his contemporaries, "he controlled the counsels of the country." He maintained, however, that the Declaration of Independence was inopportune, and we have in this work a full discussion and explanation of his course in that matter, as also of his position and influence in the Continental Congress. Dr. Stillé says: "It is a matter of regret, not to say of reproach, that no one has hitherto undertaken fully to portray the public career of this remarkable man, and to explain his conduct and motives by reference to the peculiar position of the country, and especially of Pennsylvania, during the crisis of the Revolution." The volume contains an interesting sketch of Dickinson's early life and education, shows his aptitude from the beginning as a lawyer, and his varied experiences on entering public life. The sketch introduced by the author, of the history of Pennsylvania prior to 1755, is a most fitting illustrative feature of the volume, which, together with the "Causes of Dispute with the Proprietors," prepares the reader to understand subsequent events.

Mr. Dickinson's attitude in relation to all the important events of provincial and revolutionary history is illustrated by copious details of the part taken by Pennsylvania in the struggle. The reasons why so large a portion of the people of that state was opposed to independence at the time that it was proclaimed, are clearly stated and discussed. The journals of the assembly form the authority for the somewhat novel view which Dr. Stillé takes of the position of Pennsylvania; and it would appear that the account

given in these records of events of that important crisis, and especially of the prominent part played by Mr. Dickinson, is very different from that to be found in our popular histories. The abilities and experience of Mr. Dickinson were called into action in a wider field at the termination of the war, when the question of a proper system of government was before the public mind. He was the president of the convention at Annapolis, and was afterward a member of the convention which met at Philadelphia in the summer, 1787, and framed the Constitution. Dr. Stillé has prepared this excellent volume at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, with the two-fold object of recalling to the present generation the memory of one of the most conspicuous statesmen of that state for twenty-five well-rounded years, whose name should be consecrated in history as one of the great worthies of the Revolution, and of explaining the nature and extent of his influence.

ADELINE'S ART DICTIONARY. Containing a complete index of all terms used in Art, Architecture, Heraldry, and Archæology. Translated from the French and enlarged, with nearly 200 illustrations. 12mo, pp. 422. New York: D. Appleton & Company. 1891.

The plan of this dictionary includes all such terms as are generally employed in painting, sculpture, engraving, and architecture, whether descriptive of real objects, or the principles of action which rule the mind and guide the hand of the artist. It is a most useful handbook for all persons interested in art, as both ancient and modern terms, such as are used in describing the contents of a museum or picture gallery, are here explained. Although Adeline's name appears on the title-page, and nothing of importance which has made the *Lexique des Termes d'Art*, by M. Jules Adeline, so admirable an authority, has been omitted, the dictionary contains a large number of definitions and illustrations not embraced in that work. For instance, under the separate heading of *Royal Academy* we here find a concise account of our own Royal Academy, its foundation in 1768 by George III., and its objects; and under the head of *Academician* we are told how the name is applied in England with respect to the members of the Royal Academy. The technical terms for antique vases, mediæval pottery, sacred and domestic instruments, civil and military costume, armor, arms, indeed, everything which forms the component parts of a picture, are here described. It is an excellent work, based on the best of authorities, and thoroughly revised and brought up to date by an expert.

HANNIBAL. A History of the Art of War among the Carthaginians and Romans down to the battle of Pynda, 168 B. C., with a detailed account of the second Punic War. With 227 charts, maps, etc. By THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE. 8vo, pp. 682. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

This is by no means a military text-book. It is history pure and simple. But so far as the story of the origin and growth of the art of war is concerned, it will be of special value to the military student, and cannot fail to interest the general reader. The portrait of Hannibal forms the frontispiece of the volume, and the author confesses to some slight degree of hero-worship in tracing his remarkable career, remarking, in his preface, "the sum of all which the ancient authors tell us describes a man and a captain on whom hero-worship is not wasted." We are conducted back to the time when Carthage was the most powerful colony planted by Tyre, when Carthage was first at sea, and Rome on land. When Rome fell to quarreling with her great rival, unwilling to content herself with less than the supremacy on both elements. No one can turn the pages of this cleverly written work without becoming deeply interested in the ancient people of the world. The Romans were always open to learning, and what they learned was put to good uses. The Greeks were experts in the theory of war, were head and shoulders above any other nation for a long period; but with all their cleverness they refused to learn from their neighbors, would not alter their organization to suit changing times and conditions, and finally remained at a standstill. The Romans, less cultured and able, had the advantage in flexibility and good sense; the Greeks had developed an art they could not use; without material the art was of no avail. The Romans had no such art, but they had an army well drilled and disciplined. When the clash came the scientific system of the Greeks could not stand the blow of the less intellectual but stronger opponent. The Romans were accustomed to warlike exercises, as if they were born with weapons in their hands; thus real battles brought them nothing new or difficult. The author requests the reader "to frequently refer to the table of dates, as well as to the large map at the end of the volume, so as to keep the skeleton of the entire Italian war in mind, that he may conceive a clear impression of the gigantic whole of Hannibal's unequalled campaigns."

HISTORY OF THE VIRGINIA FEDERAL CONVENTION OF 1788. Vol. II. [Vir-

ginia Historical Collections, new series, vol. X.] With some account of the eminent Virginians of that era who were members of the body. By HUGH BLAIR GRISBY, LL.D. A biographical sketch of the author, and illustrative notes. Edited by R. A. Brock. 8vo, pp. 411. Published by the society. 1891. Richmond, Virginia.

The editor of this work in his preface tells us that the rules and customs of the British parliament were closely observed in the deliberative assemblies of the Virginia colony, and of the commonwealth in its earlier days. He says, the habit of every member making a speech on every subject, which has caused so much prolixity in our public proceedings, had not then become the fashion with the public men of Virginia. Aside from the observance of the well-known customs of parliaments, there were other considerations which tended to repress much speaking. The sessions of the house of burgesses were short, rarely exceeding a month, and were usually held in May—a season precious in the eyes of those who derived their sustenance from agriculture. Political considerations also had their weight, for it was in the power of the royal governor to prorogue the house at pleasure. It should also be observed that the greatest prompter to modern loquacity did not then exist—there were no reporters, and no newspapers in which reports could be published.

This volume contains valuable sketches of the lives and services of some of the patriotic men of importance in the convention, among whom were Archibald Stuart, Gabriel Jones, Thomas Lewis, John Stuart, the son-in-law of Lewis; Andrew Moore, of Greenbrier, who had a controlling influence in effecting the ratification of the Constitution; Thomas Mason, George Nicholas, Colonel William McKee, Colonel William Fleming, George Jackson, and Alexander White, one of the ablest men of his time. Some one hundred and fifty pages are devoted to his interesting public career, chiefly in connection with the most perplexing topics of the time, as presented in this volume. It is most interesting, in view of subsequent events, to note that the subject of slavery was discussed in the Virginia councils during the year 1786, and a petition was presented on the 8th of November of that year in favor of a general emancipation of the negroes. The petitioners declared themselves "firmly persuaded that it is contrary to the fundamental principles of the Christian religion to keep such a considerable number of our fellow-creatures in this state in slavery; that it is also an express violation of the principles on which our government is founded." The thought given to this subject, the county petitions and the debates, are enlightening to the people of to-day.

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Statement for the year ending December 31st, 1890.

Assets,	\$147,154,961 20
Reserve on Policies at 4%,	\$136,668,368 00
Liabilities other than Reserve,	505,359 82
Surplus,	9,981,233 38
Receipts from all sources,	34,978,778 69
Payments to Policy-Holders,	16,973,200 05
Risks Assumed,	49,188 policies, 160,985,985 58
Risks in force,	206,055 policies, 638,226,865 24

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Real Estate and Bond & Mortgage Loans,	\$76,529,231 72
United States Bonds and other Securities,	51,311,631 54
Loans on Collateral Securities,	8,624,400 00
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	3,556,441 59
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred, etc.,	7,133,256 35
	<u>\$147,154,961 20</u>

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

The business for 1890 shows INCREASE over that of 1889, as follows:

In Assets,	\$10,753,633 18
In Reserve on Policies and Surplus,	10,554,091 94
In Receipts,	3,859,759 07
In Payments to Policy-holders,	1,772,591 67
In Risks Assumed,	4,611 policies, 9,383,502 21
In Risks in force,	23,745 policies, 72,276,931 32

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Payments to Policy-Holders.	Receipts.	Assets.
1884...	\$34,681,420...	\$351,789,285...	\$13,923,062 19...	\$19,095,318 41...	\$103,876,178 51
1885...	46,507,139...	368,981,441...	14,402,049 90...	20,214,954 28...	108,908,967 51
1886...	56,832,719...	393,809,203...	13,129,103 74...	21,137,176 67...	114,181,063 24
1887...	69,457,468...	427,628,933...	14,128,423 60...	23,119,922 46...	118,806,851 88
1888...	103,214,261...	482,125,184...	14,727,550 22...	26,215,932 52...	126,082,153 56
1889...	151,602,483...	565,949,934...	15,200,608 38...	31,119,019 62...	136,401,328 02
1890...	160,985,986...	638,226,865...	16,973,200 05...	34,978,778 69...	147,154,961 20

New York, January 28th, 1891.

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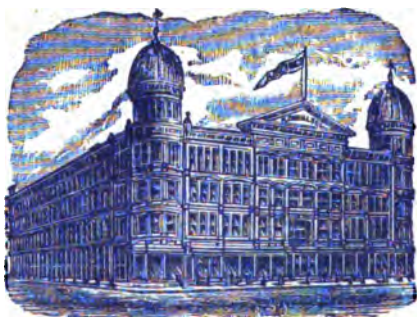
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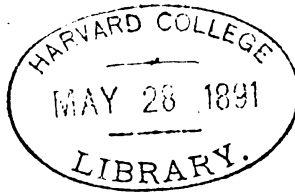
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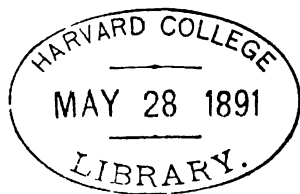
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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

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[Copy of the celebrated portrait in London by Sir A. More, after the miniature which the Queen of Spain caused to be painted for herself, believed to be the only authentic portrait of Columbus at that period of his life.]



MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XXV

JUNE, 1891

No. 6

GLIMPSES OF THE RAILROAD IN HISTORY

THE statement that the world's whole stock of money of every kind—gold, silver, and paper—would purchase only about one-third of its railroads is most suggestive. "Almost every distinctive feature of modern business," writes Professor Hadley, "whether good or bad, finds in railroad history at once its chief cause and its fullest development."

Statistics have become with much handling apparently petrified, and in their association with rails and railroads have reached such extraordinary proportions that they fail to convey ideas which can be readily grasped and comprehended by the ordinary mind. When we read that there are three hundred thousand miles of rails in the United States alone, enough in length to make twelve steel girdles around the earth, it creates no deeper impression than the mere fact reiterated that "the world is round and like a ball, seems swinging in the air." Yet there has never been anything more wonderful in history than the invention and establishment of the railroad; and the problems which have confronted the wise men of the present century in securing the results by which millions of travellers are constantly passing with celerity and safety from one part of a country to the other have been invested with romantic interest from the beginning. The true story has all the effective qualities of fable with vastly more color and picturesque fascination.

All efforts to harness steam into a propelling power, to bring it under the control of the human intellect for practical purposes, were derided for many centuries by the incredulous public, and the heroic men who were foremost in schemes of invention and contrivances to this end were regarded with commiseration as victims of a harmless form of lunacy. In our peculiar age they would have been called "cranks." They had no precedents from which to borrow useful information, and no guides in their experiments. The intellect and ingenuity of almost every civilized country on the face of the globe came into exercise, more or less, on the subject, and yet nothing of practical importance to the world in the way of travel on land or water was achieved until 1807, when Robert Fulton brought

the steamboat into every-day use. That great event dates backward only eighty-four years.

There was then but one solitary little locomotive in existence, that of the bold, erratic inventor, Richard Trevithick of London, and this was powerless except on a level surface ; it could neither make steam nor draw a heavy load. The following year, 1808, Trevithick constructed a short, crude tramway track in London, upon which he experimented with a small steam-carriage, named "Catch-me-who-can." He subsequently made an unsuccessful attempt to carry a tunnel under the Thames river ; and he invented many valuable devices but brought only a few into public notice, and reaped very little advantage from any of them.

The germ of the knowledge of the immense expansive power of steam and its possible utility may be found in the far background. A steam-engine is believed to have existed twenty-one centuries ago, when Alexandria was the centre of the commerce of the world, the home of Euclid the great geometrician, and of many wise and learned men, a city containing the wealthiest and most civilized population extant. Hero was an eminent writer of the time, and he has placed upon permanent record certain descriptions of a number of unique machines, and sketched a curious common-sense method of opening temple doors by the action of fire on an altar, which is said to embrace all the elements, with the single exception that the expanding fluid was air instead of steam, of the machine invented or reinvented by the second Marquis of Worcester in 1663, generally regarded as the first real steam-engine in history.

Traces are found all along the centuries of the slow growth into form of the idea which has resulted in appropriating to practical uses the forces of steam. In 1571, for instance, Matthesius described in one of his sermons a machine through which "tremendous effects" could be produced by the "volcanic action of a small quantity of confined vapor." Leonardo da Vinci, the great painter, scientist, and inventor, described a steam-gun in the early part of the same century which he called "Architonnerre," made of copper. The steam was generated by permitting water in a closed vessel to fall on surfaces heated by a charcoal fire, and the sudden expansion would eject a ball of considerable size. In Spain, as early as 1543, Blasco da Garay, a Spanish naval officer under Charles V., is reported to have moved a ship at the rate of two or three miles an hour with an apparatus of which a "vessel of boiling water" formed a part ; but the king shook his head and frowningly forbade its repetition, saying he "could not have his liege subjects scalded to death with hot water on his ships!" England in 1648 was convulsed with laughter over a witty discourse from



EDWARD SOMERSET, SECOND MARQUIS OF WORCESTER.

[From an old print.]

the learned bishop of Chester, in which he recommended the application of the power of confined steam to the construction of a "flying castle in the air," to the chiming of bells, to the reeling of yarn, and to the rocking of the cradle.

It remained, however, for Edward Somerset, the second Marquis of Worcester, to first apply the expansive properties of steam to actual work—the lifting of water for necessary purposes at Vauxhall, near London. The life of this nobleman forms one of the most romantic chapters in English history. He spent a large fortune in experiments, and his steam-

engine was unquestionably a most wonderful and valuable production. But he failed in convincing his contemporaries of its importance, or in forming a commercial company to introduce it to public uses, the men of his time not being sufficiently intelligent to appreciate or understand its worth. He was a learned, studious, upright, public-spirited man of genius, and a skillful, persevering, far-sighted mechanic. But his fate was that of nearly all early inventors; he died in penury, unsuccessful.

These modern marvels of the railway before our eyes, which have become such matter-of-fact, commonplace associations with our every-day life, have not sprung into existence—as it is well to remember—through any miraculous agency. They have unfolded out of the past, from roots firmly planted in a remoter past, and it has required ages of human ingenuity and heroic effort and supreme patience to make such a condition of affairs possible. The story of scientific experiments, experiences, and heart-breaking failures, with graphic sketches of the long line of clever, ambitious, and disappointed men who have figured in them, would fill a score of volumes of singular and thrilling interest. The thought which has survived through the centuries, although frequently half-strangled, has continued to grow, and each fresh mind that has taken it up and turned it over has contributed more or less to its vitality, strength, and magnitude, until it has finally gained the momentum resulting in the evolution and development within the last six decades of the immense railway interest of the United States, upon which over two millions of human beings are now dependent for their daily bread.

It was found in the early years of this century much easier to construct useful steam-engines than steamboats; but the moving of land-carriages by steam was far more difficult than either of the two. Tramways were first built for the transit of coal in the mining districts of England during the period between 1602 and 1649. They were made across fields, the proprietors of which received a certain rent for the "wayleave," which term is still employed in arrangements of this character. The tracks were simply wooden beams, and the vehicle was drawn by one horse. A hundred years afterward an important improvement was introduced in the substitution of cast-iron rails, fixed in parallel lines on cross wooden sleepers. These tramways were multiplied rapidly toward the end of the eighteenth century, and large sums of money were expended in their construction. They were so far perfected that the inventors of locomotives had very little to do in the preparation of hard, smooth roads, for their experiments in propelling wheeled vehicles. Notwithstanding the interest taken in the railway projects of Richard Trevithick, the public at large

remained skeptical. Who could have anticipated the progression in locomotive manufacture and utility which was to be chronicled in 1891? The accompanying illustrations recite their own annals.

George Stephenson was meanwhile industriously at work. Yet he did



[From an old print.]

not build his first locomotive until 1814. He was a most interesting personage and something of a wag. He often made most amusing applications of his inventive powers, once connecting the cradles of his neighbors' wives with the smoke-jacks in their chimneys, thus relieving them from constant attendance upon their infants. He fished at night with a

submarine lamp, which attracted the fish from all sides, and gave him wonderful luck. He placed a watch which a friend asked him to repair in the oven "to cook," his quick eye having noted that the wheels were clogged by the oil congealed by cold. He also gave colloquial instruction to his fellow-workmen. The Stockton and Darlington railroad was projected for the purpose of securing transportation to tide-water for the valuable coal lands of Durham. Stephenson's engines were used to haul coal trains, but passenger coaches were all drawn by horses. About the



GEORGE STEPHENSON, 1781-1848.

same time the preliminary surveys were made for the Manchester and Liverpool railroad in the face of a strong opposition. The surveyors were sometimes driven from their work by a mob armed with sticks and stones, a movement urged on by land proprietors and those interested in the lines of coaches on the highway. The bill was finally carried through parliament, and Stephenson warmly advocated the use of locomotives to the exclusion of horses. The celebrated reply of a writer in the *Quarterly Review* was, "What can be more palpably absurd and ridiculous than the prospect held out of locomotives traveling *twice as fast* as stage-coaches?"

We would as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired off upon one of Congreve's ricochet-rockets as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine going at such a rate!"

It was during Stephenson's examination before a committee of the House of Commons, in relation to this contemplated railroad, that he was asked, "Suppose, now, one of your engines to be going at the rate of nine or ten miles an hour, and that a cow were to stray upon the line and get in the way of the engine; would not that be a very awkward circumstance?" Stephenson replied, "Yes, *very* awkward—for the *cow*!" Then, again, he was asked if men and animals would not be frightened by the red-hot smoke-pipe. "But how would they know it was not *painted*?" was his quick retort.

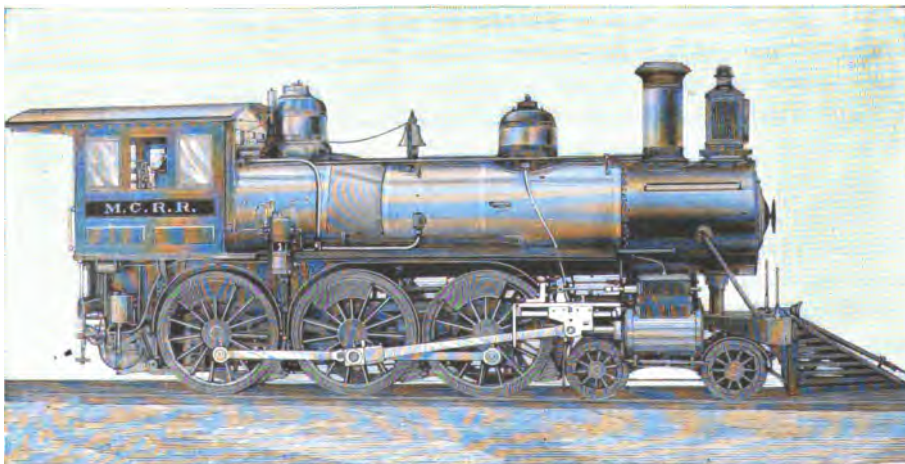
The railroad was finally built with Stephenson as principal construct-

ing engineer. He planned all details, designed the bridges, machinery, engines, turn-tables, switches, and crossings. Among other great achievements on this line was a pioneer tunnel a mile and a half long, from the station at Liverpool to Edgehill; also the Sankey viaduct, a brick structure of nine arches of fifty feet span each, costing forty-five thousand pounds, noteworthy even in these days. Yet when this line approached completion it was expected to use horses. The locomotive had no outspoken advocate, and Stephenson was cautious. Said one eminent writer, "Nothing can do more harm to the adoption of railways than the promulgation of such nonsense as that we shall see locomotives traveling at the rate of twelve miles an hour!"

General Horace Porter writes: "The first railway on which passengers were carried was the Stockton and Darlington, opened September 27, 1825, with a freight train, or, as it is called in England, a 'goods' train, but which also carried a number of excursionists. An engine which was the result of many years of labor and experiment on the part of Stephenson was used on this train. Stephenson mounted it and acted as driver;



TREVITHICK'S LOCOMOTIVE, 1824.



TEN-WHEELED PASSENGER LOCOMOTIVE, 1891.

his bump of caution was evidently largely developed, for, to guard against accidents from the recklessness of the speed, he arranged to have a signal-man on horseback ride in advance of the engine to warn the luckless trespasser of the fate which awaited him if he should get in the way of a train moving with such startling velocity. The next month, October, it was decided that it would be worth while to attempt the carrying of passengers, and a daily coach, modeled after the stage-coach and called the 'Experiment,' was put on, Monday, October 10, 1825, which carried six passengers inside and from fifteen to twenty outside. The engine with its light load made the trip (twelve miles) in about two hours. The fare from Stockton to Darlington was one shilling, and each passenger was allowed fourteen pounds of baggage. The limited amount of baggage will appear to the ladies of the present day as niggardly in the extreme, but they must recollect that the band-box was then the popular form of port-manteau for women, the Saratoga trunk had not been invented, and the muscular baggage-smasher of modern times had not yet set out upon his career of destruction." *

While this small measure of success was secured the locomotive was still an imperfect, poorly regulated machine, and moved but little faster than a horse could walk. Acceleration was soon attained by sending the waste steam up the chimney so as to cause a powerful draught in the fire; a rapid generation of steam was the consequence, and by this appliance, along with the multitubular boiler, the engine shot forward with more energy. The directors of the Liverpool and Manchester railroad finally, after long debate and much opposition, decided to offer a reward of five hundred pounds for the best locomotive capable of drawing a gross weight of twenty tons at the rate of ten miles an hour. The conditions required a run of seventy miles, and five months were allowed for building the engines. A circular was printed and published throughout the kingdom. The famous battle of the locomotives (described in the January number of this magazine) took place on the 6th of October, 1829, and created intense excitement. A large portion of the community believed such an attempt to trifle with human life should be suppressed. Four locomotives only were entered for the prize, and but two of these moved successfully, the "Rocket" of Stephenson and the "Novelty" of John Ericsson. The

* The American Railway. Its Construction, Development, Management, and Appliances. By Thomas Curtis Clarke, John Bogart, M. N. Forney, E. P. Alexander, H. G. Prout, General Horace Porter, Theodore Voorhees, Benjamin Norton, Arthur T. Hadley, Thomas L. James, Charles Francis Adams, B. B. Adams, Jr., with an introduction by Thomas M. Cooley. More than 200 illustrations. 8vo, pp. 456. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

latter was the general favorite, as it was the lighter and more elegantly built of the two, but it broke down before the final point was reached, and the "Rocket" won the race. The success of the trial was so complete that the new railroad was equipped with locomotives, and that course of commercial enterprise was then inaugurated which has in sixty-two years assumed such world-wide importance.

In the spring of the same year, 1829, one of Stephenson's locomotives arrived in New York, and was exhibited for some time in the yard of Edward Dunscomb in Water street, its wheels raised above the ground and kept running for the benefit of the curious. In the *Diary of Philip Hone*, ex-mayor of New York, are the following entries: "May 27, 1829. Immediately after dinner at home I took Miss Helen Kane to the ship-yards to witness the launch of the ship *Erie*, a fine vessel, intended for the Havre line of packets—whence I went to Abeel & Dunscomb's foundry to meet a large party of gentlemen who were assembled by invitation to see one of the new locomotive engines in operation, which was recently imported from England for the use of the railroad belonging to the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. Thursday, May 28. The second locomotive steam-engine which was imported for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company was set in operation this afternoon at the works of the Messrs. Kemble, in presence of a large number of gentlemen, and succeeded as well as the one I saw yesterday at Abeel & Dunscomb's."

Horatio Allen who visited England for the express purpose of witnessing the celebrated trial of the locomotives, was the purchaser of these machines for the new railroad which the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company had built from their mines in Pennsylvania to the terminus of their canal at Honesdale. In trying one of them subsequently the track proved too light for their use, and they were laid aside and never set to regular work.

Meanwhile Peter Cooper distinguished himself by constructing a little experimental locomotive that was tried the following year, 1830, on the new Baltimore and Ohio railroad, which, begun in 1828, had laid its rails as far as Ellicott's Mills. This locomotive ran thirteen miles in less than an hour, one carriage being occupied by thirty-six passengers, and Ross Winans declared it superior to any yet built by Stephenson in the facility with which it flitted round short curves. The whole machine was no longer than a hand-car of the present day. Whether the motive power of this railroad should be horses or steam had long been an open question. Mr. M. N. Forney writes: "It was probably about this time that the animated sketch of the car by Peter Parley was made. At a meeting of the Master Mechanics' Association in New York in 1875, in the build-



BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD, 1830.

[From an old print.]

use of steam instead of horse-power to the South Carolina Railway Company, and during the summer of 1830 Mr. E. L. Miller of Charleston, who had been in England at the time of the trial of the locomotives, ordered an engine built from his own plans at the West Point Foundry. It was called the "Best Friend," and, reaching Charleston in October, was tried in November and December, 1830. The next year a second locomotive, designed by Horatio Allen, was built for this railroad, called the "South Carolina," and is said to have been the first steam-locomotive in the world with eight wheels.

About the same time the Mohawk and Hudson railroad ordered the third locomotive from the West Point Foundry, called the "De Witt Clinton," with which successful trial trips were made in the summer of 1831 from Albany to Schenectady, and later in the year a fully equipped passenger train made regular daily trips over this road. The original silhouette picture of the first train of cars on this first railroad in the state of New York appears in the engraving of the entrance hall to the late Thurlow Weed's New York home,* hanging in a frame upon the wall. The picturesque figure of the famous Thurlow Weed is easily distinguishable among the passengers.

While the Stephensons gained absolute authority upon all subjects of

* *Magazine of American History* for January, 1888. Volume xix., pp. 5-6.

ing which bears his name, Peter Cooper related with great glee how on the trial trip he had beaten a gray horse attached to another car. The coincidence that one of Peter Parley's horses is a gray one might lead to the inference that it was the same horse that Peter Cooper beat, a deduction which perhaps has as sound a basis to rest on as many historical conclusions of more importance."

Horatio Allen recommended the



FIRST AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVE, 1830.

[From an old print.]

railway engineering in England, and their lines were taken as models and imitated by other engineers, and many of their locomotives were imported to this country, it soon became apparent that America must invent and act for herself. English patterns did not work well on this side of the water. Thomas Curtis Clarke, in the first chapter of *The American Railway*, says of the Stephensons: "Their locomotives had very little side play to their wheels and could not turn around short curves. They accordingly preferred to make their lines as straight as possible, and were willing to spend vast sums to get easy grades and gentle curves. Monumental bridges, lofty stone viaducts, and deep cuts or tunnels at every hill marked this stage of railway construction in England, which was imitated on all European lines. As with the railway so with the locomotive. The Stephenson type, once fixed, has remained unchanged (in Europe)



PULLMAN PARLOR CAR, 1891.

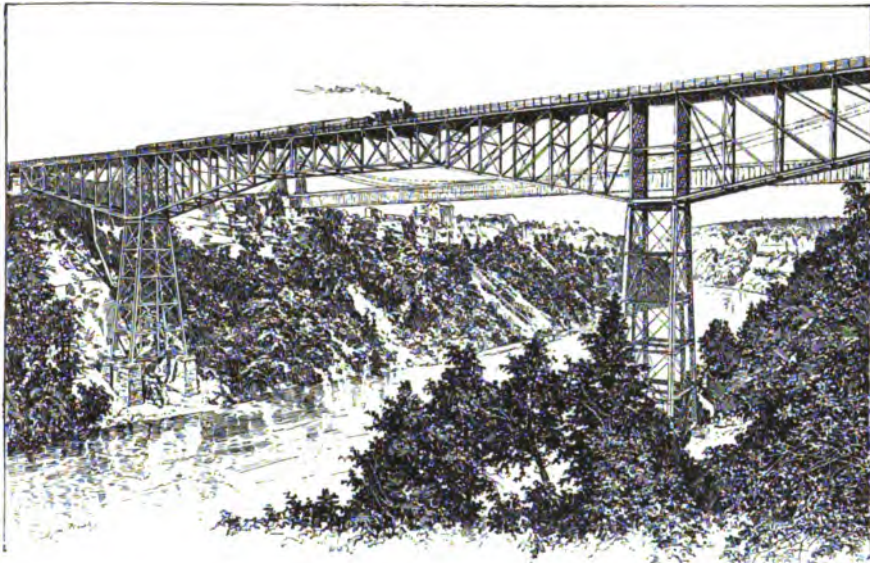
except in detail to the present day. European locomotives have increased in weight and power and in perfection of material and workmanship, but their general features are like those built by the great firm of Stephenson before 1840. When we come to the United States we find an entirely different state of things. The key to the evolution of the American railway is the contempt for authority displayed by our engineers, and the untrammelled way in which they invented and applied whatever they

thought would answer the best purpose, regardless of precedent. When we began to build our railways in 1831 we followed English patterns for a short time. Our engineers soon saw that unless vital changes were made our money would not hold out, and our railway system would be very short."

Horatio Allen was the first to suggest the swiveling truck, which was invented for the Mohawk and Hudson railroad by John B. Jervis, its chief engineer, in 1831. This truck, placed under the front end of an engine, enabled it to run around curves of almost any radius. The imported English locomotives were constantly running off the rails on rough tracks; therefore, equalizing beams or levers were invented and patented which proved so valuable that they have been adopted in Canada, Australia, Mexico, and South America, and are absolutely essential to the success of railways in new countries. Ross Winans presently invented some important improvements in cars, both for passengers and freight. The four-wheeled English car danced along on a rough track on three wheels, but by the application of a pair of four-wheeled swiveling trucks, one under each end of a car, it would accommodate itself to inequalities and follow its locomotive round the sharpest curves. Robert L. Stevens, son of the distinguished John L. Stevens, was engaged in building the Camden and Amboy railroad in 1830, and first laid the standard form of rail known as the "Stevens rail" in this country and as the "Vignolles" in Europe. He purchased a locomotive of the Stephenson's soon after the trial at Rainhill, called the "John Bull," and its first public trial on the partially built road at Bordentown occurred in November, 1831. This old engine was exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition in 1876. The railroad was opened for traffic about 1833, and the engines used were made from designs of Stevens, at Hoboken. The American locomotives were all arranged to burn anthracite coal; the English used bituminous coal.

Inventions and improvements soon produced, it will be seen, a typical American locomotive. It is no part of the purpose of this paper to trace in detail the changes and improvements which have been of such vital consequence to the public in the matter of personal safety. "To-day," writes Mr. H. G. Prout, "trains weighing four hundred tons thunder by at seventy-five miles an hour, and we take their safety as a matter of course and seldom think of the tremendous possibilities of destruction stored up in them. In a daylight ride on a locomotive we come to realize how slender is the rail and how fragile its fastenings compared with the ponderous machine which they carry. We see what a trifling movement of a switch makes the difference between life and death. We learn how short

the look ahead must often be, and how close danger sits on either hand. But it is only in a night ride that we learn how dependent the engineer must be, after all, upon the faithful vigilance of others. . . . When one understands how many minute mechanical details, and how many minds and hands must work together in harmony to insure its safe arrival at its destination, he must marvel at the safety of railroad travel. . . . Mark Twain would doubtless conclude that traveling by rail is much the safest profession that a man can adopt. It is unquestionably true that it is safer than traveling by coach or on horseback, and probably it is safer



THE NIAGARA CANTILEVER BRIDGE.

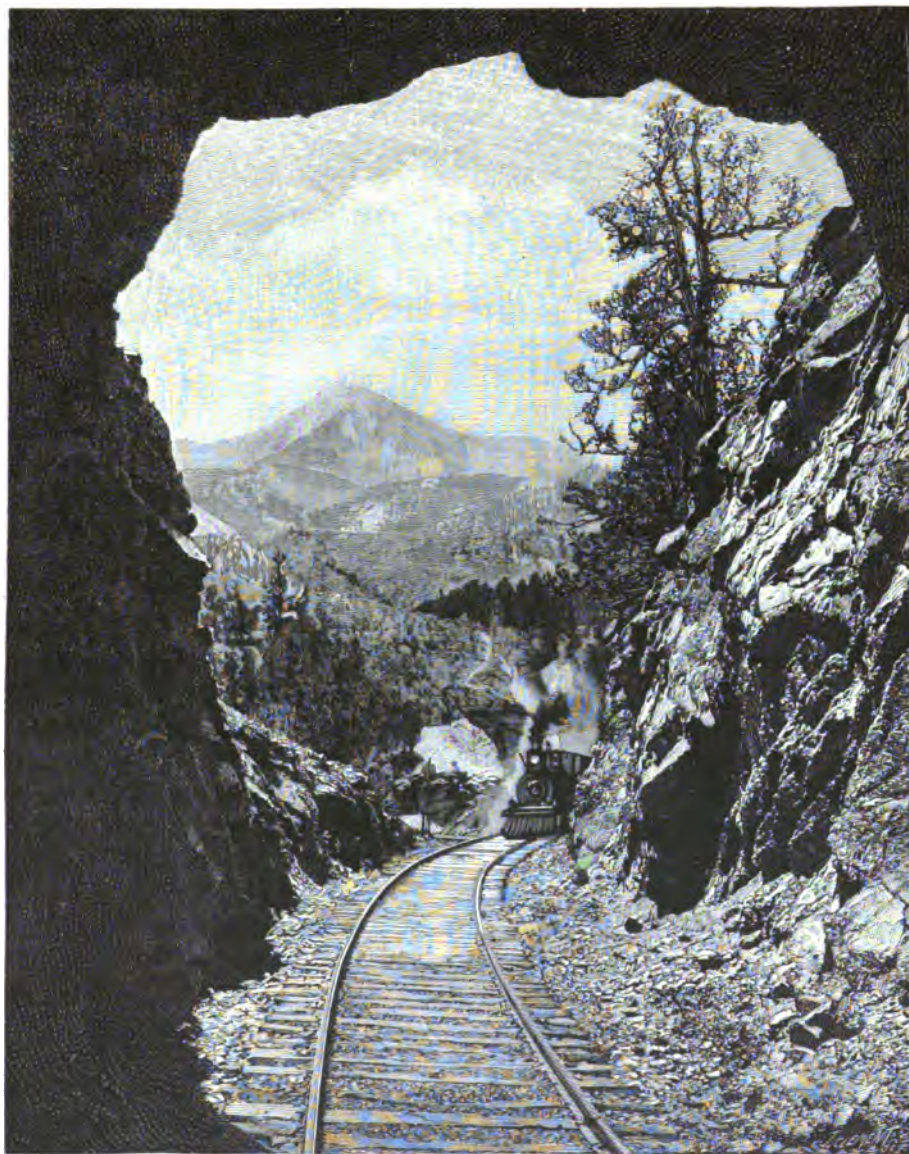
than any other method of getting over the earth's surface that man has contrived, unless it may be by ocean steamer; if any one wants anything safer he must walk."

The first ten years of experience exhibited great progress in the practical operation of railroad trains, but the railroad was not yet a business success. Even after locomotives had demonstrated their capabilities and each improved engine had shown an encouraging increase in velocity, the wildest flights of fancy never pictured the speed attained in later years. In 1835 Simon Cameron, in a public speech advocating a railroad between Harrisburg and Philadelphia, predicted that there were persons within sound of his voice who would live to see a passenger take his breakfast in

Harrisburg and his supper in Philadelphia on the same day. "That is all very well to tell the boys," said one of his friends on the platform when he finished, "but you and I are not such infernal fools as to believe it." Both men lived to travel the whole distance in a little over two hours. Every new railroad was vigorously opposed. The country people were afraid of them. An eloquent divine in Connecticut went about lecturing to the effect that railroads would necessitate the building of a great many insane asylums, as women and children in the rural districts would be driven wild with terror at seeing those "dreadful locomotives" rushing along the fields without anything to draw them! Accidents were in those early days painfully frequent. Cars ran off the track, locomotives toppled over, trains ran into each other. Philip Hone writes in his diary in the spring of 1842: "This powerful agent, steam, which regulates just now the affairs of the world, has not only almost annihilated distance and overcome the obstacles which nature seems to have interposed to locomotion, and reduced the value of most of the articles in use for which we formerly depended upon the labor of men's hands, but it has become a substitute for war in the philosophical plan of keeping down the superabundance of the human race and thinning off the excessive population of which political economists have from time to time expressed so much dread. Scarcely a day passes that we do not hear of some locomotive running off the railroad or some steamboat being blown up, and hundreds of human beings suddenly summoned into another world, for which most of them are unprepared. These are some of the wholesale operations of steam, and they are most deplorably frequent."

The chapter of *The American Railway* which treats of safety in railroad travel is one of the most attractive in the volume.* Its readers cannot fail to become intelligently acquainted with some of the chief devices by which the locomotive is now guided, regulated, and controlled. Mr. Prout says that "the value of mechanical appliances for safety is perhaps as often overrated as underrated. Of all the train accidents that have happened in the United States in the last sixteen years nearly ten per cent. were due to negligence in operation and seventeen per cent. were unexplained. Of these no doubt many were due to negligence, and many that were attributed to defects of track and equipment would have been prevented had men done their duty." The genius of the engineer has been taxed quite as

* We are indebted to the courtesy of the publishers, Charles Scribner's Sons, for the view of Cameron's Cone from the portal of the majestic tunnel on opposite page; also for the pictures of the "Pullman Parlor Car," the "Niagara Cantilever Bridge," and the "London Underground Railway System."



PORTAL OF TUNNEL, SHOWING CAMERON'S CONE, COLORADO.

(COLORADO MIDLAND RAILWAY, PIKE'S PEAK ROUTE.)

much, apparently, in overcoming natural obstacles in the building of modern railroads as in the early crude appliances to move land-carriages by steam. Locomotives now climb mountains which a few years ago no vehicle on wheels could ascend. Their climbing capabilities upon smooth rails were not known until 1852, when Mr. B. H. Latrobe of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad tried a zigzag gradient over a hill about two miles long, with success. The location of some of the railroads in the western part of this continent is picturesque beyond expression, and descriptions of how engineers are often suspended over deep gorges by ropes, in making preliminary measurements for bridges or for roads in the mountain sides, read like fiction. In the construction of the Niagara cantilever bridge, a short distance below the great falls, the workmen were suspended on a platform hung by ropes from a skeleton structure projecting without any apparent support over the rushing Niagara torrent, which at this point has a velocity in the centre of sixteen and a half miles per hour, and forms constant whirlpools and eddies near the shores. The floor of the bridge is two hundred and thirty-nine feet above the water, and the total length of it is nine hundred and ten feet. The clear span over the river between the towers is four hundred and seventy feet.

The construction of tunnels involves peculiar and even greater skill. Solid rock is generally less to be dreaded than soft soil, and in long tunnels the ventilation is an exceedingly difficult problem. In a mountainous country like Colorado the problems multiply, and it requires trained judgment and special experience in an engineer to locate a line and make it fit the country. The level of the track must always be kept well above the surface of the ground in order to insure good drainage and freedom from snowdrifts. The life of an engineer while making surveys is never easy. His duties demand the physical strength of a drayman and the mental accuracy of a professor, both exerted at the same time and during heat and cold, rain and sunshine. "An engineer once, standing behind his instrument, was surrounded by a crowd of natives anxious to know all about it. He explained the processes, using many learned words, and flattered himself that he had made a deep impression upon his hearers. At last one old woman spoke up, with an expression of great contempt on her face: 'Wall! if I knowed as much as you do I'd quit engineerin' and keep a grocery.'" The construction of the London underground road was a monster undertaking. Its tunnels were not only under streets but under heavy buildings. There are more and longer tunnels now of various descriptions in Europe than in America; but it is said the bridges of the United States alone would reach from New York to Liverpool.

Every American citizen who desires to be well informed should peruse John Bogart's chapter on "Feats of Railway Engineering," which is written in such clear, forcible language as can be thoroughly understood irrespective of scientific training. The author of it was in Colorado in the summer of 1887 with some engineer friends, and "saw a train of very intelligent donkeys loaded with ore from the mines, to which no access could be had but by those sure-footed beasts. Within a year one of



LONDON UNDERGROUND RAILWAY SYSTEM.

that party of engineers had located and was building a railway to those very mines. No heights seem too great to-day, no valleys too deep, no cañons too forbidding, no streams too wide; if commerce demands, the engineer will respond and the railway will be built."

Ex-Postmaster Thomas L. James has given a most impressive as well as enlightening description of the postal service of the United States, remarking very forcibly: "There is no position in the government more exacting than that of a postal clerk, and none that has so many require-

ments. He **must** not only be sound 'in mind and limb,' but possessed of more than ordinary intelligence and a retentive memory. His work is **constant** and his only recreation study. He must not only be proficient in **his** own immediate work, but he must have a general knowledge of the entire country, so that the correspondence he handles shall reach its destination at the earliest possible moment. He must know no night or day. He must be impervious to heat or cold. Rushing along at a rate of forty or fifty miles an hour in charge of what is sacred—the correspondence of the people—catching his meals as he may, at home only semi-occasionally, the wonder is that men competent to discharge the duties of so high a calling can be found for so small a compensation and for so uncertain a tenure of official life. The last and greatest need of the postal service is the total and complete elimination of partisan considerations as affecting appointments and removals in the working force." The methods of carrying letters from one point to another a century ago has been graphically and elaborately described in this magazine.* The contrast so sharply defined requires no repetition here.

One word may not be out of place as to the relative comfort of railway travel in the decade prior to 1850 and now. Thousands of persons are living who remember how the passengers were roasted in winter unless they sat in the middle of the car—where they froze; and of the straight-back, springless, narrow seats, windows without screens, dust intolerable, but which must be tolerated, and tallow candles at night; when sleeping-cars, coupon-tickets, baggage-cars, and double railroad tracks were unknown. General Porter speaks of the modern railroad car as having been evolved from the old-fashioned English stage-coach. During that process of evolution some very amusing as well as painful incidents occurred. In the summer of 1847 a lady was traveling on one of the central railroads of New Jersey, the train consisting of one passenger-car and the engine, and the doors between the two vehicles were ajar. She suddenly discovered the conductor and fireman throwing buckets at each other alongside the engine, and, supposing it done in anger and that the train would of course be wrecked thereby, she was so terrified that she fainted away. The men, who were only at play, were terror-stricken in their turn, and, stopping the train, one of the offending buckets was used by the conductor in bringing water from a rivulet near by with which to restore consciousness to the sufferer. Not long since, the president of the nation was carried

* "Ebenezer Hazard, Postmaster and Postmaster-General, The Early New York Post-office"
By Rev. Ashbel G. Vermilye, D.D. *Magazine of American History* for February, 1885, Vol. XIII. p. 113.

over the same route in a car furnished with oriental elegance, heated by steam and lighted with electricity, to which was attached ten other cars, including a library, a dining-hall, a smoker, a sleeper, a complete barber's outfit and bath-rooms, all connected by vestibules so that passengers might move from one to another without danger or inconvenience.

It is well to take observations occasionally and note the effect of the railway upon the human race. Mr. Clarke says it has changed the whole basis of civilization from military to industrial. "The talent, the energy, the money which is expended in maintaining the whole of Europe as an armed camp is in America expended in building and maintaining railways, with their army of two millions of men. . . . American railways have nearly abolished landlordism in Ireland, and they will one day abolish it in England and over the continent of Europe. So long as Europe was dependent for food upon its own fields the owner of those fields could fix his own rental. This he can no longer do, owing to the cheapness of transportation from Australia and from the prairies of America." The energies and activities, the powers and possibilities developed by the locomotive have acted and reacted in every phase of our national life, and are still increasing in geometrical progression. Mr. E. P. Alexander writes: "In the practical management of railroad affairs problems are of constant occurrence which touch almost every pursuit to which men give themselves, whether of finance, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, science, or politics; and the methods, forms, and principles under which current railroad management is being developed (for it is by no means at a standstill) are the result of the necessities imposed by these multiplying problems acting within the constraints of corporate existence."

The theme is as attractive as it is colossal. The work to which attention is directed touches all sides of the railroad, which touches all sides of human life. It contains welcome and important information, with object lessons on every page. Among the facts stated worth remembering is that the United States has more than six times the mileage of any other country in the world, and that there are but five other countries that have even a tenth as much railway. B. B. Adams, Jr., remarks: "Science and invention, machinery and improved methods, have effected great changes in the railroad art, but the American nation, which travels more than any other, still recognizes the fact that faithful and efficient *men* are essential in the prosecution of that art. People desire to deal with a personality, therefore wish to see the *personnel* of the railroad service fostered and perfected."

Martha J. Lamb

THE SLAVE INSURRECTION IN VIRGINIA, 1831

KNOWN AS "OLD NAT'S WAR"

During the closing days of August, 1619, the first African slaves, twenty in number, were landed at Jamestown by a Dutch man-of-war. From that time to the present the negro has been with us ; for two hundred and forty-six years as a slave, and now as a freedman. During all this time, whether slave or free, he has been a thorn in the side of the white man. While a slave his power was used to oppress the non-slaveholding whites. The land was being steadily bought up by the wealthy few ; "to get more niggers, to get more land " was the cry, and the South was fast approaching those days of Rome when the Gracchi sought to reform the republic by demanding a re-distribution of the land. The time was perhaps not far distant when some American Gracchus would have been welcomed as a saviour by the Southern people, who were already beginning to feel the baleful influence of the great estates. We were spared this bitter experience by the civil war. That lesson of blood was a dear one, but its value has been more than the cost. The end of slavery was a blessing to the white man ; to the negro it has been in many forms a curse. Since obtaining his freedom, the black man, led on by unprincipled rascals, and showing in his every action that simplicity which marks the childhood of a race, has aspired to rule the whites, rich and poor, ignorant and learned alike. But the day of his domination has not yet come, and will not come while there is an Anglo-Saxon in the South to draw a sword or shoulder a musket.

It is a matter of surprise and gratification that under the old régime there were so few insurrections among the slaves. This is to be attributed to their great dread of blood and wounds, to the docility of their natures, to the lack of organization, and to the general good treatment which they received at the hands of their masters. There were a few servants in every family that were treated with the greatest care. They stayed in and around the house ; they were the body-servants of their master and mistress ; they were devotedly attached to them and would betray any plot that might bring the lives of those nearest and best to them into jeopardy. Even during the civil war, while nearly two hundred thousand negroes enlisted in the federal army, and thereby, on the

admission of Mr. Stanton, "saved the Union," the great majority remained quietly at home and at work. They showed a faithfulness which came from their training, it is true, but which even then seems almost incredible; for the women and children were defenseless and dependent upon them. How much evil could have been done had these slaves been inspired with the demon of Nat Turner, and how much the war might have been shortened by the utter annihilation of the South had they risen to burn and butcher, will never be known.

Few servile plots have gained celebrity. In 1740 a great negro plot was discovered in New York. In 1800 "General" Gabriel Prosser made efforts to organize the negroes around Richmond, so that they might rise and take the city. The plot was well conceived, but failed. In 1822 Denmark Vesey planned to take Charleston and slaughter its inhabitants. This was revealed by a family servant; the leaders were taken and executed.

The most celebrated plot in local history is that of Nat Turner in Southampton county, Virginia, in August, 1831. Nat was born October 2, 1800, and was the property of Benjamin Turner of Southampton, a wealthy and aristocratic man. He was below the ordinary stature and had genuine African features; he was small and somewhat feeble in body, his nose was flat and his hair very thin, but he was of shrewd and enthusiastic mind.* He conceived at an early age the idea that he was a special object of divine care, and that his mission was to deliver the blacks from their white masters. This fanaticism never left him, and led him, as we shall see, to his own destruction. He was remarkably quick, and at an early age showed signs which induced his superstitious parents to look on him with awe and wonder. He says in his *Confessions* that when three or four years old he was telling the other children something which his mother overheard.† She said it happened before his birth. He stuck to his story, and related some things that in her opinion tended to confirm it. Others heard of this occurrence and said that Nat was destined to be a prophet. This idea he could never eradicate. His mother and father strengthened him in his belief in divine aid, because they thought the marks on his head and breast indicated greatness. His grandmother, his master, and other religious persons noticed the singularity of his man-

* Howison. *History of Virginia*, II. 438. It has been said that Nat was a Baptist preacher, but this has been denied. Cf. *Baltimore Gazette*, October 6, 1831. It is said that he sung and exhorted, but went no further.

† His sworn testimony as given to Thomas R. Gray, his counsel, on his trial, and attested by six justices of the peace and the clerk of the county court of Southampton.

ner, and said that he would be of no value as a slave. His mind was restless, inquisitive, observant of everything, and directed chiefly to religion. He learned to read and write with great ease; when a book was given him to keep him from crying, he commenced to spell out the words. He did not remember when he learned the alphabet, and his quickness was a source of astonishment to all the negroes. He improved his opportunities. He reflected on all that presented itself, and when he had an opportunity to peruse a book he found there many things which his imagination had depicted to him already. All time not given to his master was spent in prayer, or in making experiments, in casting in molds made of earth, in attempting to make paper, gunpowder, etc.

This quickness and shrewdness gained for him a subtle influence over the negroes, unknown to the whites. He would not steal himself, but his friends took him with them to plan. It is said he never laughed. He was dreamy. He avoided the crowd and wrapped himself in mystery. Thus he worked on the superstitious feelings of his neighbors, until they began to look upon him as a prophet. When he had arrived at man's estate and heard the Bible commented on, he was struck with the words "Seek ye first the kingdom of God." He was praying one day at the plow for light when the spirit spoke to him as of old. He felt that he was ordained of God for some great purpose. He remembered the experiences of his childhood and felt it his duty to fulfill this mission. He began by telling the slaves that something was about to happen which would fulfill the promise made him.

About the first of 1830 Nat was hired to Joseph Travis, who treated him kindly and put great confidence in him. Nat repaid him by running away. He remained thirty days, but returned, "at the command of the spirit." Nat now had a vision: "I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened, the thunder rolled in the heavens, and blood flowed in streams, and I heard a voice saying, 'Such is your luck, such you are called to see, and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bear it.'" He now withdrew himself as much as possible from his fellow-servants "to serve the spirit more fully." The spirit appeared and promised to reveal to him the knowledge of the elements, the revolution of the planets, the operation of the tides and changes of the season. After the revelation of 1825 Nat sought more than ever to obtain true holiness before the day of judgment, and began "to receive the true knowledge of faith." Once the Holy Ghost appeared unto him and he "saw the forms of men in different attitudes, and there were lights in the sky, and they were the lights of the Saviour's hands." He

prayed to be told what these wonders were; soon after while working in the field he discovered drops of blood on the corn, as though it were dew from heaven, he found hieroglyphic characters on the leaves in the woods, and numbers with the forms of men in different attitudes portrayed in blood, and representing the figures he had seen before in the heavens; and from these signs it was plain to him that the day of judgment was at hand.*

The spirit appeared to him again and said he should be baptized. The whites would not allow it to be done by the Church, so Nat Turner and a poor white man went down into the water amid much reviling and were baptized of the spirit, May 12, 1828. He heard a loud noise in the heavens and the spirit appeared to him and said that the serpent was loosed, that Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that he should take it on and fight against the serpent. And it is worthy of remark that Nat made no use of voodooing, conjuring, "gufering," or fortune-telling for the purpose of gaining control over his neighbors; but, deceiving and being deceived, he professed that all his power and instruction came from heaven. In February, 1831, there was an eclipse. Nat said this was a sign for him to begin his work. Until this sign appeared his lips were sealed, but now they were opened. The work was to have begun on July 4; many plans were discussed, but Nat became so affected in mind that nothing was done. The sign appeared the second time and determined him to wait no longer. This sign was the appearance of the sun on August 13. By reason of some atmospheric trouble his disk on rising seemed to have changed from the usual brilliant golden color to a pale greenish tint, which soon gave place to a cerulean blue, and this also to a silvery white. In the afternoon he appeared like an immense circular plane of polished silver, and by the naked eye a black spot could be seen. He shone with a dull, gloomy light; the atmosphere was moist and hazy.†

Nat believed this trouble was a sure sign of victory, and said to his followers: "As the black spot passed over the sun, so shall the blacks pass over the earth." On Saturday, August 20, Nat and two confederates agreed to prepare a dinner for Sunday where they might discuss and formulate a plan of attack. It seems that five men attended this meeting—Nat, Sam Edwards, Hark Travis, Henry Porter, and Nelson Williams. One brought a pig and another some brandy. They remained here until two hours into the night. They agreed to spare neither age nor sex until arms were procured and their forces increased.

* *Confessions.*

† *Historical and Descriptive Sketches of Norfolk and Vicinity.*

The work was to begin at the house of Joseph Travis near Cross Keys. This place is about seventy miles from Richmond, ten miles from Jerusalem, the county seat of Southampton, and near the North Carolina line. On the way they were joined by a negro named Will. It was now between one and two on Monday morning, and their death-bringing march was to be the first note of warning to the slumbering whites. Nat tells with great coolness in his *Confessions* the story of the beginning of the slaughter: "On returning to the house Hark went to the door with an ax, for the purpose of breaking it open, as we knew we were strong enough to murder the family should they be awakened by the noise; but, reflecting that it might create an alarm in the neighborhood we determined to enter the house secretly and murder them whilst sleeping. Hark got a ladder and set it against the chimney, on which I ascended, and hoisting a window entered and came down-stairs, unbarred the doors, and removed the guns from their places. It was then observed that I must spill the first blood, on which, armed with a hatchet and accompanied by Will, I entered my master's chamber. It being dark I could not give a death-blow. The hatchet glanced from his head; he sprang from his bed and called his wife. It was his last word. Will laid him dead with a blow of his ax."

They secured several guns here, cleaned, and loaded them; they saddled the horses and started out. They visited every house on their way to Captain Nevit Harris's. They now amounted to about forty. Harris and his family had escaped. They destroyed the property in the house, robbing him also of money and other valuables. Nat led his forces to Levi Waller's, two or three miles distant. It was ten o'clock Monday. Nat took his station in the rear, and put fifteen or twenty of his best men in front. They approached the house as fast as their horses could run. This was to strike terror and prevent escape. After leaving Whitehead's Nat never reached the scene until the murders had been committed. He sometimes came in sight in time to see the work completed. He viewed in silent satisfaction the mangled bodies as they lay, and started at once in quest of other victims. Near Waller's was a log school-house. The little children were all butchered but one, and she escaped by hiding in a hedge. Another version says she escaped by running up the dirt chimney, and that she saw the tragedy enacted below from behind its wooden frame-work. Their heads were chopped off and the bodies piled up. The blood was caught in the water-bucket. The negroes got in a circle and one of them, perhaps Nat himself, sprinkled them with blood, repeating, "Such is the will of your Father in heaven." As the blood-stained assassins galloped up to the house of Mrs. Vaughan, a widow lady, she was paralyzed with terror and made no

effort to escape. She was killed, and her daughter was shot down when trying to escape. Mrs. William Williams escaped and got some distance from the house, but was overtaken, compelled to get up behind one of the number, and brought back. They showed her the lifeless body of her husband, told her to get down and lie by his side, where she was shot dead. Nat now had five or six men wounded, but none had been left on the field; one horse had been shot; and finding himself defeated here he determined to go through a private way, cross Nottoway river at Cypress bridge, three miles below Jerusalem, and attack that place in the rear. He wanted arms and ammunition.* When within a few miles of Jerusalem they were met by a small body of white men armed with guns generally loaded with bird-shot. At the first fire this army of liberation turned and fled to the swamps. But they soon re-collected their forces and prepared to make another attack.† Their last effort at plunder and murder was made at Dr. Samuel Blount's. Dr. Blount, his son, and three others were at home. The defense was conducted by D. W. Fitzhugh. The doctor's slaves joined heartily in it. They had six guns heavily loaded. The negroes came within twenty yards, a volley was fired, and one fell dead and another was severely wounded. The others took to flight. For his gallantry on this occasion President Jackson appointed young Simon Blount a midshipman in the navy.

It was now Monday noon and the offensive part of "Old Nat's War" was ended. The whites had recovered from the shock and were rallying; they hunted the negroes through the swamps like beasts of prey; several slaves taken near Cross Keys were beheaded on the spot. Troops began to pour in; Commodore Warrington of the Norfolk navy yard offered a supply of pistols, cutlasses, and ball cartridges for a thousand men. The steamer *Hampton* was chartered; at Fortress Monroe Colonel House embarked in her with three companies of United States troops, and from the sloops *Natchez* and *Warren* she received a corps of marines. The Norfolk Junior Volunteers and the Portsmouth Grays left for the scene on Thursday; the Richmond artillery set out and a troop of horse left Petersburg; one hundred men were sent from Murfreesboro, North Carolina, and some sixty from Winton, North Carolina; three or four hundred were under arms in Hertford county, North Carolina, and the militia of Gates and Northampton counties was called out. On Thursday, besides the large military force, four hundred women who had fled from their homes to escape death were gathered in Jerusalem. All was uproar and confusion. General Epes, the commander of this district, had more men than he could use. He organized a sufficient force for protection and

* *Confessions.*

† Howison, II. 441.

sent the others to their homes. Order was restored, the danger was passed, the insurrection was ended but not soon forgotten.

This affair was begun with no fire-arms at all. The voice had told Nat to "slay my enemies with their own weapons," and he trusted to Providence. Their powder was scarce at best, but this did not prevent them from making many of their recruits mix it with their brandy, thinking thereby to inflame them more, and the brandy went a long way toward reconciling them to the work.* The local nature of the uprising is shown by the fact that Nat made hardly a dozen efficient recruits on the trip, although the plan was well known to them before. A negro girl stated during the trial that she had heard the plot discussed for more than eighteen months. Nat himself had said the last Saturday in August would be a black day, but he fell into the fatal error of forgetting that there were five Saturdays in the month. This mistake threw out numbers who were otherwise ready for the butchery. The fact that they were mounted and their irregular manner of fighting perhaps caused them to be overestimated. About ten did the work. They had nearly sixty in all, but some of them had to be guarded like prisoners of war. Such slaves as had not come under the prophet directly were, as a rule, very true, and although he was in the midst of a large slave population his influence was really very small.†

The victims were butchered but not tortured. The actors were perhaps appalled by the very success of their hideous enterprise. The dead were fifty-five in number: Joseph Travis, wife, and three children; Mrs. Elizabeth Turner; Hartwell Prebles; Sarah Newsome; Mrs. Piety Reese and son William; Trajan Doyal; Henry Bryant, wife, child, and mother-in-law; Mrs. Catharine Whitehead, her son Richard, four daughters, and a grandchild; Salthiel Francis; Nathaniel Francis's overseer and two children; John T. Barrow; George Vaughan; Mrs. Levi Waller and ten children; William Williams, his wife, and two boys; Mrs. Caswell Worrell and

* *Baltimore Gazette*, October 6.

† The census of 1830 gave the population of Southampton and adjoining counties as follows:

	White.	Slave.	Free blacks.
Greenville.....	2,104	4,681	332
Isle of Wight.....	7,023	4,272	1,222
Nansemond.....	5,143	4,943	1,698
Southampton.....	6,573	7,755	1,745
Surrey.....	2,865	3,377	866
Sussex.....	4,118	7,736	866

In 1830 there were in Bertie county, North Carolina, 12,276 people; in Gates, 7,866; in Hertford, 8,541; in Northampton, 13,103; of these at least one-half were blacks.

child ; Mrs. Rebecca Vaughan, her son Arthur, and Ann Elizabeth Vaughan ; Mrs. John K. Williams and child ; Mrs. Jacob Williams and three children ; Edward Drury. Thirteen men, eighteen women, and twenty-four children, the victims of these insurrectionists. Through the twenty miles of their track not a rumor was heard of mercy shown, and a Methodist preacher was among their victims. They never went slower than full speed, and as their horses grew tired others were impressed. The faithful slaves had taken to the woods and the houses seemed tenements of the dead.

After the defeat at Blount's Nat gave up all hope for the present, and on Thursday night, having supplied himself with provisions from Travis's, scratched a hole under a pile of fence-rails in a field. Here he lay for six weeks, never leaving his hiding but for a few moments at dead of night to get water and seek intelligence. He then began to venture out and eavesdrop, but gained little and always returned before day. One night a dog while passing by his covert smelled meat, went into his retreat and stole it. A few nights later some negroes went hunting with this dog and passed by the hiding-place. The dog went into it again and barked at Nat who was just coming out. Nat spoke to the men and begged concealment. They fled from him. He was now constantly pursued and a reward of \$1,100 was put on his head. October 30 Benjamin Phipps came on him so suddenly in a coverture of brushwood that he could escape only at the risk of being shot. He surrendered, laid himself on the ground, and was tied. He was carried to Jerusalem the next day. Judge Parker, the presiding judge of that district, was in town. He saw lynching was in contemplation ; but appealing to their love of law and order quieted the people—something more difficult to do under the same circumstances in our day. Nat at the time of his capture was only a mile and a half from the house of Travis, where his slaughter was begun. He was armed with an old sword only. He said that he had never been more than five miles from the scene and had wanted to give himself up but could not summon the courage. Twenty-one slaves were convicted and condemned, and thirteen executed. But this does not include the large number of poor wretches who lost their lives in the suppression of the revolt, and there is no doubt but that there were many excesses following immediately on the close of this reign of terror. It required denunciations from many of the best men in the state before the spirit of revenge could be pacified.

When Nat Turner was placed on his trial he plead "not guilty," remarking that he did not feel as if he were guilty. He was convicted on his own confession and was executed about one o'clock, Friday, November 11, at Jerusalem. He exhibited the utmost composure ; declined to ad-

dress the vast crowd, and told the sheriff in a firm voice that he was ready. Not a limb nor a muscle was seen to move. His body was given to the surgeons for dissection.*

No other slave insurrection gave such a shock to the South as did the uprising of Nat Turner. In Southampton county all labor was paralyzed and many plantations were abandoned. The terror of the revolt spread even to Antigua, Martinique, and Caraccas. In North Carolina the terror and fear inspired were not less than at the site of the disturbance. Murfreesboro, in Hertford county, North Carolina, is thirty miles from Cross Keys where the revolt began. Levi Waller, who had barely escaped with his life after hard riding, dashed into the town to tell the fearful story of his loss; his wife and ten children, one at the breast, had been butchered, and he alone was left to tell the story. "It was court week," writes John Wheeler, the father of the historian, to the *Baltimore Gazette*, "and most of our men were twelve miles away at Winton. Fear was seen in every face, women pale and terror-stricken, children crying for protection, men fearful and full of foreboding, but determined to be ready for the worst." The state militia was called out. In the more eastern counties drafts were made for men to go into the Dismal Swamp to hunt the fugitives, and by the end of the week there were enough men under arms in Virginia and North Carolina to have killed every negro in Southampton county in an hour.

While the excitement over the career of Nat Turner was at its highest, negro plots and conspiracies were being constantly brought to light in different sections of the country. Of these plots Nat Turner denied all knowledge, but said that these, like his own, were the work of super-terrestrial agencies. Nowhere were these plots more frequent than in North Carolina. During the first week in September a slave of Thomas K. Morrissey of Sampson county in that state was arrested, and confessed that the slaves had laid a plot to muster what forces they could in Sampson and march on Wilmington, where they expected additions to their numbers. Rumors of this threatened invasion reached Wilmington and caused great excitement. The citizens turned out, companies were formed, all things were put in readiness, and in less than two hours two hundred men were under arms. Troops took possession of the roads leading to the city; couriers were coming and going; captains and colonels were monarchs of all. Expresses came in from South Washington saying that the negroes in large bodies were near the town and were advancing. At the little bridge they were to divide their forces and enter by different streets, burn-

* Petersburg *Intelligencer*, quoted in *Baltimore Gazette*, November 16.

ing and butchering as they went. The houses were to be fired and the inhabitants were to be killed as they appeared at their doors. The negroes would endeavor to get possession of the arsenal where seven thousand stand of arms had been stored temporarily. The alarm was great; Madame Rumor had done her worst. But time passed on and no negroes appeared.

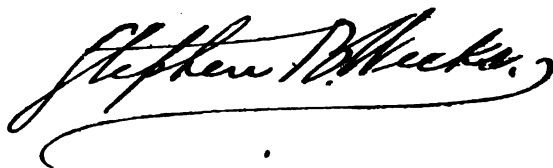
The reports had been greatly exaggerated. Some arrests were made; trial and execution followed. There were rumored risings on the eastern shore of Maryland and on the Delaware line. In Burke and Rutherford counties, North Carolina, rumors were rife that the slaves working in the gold-mines were organizing. Many arrests were made and a plot was discovered. In Richmond county some twenty were imprisoned, and iron spears for carrying on their fiendish purpose are said to have been found.

Raleigh was in alarm. News had reached there that Wilmington was in the hands of the blacks and had been burned. A man from Johnston county ran his horse to death to ask the people of Raleigh for aid. Every free negro in the place was taken up and his means of subsistence were inquired into; if he could give no satisfactory account of himself he was thrown into prison or ordered to leave the town at once. The able-bodied men were organized into four companies to patrol the streets nightly by turns. The old men organized the Silver Grays. The fortress was the Presbyterian church. It was agreed that when the bell of the capitol rang out the women and children should hasten there for protection. They watched and waited in anxiety and fear. The news from Wilmington increased their terror. One night O'Rourke's blacksmith shop took fire; the capitol bell rang forth its shrill peal of alarm. It was heard from one end of the town to the other. The slumbering city was transformed into a terror-stricken multitude; the last day and the inevitable time had come; Nat Turner and his followers were upon them, for this was the signal agreed upon. Negroes were more terrified than their masters; they fled under houses, hid in shrubbery, lay down between corn rows—anything to escape destruction. The women, with hair disheveled and in night-clothes, fled through the streets with ever-increasing speed for their place of refuge. It was a matter of life and death to them, and heart-felt were the thanks for deliverance when the true cause of the alarm was known.

Nat Turner's insurrection caused the state of Virginia to be armed. The legislature passed stringent laws against slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes; forbade their meetings, punished them for words, proscribed their instruction, and arrested their preachers. In North Carolina no slave was allowed to employ his time as a freeman, no negroes were allowed to

preach, to hawk, or to peddle without a license ; nor to own nor make use of a deadly weapon. The patrolling system became more exacting ; masters became more suspicious and insisted on greater subordination. There was a reaction against the doctrine of emancipation which was then gaining ground, and nothing whatever was secured by the outbreak.

Nat's object was freedom, and indiscriminate slaughter was his watchword. He had been inflamed by religious fanaticism and by white preachers of black equality. Of the character of Nat Turner, the man to whom he made his confession, Thomas R. Gray, says : " It has been said he was ignorant and cowardly, and that his object was to murder and rob for the purpose of obtaining money to make his escape. It is notorious that he was never known to have a dollar in his life, to swear an oath, or to drink a drop of spirits. . . . He can read and write, and for natural intelligence and quickness of apprehension, is surpassed by few men I have seen. . . . His reason for not resisting Mr. Phipps shows the decision of his character. . . . He is a complete fanatic, or plays his part most admirably. . . . I shall not attempt to describe the effect of his narrative, as told and commented on by himself, in the condemned hole of the prison ; the calm, deliberate composure with which he spoke of his late deeds and intentions ; the expression of his fiend-like face when excited by enthusiasm ; still having the stains of the blood of helpless innocence about him, clothed with rags and covered with chains, yet daring to raise his manacled hands to heaven, with a spirit soaring above the attributes of man."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Stephen D. Weeks." The signature is written in a cursive style with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY, BALTIMORE.

BRITISH MERCHANTS IN 1775

Henry Laurens, afterward the second president of the continental congress, took his family to Europe in 1771 for the purpose of educating his three sons, John, James, and Henry, Jr.

He was in London in 1774, when the troubles between Great Britain and her American colonies were approaching a crisis, and he left rather hastily for South Carolina after signing his name to a petition to Parliament of thirty Americans protesting against the Boston port bill. He became a member and the chairman of the first provincial congress of South Carolina. He did not take his family with him to America, but left them in charge of his brother, James Laurens, an invalid who lived abroad for his health, and of William Manning, a London merchant with whom Mr. Laurens had had business dealings for many years. Mr. Manning was a prominent merchant and acquainted with many powerful people. He was the grandfather of Cardinal John Manning, and two of his daughters were married respectively to Benjamin Vaughan, the political economist, and to a son of Mr. Laurens. Mr. Manning continued to have business relations with Mr. Laurens until prevented by the war. An active correspondence passed between them, and in the original letters of Mr. Manning now in my possession I find many interesting statements which show how the American troubles were regarded by London merchants, and how greatly the merchants sympathized with the colonies.

These letters are in fine preservation, are all in Mr. Manning's hand, and bear Mr. Laurens' indorsement. They were written from London in 1775. I append the dates when written to show their order. There are many business and family matters contained in them which I omit as not pertinent to the subject of this article.

"January 16th

Mr. John Laurens is at Bristol and Henry is just returned to Westminster. He spent about three weeks with us and pleased us all. He is a fine boy and much improved. I cannot help congratulating you on the happy prospect you have in your three sons. . . . I have been confined twenty-five days with the gout in both feet. The pain was severe only three days, and as I could do business it was no great punishment except in one point, the preventing my attending the meetings of the North America and West India merchants and planters. The former you

will see by the newspaper have agreed on a petition; the latter are too much divided to come (I fear) to any proper resolution. They meet again on Wednesday the 18th, and as I am much better I hope to be able to attend them, to give my vote for a petition to Parliament to repeal the acts that are so destructive to the colonies and to ourselves.

February 17th

Your favors of the 17th December giving me the joyful news of your arrival came safe to hand. Your son communicated to me your narrow escape from being lost, on which we all congratulate you. . . . I was just able to stand when the West India planters and merchants agreed to petition the House of Commons, and though much fatigued and in some pain I attended the reading it and put my name to it. I might have signed and presented an account of sales with the same effect; our ministers are resolved to execute their pernicious plan and may repent when it is too late. The substance of our petition sets forth that we are exceedingly alarmed at the agreement entered into by the congress, etc.; and we pray they will take into their consideration that great political system of the colonies heretofore so very beneficial to the mother country and her dependencies, and adopt such measures as shall prevent the evils with which the planters and merchants are threatened, etc., etc. You will see it in print, therefore I will only add that it has met with the same reception others have undergone and will only serve My Lord or some of his dependants for a certain use at a certain place. I am informed an act will be passed to prevent the New England people from fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. The consequence I conclude will be that 15,000 to 20,000 stout hearty fellows will be thrown out of bread, who will join the forces on shore to oppose General Gage and his army. If this measure is adopted I think that congress should send an address of thanks to L——d N——h for his friendship and care of their cause and for such a reinforcement. We all wish you to return very soon, but if you make any stay we hope you will assist your country with your head and purse only, which will be of more use than a thousand hands with as many guns.

June 3d

I am sincerely sorry to hear of the skirmish near Boston. I fear it will bring on dreadful consequences.

July 5th

Your very acceptable present by Captain Gunn is alive. We all thank you for this and the turtle coming by Captain Curling. We will not fail

to drink your health when they are on table. . . . I am much obliged to you for the political creed—it shall be destroyed and I will be on my guard. May God direct your counsels and preserve you from danger is the hearty wish of all this family. . . . The West India merchants invited Lord North to our annual dinner. One of the several toasts was a speedy and lasting accommodation with America. I looked his lordship full in the face, and by his countenance I think he drank his glass with a hearty good will, and I still continue of opinion that his will and inclination is overruled by the Scotch leaders, and I am ashamed to say that I believe him to be their humble tool.

August 3d

Mr. John Laurens has been so kind as to favor me with the perusal of your letters. I am at times sorry on your having engaged in so arduous a task, but when I reflect that your coolness and prudence may check the violent zeal of many of the real and pretended friends of liberty, I am glad that you are in the chair, but it is with real concern that I see, in spite of your care and attention, that your province advances so rapidly in precautions and resolutions that in my eyes are not yet necessary and will load you with debt, the payment of which may create a second dispute should the first be accommodated. But if the provincial congress will take on them to raise and discipline men, stop the course of justice and all trade, you render the grand congress at Philadelphia unnecessary, if not contemptible.

If they are to watch over and preserve the liberties of the continent, they should be the proper judges to direct when and how you should raise troops and force your inhabitants into associations contrary to their judgments and inclinations. Is this liberty? I call it greater oppression than has been attempted by government or ministers. I very much fear that some of your present patriots will as soon as they dare become (tyrants or) protectors, call them which you will, as Oliver Cromwell was, and I fear the southern provinces must submit to the dominion of Boston unless a reconciliation can be brought about with Great Britain. I was in hopes some time ago that that happy event was not only possible but probable, but from the bloodshed on the 17th of June, I fear the mother must submit to separate and give up her child entirely, to the ruin of both nations.

I hinted to you that Lord North was much inclined to an accommodation and I can now confirm it from pretty good authority, and that Lord Dartmouth is ready to adopt every measure that can contribute to it, but that they are opposed by the Bedford party.

These two lords I am informed have given a favorable reception to the propositions from the congress, but what is likely to be the issue I am not

of consequence to learn. God grant that my next letter may contain some favorable intelligence. I wish I could by any means follow your directions and to any good purpose. I would most certainly undertake it with the firmest zeal. You have too high an opinion of my acquaintance and influence. The first extends very little beyond a mercantile circle and the last is only to be compared to a drop of water in the sea. Such as it is, it has been and shall be on all occasions used for the peace and welfare of America. I have as often as I have had an opportunity represented the loyalty and strength of the Americans, and represented that it was impossible to force them to submit to the burthens laid on them, and I know that some of my letters have been communicated to men in power, but I fear they have never had the least weight—on the contrary, I dare say they have been laught at. The military gentlemen say that General Gage with twelve thousand men will drive the Provincials to the d—I.

When they are undeceived and willing to accept of the terms you now propose, I much fear the patriots of Boston will increase their demands to a pitch that will prevent any accommodation whatever, and that those who have arms in their hands will not lay them down by the same authority they took them up. Forty thousand men will cut and carve for themselves.

October 4th

I am glad to see the Georgia resolutions more moderate than the other colonies and that they will keep the courts of justice open, and wish they and all the continent would likewise keep the communication open with our islands. I am very sorry to find your public affairs in such confusion. It was what I expected and feared when I heard you were arming. It is very dangerous to put muskets and swords in the power of the vulgar unless they are immediately employed. Idle soldiers without strict controul generally rule their masters. I am glad to find this measure did not meet your approbation. I still think if the gentlemen of the several congresses were blessed with your moderation, prudence, and real love for your country, an accommodation might be firmly concluded this winter."

Here the letters end. Mr. Laurens exercised his prudence and moderation to such an extent that his loyalty has been called into question at times. There can, however, be no doubt that he was a true patriot, though reluctant to sever the bonds which bound the colonies to Great Britain.

Walter Joneyn Benjamin

SOME RARE OLD BOOKS

EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

There is something connected with books which have come down to us from by-gone centuries that invests them with peculiar interest. There lies before me a massive quarto volume which has escaped all the destructive agencies of two hundred and eighty-one years, and now tells me its wonderful story of national strifes and human achievements in our English language as spoken and written nearly three centuries ago. It is a complete and well-preserved copy of the second edition of a work which was no doubt a costly one at the time it was published, and which is indeed a rare relic at this time. The title of the book is "The Generall Historie of the Turkes, from the firste beginning of that Nation to the rising of the Othoman Familie with all the notable expeditions of the Christian princes against them. Together with the Lives and Conquests of the Othoman Kings and Emperours unto the yeare 1610. Written by Richard Knolles, sometime fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford. The second edition printed by Adam Islip. 1610."

This title is enclosed in a highly ornamental border of a composite character, with designs representing scenes and events in history. The sides of the border are two Corinthian columns, against one of which stands a knight in full armor, with shield and helmet, and against the other a Turkish warrior, also in full armor and bearing a shield, but wearing a turban instead of a helmet. These columns support various emblematic figures, with a disk bearing upon its margin the motto, *Honi Soit Qui-Mal-y-Pense*. All this is surmounted by a crown. The columns rest upon a base representing a battle scene.

The book is a quarto, substantially bound in leather, and contains thirteen hundred and three pages, not including about thirty more pages, containing what the author calls "A Table or Index, pointing unto the most notable things in the Historie of the Turkes before written." There are numerous elaborately executed portraits of kings, emperors and empresses, all of which have the date 1603 engraven in them, that being the date of the first edition. The orthography, of course, is that of our English of the time of Elizabeth and of James I., three centuries ago—an age which gave to English literature some of its most

brilliant minds, including the immortal Shakespeare himself. The typographical execution, for that period, is undoubtedly excellent, and shows that the printers in Adam Islip's London printing establishment, two hundred and eighty-one years ago, were skilled in the "art preservative of arts." The volume is divided into two principal parts, the first treating of the "Generall Historie of the Turkes," and the second of the "Lives of the Othoman Kings and Emperours." These biographies, the author declares, were all "faithfully gathered out of the best histories, both antient and moderne, and digested into one continuat historie." The pages have marginal notes, with dates covering the period from 755 to 1609, eight hundred and fifty-four years.

After the title-page comes the dedication "To the High and Mightie Prince James, by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c." Why James I. of England was styled King of France more than a hundred years after any earnest claim had been made by an English sovereign to the crown of France may be explained by the historian. Our old author's dedication addresses the king in the most obsequious language, closing with a prayer that the "great God of all might and power (by whom all kings and princes raig) to his glory may long preserve your most royall Majestie in blessed health and peace to rule and raig over us and these your great Kingdomes, so happily by you united; and so likewise (his will so being) your most noble posteritie after you, even to the worlds end. Your Majesties most humble and obedient subject. Richard Knolles."

The reader of this and other English printed books of that age will observe the absence of many of the marks and points of our modern punctuation. The apostrophe "s" to designate the possessive of nouns, and the points of interrogation and exclamation are absent. About the only points used are the comma, semicolon, colon and period. Proper names of persons are in italics, and of places in "small caps," with initial capitals. The letter "s," except where it terminates a word, is formed like our present letter "f," except it is not crossed. The "u" and "v" have the same form. Many words are encountered which are now obsolete, and others which have so changed their orthography that many readers would not recognize them with their meaning in modern print. For instance, he might have to look up some authority to learn that the word "espials" meant what we now understand by the word "spies." The evolution of our language is quite as marked in a large number of other words.

When we recall the fact that the art of stereotyping was unknown at the time this book was printed, we may appreciate the expense and labor

of producing a second edition, as compared with the reprinting of books at the present time. Then it was necessary to reset the type, and in this second edition of Knolles's history about seven years additional history is appended, bringing it down to the year 1610. These additional years of Turkish history include incidents in which Captain John Smith, subsequently famous in the Jamestown colony in Virginia, was a prominent actor.

The interest in this book as a relic of the long past is increased when we remember how much of the world's history has been made since it was printed. Its author lived when Queen Elizabeth reigned, and was contemporaneous with Shakespeare, Bacon, Ben Jonson; and when his book was being printed England's great epic poet, Milton, was an infant two years of age. The English colony in Virginia had just been planted, and the little princess, Pocahontas, had not yet met her pale-face wooer, John Rolfe, or saved the life of Captain Smith on the banks of James river. It was ten years later when the *Mayflower* landed on the "bleak New England shore," and one hundred and sixty-six years were to elapse before the birth of the great republic which has given to the world's history the immortal names of Washington, Lincoln and Grant. These and a long list of other heroes, statesmen and benefactors of men in the various spheres of human life and activity have lived, passed away and left their names enrolled in the annals of greatness, while our book has escaped all the accidents and destructive revolutions of two hundred and eighty-one years, and presents for our instruction the identical pages which were read in England by the subjects of James I., and may have been conned over by "Scottish Jammie" himself.

Another rare old volume in my collection contains about four hundred pages, and is in two parts, or rather it is two books in one volume. The title-page of the first part is wanting, but the contents otherwise are complete. It is a medical work, or rather, in the language of the time in which it was written, it relates to the study of "physick." The date of the printing of this book is 1658, and its author was Nicholas Culpeper. The title-page of the second part is intact, and reads as follows: "A Key to Galen's Method of Physick. London. Printed by Peter Cole, Printer and Book-seller, at the sign of the Printing Press in Cornhil, near the Royal Exchange. 1658." The printer and bookseller Cole takes up the first half dozen pages in advertising certain publications in stock for sale by him. These books were mostly of a religious character. Among them were eleven books of "Thomas Hooker made in New England," as the advertisement reads. The author was a preacher in London who was

silenced for non-conformity, and then set up a grammar school, in which John Eliot, afterward the celebrated "Apostle of the Indians" in America, was usher. Hooker came to America in 1633, and was ordained at Cambridge. Later he settled at Hartford, Connecticut, as the place was afterward known. His sermons were reported and many of them sent back to England and published. Mr. Hooker and Samuel Stone were the first ministers who preached at Hartford. The former died in 1647.

So much for thrifty printer Cole's advertisements, and now we return to our author on "physick," Dr. Culpeper. This appears to be the sixth edition of his work "much enlarged." In a brief prefatory address he says: "Courteous reader, if thou ever intendest to study Physick, and turn neither Fool nor Knave in that famous Science, be well skilled in this Discourse and Directions following; here's enough for thee to whet thy wits upon. Sympathy and Antipathy are the two Hinges upon which the whole Body of Physick turns. Thou hast the Radix of them here. Here is a Foundation for thee to erect the whole Fabrick upon, if thou beest wise; if not, thou art unfit to make a Physitian. I love well, and am as willing to help all ingenious men, though their parts be never so weak; but hate pride in whomsoever I find it." The doctor then proceeds with "An Astrologo-Physical Discourse of the Human Vertues in the Body of Man." In this he treats of the functions of the brain and various parts of the body, the influence of the planets, the sun, and the stars in the development of both physical and intellectual characters. He says the intellectual, or rather, as he calls it, the "intellective vertue resides in the brain, and is generally governed by Mercury." It is curious to note that the science of phrenology is not so modern as many think it is, for our author says, "Imagination is seated in the forepart of the brain." Again he says, "Judgment is seated in the midst of the brain." Further along in treating of memory he says it is "seated in the hinder cell of the brain, is the great register to the little world, and its office is to record things either done and past, or to be done." So it appears that the theory of Dr. Gall on the structure and functions of the brain were crudely outlined by our English doctor one hundred years before the Vienna doctor was born. Dr. Culpeper appears, however, not to have been in full accord with the regular school of his day, for he frequently criticises the methods of what was known as "The College," and their old and new dispensatory. The discovery of the fact that doctors disagree is not modern.

Some idea of the style of this unique old author may be gained from the reading of an extract wherein he extols the virtues of the tobacco plant. After giving the formula for its preparation, he says: "I would

ask a whol summer's day to write the Particular Vertues of this Oyntment, and my poor Genius is too weak to give it the hundredth part of its due praise." He then, in the style of the patent medicine proprietors of the present day, enumerates a long list of ailments for which it is a panacea, and concludes by saying: "Finally, there may be as universal a Medicine made for al Diseases, of Tobacco, as of any in the world, the *Phylosophers Stone* excepted. O Foubertus! thou shalt never want praise for inventing this Medicine, by those that use it, so long as the sun and moon endureth." In another place for "hypochondriack melancholly" Virginia tobacco leaf is prescribed as an "incomparable Remedy." In still another place he says: "Oyl of Tobacco is a gallant remedy for deep wounds, scabs, or itch as any under the Cope of Heaven, and is in no way prejudicial."

Our author has a peculiar way of mixing his religion with his "physick." In treating of "pouders" compounded from herbs, he makes a fling at the "College," or regular profession, as follows: "I see now the College is not too old to learn how to dry Herbs, for before they appointed them to be dried in the shadow. I would they would learn humility and honesty, and mind the common good, and consider what infinite number of poor creatures perish daily (whom Christ hath both purchased to himself, and bought with the price of his blood) through their hiding the rules Physick from them, who else happily might be preserved if they knew but what the herbs in their own Gardens were good for. With what face will they answer for this another day before God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the holy Angels? A few thoughts of this might put them upon such principles as might be a lengthning of their Tranquility; but why do I spend time about them, seeing there is little hopes they will be honester?"

Scattered through the book are many proverbs and trite sayings, some of which have come down to the present day. I quote the following: "Hit the nail on the head." "Mother wit will teach you." "As rare as black swans." "Cannot catch old birds with chaff." "Leave never a stone unturned." "This is the plain English of it." "I smell a rat." "Provide against a wet day." "Teach a smith how to make nails." "Got the wrong sow by the ear." "No carrion will kill a crow." "The pitcher never goes so often to the well but it comes broken home at last." "Pin not your faith upon another man's sleeve." "A word is enough to the wise." "Know by a penny how a shilling is coined." These proverbs all occur in this old volume, proving that some of our current sayings are not so modern as we may have supposed. In quoting them I have modernized the orthography.

This book is printed with double-column pages, and several new char-

acters or points in punctuation appear, including those of interrogation and exclamation. In typographical execution it is rather crude, and does not show that printer Cole's establishment was well equipped with the material for book-making. It is an interesting little volume, both as to its style and contents.

A copy of the celebrated "Letters of Junius" in my possession is an interesting relic, from the fact that it is one of the first American edition of those letters, and was printed in 1791—just one hundred years ago. It is complete, and contains two hundred and eighty-three pages, besides a copious index. The title-page shows that it was printed and sold in Philadelphia by Prichard & Hall, in Market street, between Front and Second streets. It is well printed in the style of books of that time, and contains all the letters signed "Junius" and "Philo-Junius," with the letters also of Sir William Draper and Rev. John Horne to Junius, together with the unknown author's dedication to the English nation. These letters are so well known to all readers versed in our standard English literature that any comment upon the contents of this book would of course be superfluous. The special interest in the volume arises from the fact that it is a copy of the first American print of those famous letters, and the further fact that it is a specimen of American book-making of one hundred years ago.

A. R. Fulton.



DES MOINES, IOWA.

DISTINGUISHED GERMANS IN AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The struggles for German unity and their effect on the United States is a subject which must be of great interest to every thoughtful American citizen. The Vienna Congress, composed as it was of the representatives of the different powers which had accomplished the downfall of Napoleon I., convened pursuant to the last article of the Paris treaty of the previous year, in October, 1814, in order to adjust the map of Europe. The colossal nature of the work, to brush away the political creations of the French conqueror as well as to reconcile the seriously conflicting interests of the different dynasties, became apparent very soon after the august body had begun its deliberations. This was particularly so with reference to Germany, where the uncompromising dualism between Austria and Prussia created difficulties which at several stages of the congress threatened an outburst of open hostilities between the different sections of the country. The return of Napoleon from Elba, however, in March, 1815, brought the quarrels to a speedy end, the boundaries of over thirty little German states were drawn, a loose union was patched up between them, and the congress adjourned.

The German people soon discovered that in the adjustment of these matters the dynastic interests alone had been respected, while their own rights were shamefully ignored. In driving the French usurper from their soil the people had made unparalleled sacrifices of blood and treasure. The political distraction of their country, which for nearly two hundred years had made them the prey of foreign conquerors, had been accomplished as a result of their stanch adherence and manly defense of the principles of religious liberty. In France, England, Spain, Portugal, and the Scandinavian countries that creed alone was tolerated which the royal will prescribed, and thus political unity became intact. Germany, however, had emerged from the Thirty Years' War devastated and impoverished beyond description, cut up into a large number of petty dynasties, but proud of having conquered for the world that freedom of conscience which was the forerunner throughout the civilized world of all subsequent movements for the betterment of mankind. Yet the relinquishment of political greatness had brought her untold miseries, and when she regained her independence through her victories over Napoleon she had a right to expect that the blood of her sons had not been spilled in vain, and

that a strong and united fatherland would for all time to come protect her against invasions from without. The outcome of the congress, therefore, fell like a wet blanket upon the whole people, their fondest hopes were blighted, and deep-rooted discontent took possession of the masses. The humiliating condition of the country was felt most keenly by the flower of the German youth—the students of the universities; their patriotic indignation burst forth in plaintive songs and speeches; and unions (*burschenschaften*) were formed for the purpose of cultivating love of country and to aim at building up a united Germany. Nor were their objects in the least concealed, for not a few avowed themselves for open revolution to attain them. Under the inspiration of Prime Minister Metternich, of Austria, whose vainglorious nature was fully equal to his inability to comprehend the honest aspirations of a noble people, the rulers of Germany, fearing for their safety, endeavored to suppress the unions, and caused arrests to be made and prosecutions to be instituted. In order to escape these some of the best sons of the country left for foreign lands; thus what was Germany's loss was the latter's gain. Among those who in this period and as a result of these prosecutions were cast upon our shores were Professor Francis Lieber, Carl Beck, and Charles Follen.

Follen had been prominently identified with the unions, and in 1819 was suspected of being an accomplice in the murder of Kotzebue, a German author, whose relations to the Russian court had subjected him to the suspicion of being a Russian spy and an enemy of German unity. Follen was at that time a private lecturer at the University of Jena, and although but twenty-three years of age had already won high distinction as a counselor for several towns in his native grand-duchy of Hesse Darmstadt, whose government sought to enforce against them an obnoxious war debt. Though nothing could be shown against him in connection with Kotzebue's taking off, his liberal teachings, nevertheless, subjected him to serious annoyances, which prompted him to leave his native country for Switzerland, from where, in January, 1825, he emigrated to the United States. Shortly after his arrival he was appointed teacher of German at Harvard college. Three years later he was made professor of ecclesiastical history and ethics, and soon after he received the professorship of German literature at Harvard, which he held five years. He then became pastor of a Unitarian society in New York and in East Lexington, Massachusetts. In January, 1840, he was a passenger on the ill-fated steamer *Lexington*, which was burned during its passage in Long Island sound, and lost his life, together with about one hundred and seventy-five other passengers. Follen was the author of a German grammar and reader. He was a frequent contributor

to the reviews, and lectured on various scientific subjects. His writings, and a sketch of an unfinished work on psychology, were published at Boston in 1841, in five volumes. He was, like most of his countrymen, a staunch advocate of the anti-slavery movement, and his great literary ability and unspotted career did much to secure for the German character an honorable recognition in this country.

At the request of the anti-slavery society he wrote an address to the American people, in which he set forth in clear and forcible language the principles of his party. This pamphlet was distributed in congress as well as at the different state capitals, and everywhere made a deep impression. On account thereof he suffered many serious attacks, it being particularly urged against him that he, a foreigner, was abusing the hospitality of this country by assailing her institutions and throwing a firebrand into our body politic. His manly and dignified reply was, that in this country, where liberty was the boast of the people, and where the Declaration of Independence proclaimed and vouchsafed equal rights for all, he would not abnegate those sacred truths which he had defended in his fatherland and for which he had sacrificed home, beloved parents, brothers, sisters, and friends. He was an intimate friend of Channing, Theodore Parker, Emerson, Ticknor, Bancroft, Longfellow and other great men of his time.

Dr. Carl Beck, a friend of Follen, having likewise been prominently identified with the unions, became a fugitive from Germany and settled in the United States in 1824. He had studied philology at Berlin and Tübingen, and at the latter school had received the degree of doctor of philosophy. Upon his arrival in this country he became a teacher at a school in Northampton, Massachusetts. Subsequently he established a school of his own at Phillipstown, on the Hudson, and in 1832 he was made professor of the Latin language and literature at Cambridge. He published several works on philology, distinguished himself during the war of the rebellion as a member of the Sanitary Commission, wrote and worked zealously for the education of the freedmen, and was regarded as one of the most public-spirited citizens in Massachusetts. He died at Cambridge in March, 1886, lamented and honored far beyond the limits of his adopted state.

Professor Francis Lieber hardly needs an introduction to the American reader. He was born in Berlin in March, 1800, and his childhood was spent at the time of the deepest humiliation of Germany. In March, 1815, when Napoleon had broken loose again in Europe, Lieber, though a mere boy, with two older brothers, enlisted as a volunteer, fought at Ligny as well as at the battle of Waterloo, and was dangerously wounded a few

days later in the storming of Namur. Upon his recovery, the war being ended, he resumed his studies, first in his native city and then at Jena, where he graduated; but his enthusiastic devotion to a free and united Germany had brought him in conflict with the authorities, and he journeyed to Greece in order to take part in the struggle for Greek independence against the Ottoman empire. Somewhat later we find him in Rome, where he was hospitably admitted into the family of the great German historian, Niebuhr, who was, at that time, the Prussian ambassador at the Vatican, and who appointed him private teacher to his eldest son. After a year's sojourn there he returned with letters of recommendation from Niebuhr to Berlin, but being again suspected of unlawful confederations against the existing order of things he was arrested and confined in the fortification of Koepnik, where he wrote a number of lyrical poems of no mean order. From this prison he was released through the influence of his friend and patron Niebuhr, whereupon he went to London. Here he remained until 1827, supporting himself by teaching languages and writing for German periodicals. In 1827 he came to the United States and settled in Boston. His great learning and high nobility of character soon secured him lasting friendship among the foremost men of the country, such as Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard university, William Ellery Channing, Professor Felton, Judge Story, the historians Prescott and Bancroft, George Ticknor, the poet Longfellow, and Charles Sumner. He commenced his career first as a lecturer on history and politics in the larger cities, maintaining at the same time a swimming-school in Boston; and next he undertook the editorship of the *Encyclopædia Americana*, based upon Brockhaus's *Conversations Lexicon*. Translations of a French work on the Revolution of July, 1830, and of Fetterbach's *Life of Kaspar Hauser*, came from his pen during the same period. In 1832 he translated the works of De Beaumont and De Tocqueville on the penitentiary system of the United States, adding an introduction and notes; and somewhat later he wrote, at the request of the trustees of Girard college, a plan of education and instruction for that institution. In 1834 appeared his *Letters to a Gentleman in Germany*, a book highly entertaining as well as instructive, and in 1835 his *Reminiscences of Niebuhr*. In the same year he took charge of the professorship of history and political economy in the South Carolina college at Columbia, where he remained until 1858, when he accepted a call to the same professorship at Columbia college, New York. During this period he published numerous important works, chief among which are. *A Manual of Political Ethics*, two volumes, adopted by Harvard college and many other high schools in

this country as a text-book, and highly recommended by Judges Kent and Story; *Legal and Political Hermeneutics*; or, *Principles of Interpretation and Construction in Law and Politics*; *Laws of Property*, *Essays on Property and Labor*, and *Civil Liberty and Self-Government*. He also wrote *Essays on Subjects of Penal Law and the Penitentiary System*, on the *Abuse of the Pardoning Power*, and many occasional papers, such as *Letters on Anglican and Gallican Liberty*; a paper on the vocal sounds of Laura Bridgman, the blind deaf-mute, compared with the elements of phonetic language; besides numerous addresses and political articles, among which his inaugural address at Columbia college on *Individualism*, or *Socialism and Communism*, stands out prominent.

During the war of the rebellion Professor Lieber spent much of his time in Washington, whither he had been called by the government as counselor in important questions relating to international and military law, and at the request of General Halleck he drafted the *Instructions for the Government of Armies in the Field*, which was published by order of the War Department as "general order No. 100," and circulated among the staff officers of the armies. The great Frenchman Laboulaye calls these instructions a masterpiece, while Bluntschli, the foremost authority on international law in Europe, has published them with flattering comments as an appendix to his international code. As president of the society for loyal publications Lieber wrote during the war many patriotic pamphlets which did much to arouse the enthusiasm of the people, and of which we will name the following: *No Party now, All for our Country*; *Lincoln or McClellan*; *Slavery*; *Plantations or Yeomanry*.

Among those who have spoken with profound admiration of Professor Lieber's works and his noble character are Chancellor Kent and Judge Story, Charles Sumner, William H. Prescott, Professor Greenleaf, and George Bancroft in the United States, Henry Hallam and Professor Creasy in England, Mittermaier, Von Mohl, and Bluntschli in Germany, Laboulaye and De Tocqueville in France, Rolin and Jaquemyns in Belgium, and Pierantoni and Gavelli in Italy.

Charles Sumner extolled Lieber beyond all measure, and in one of his letters writes: "I owe Lieber an enormous and lasting debt of gratitude." Judge Story says: "Lieber's conversation is always fresh, original, and sparkling with reminiscences;" and, again, "he always makes me think."

William H. Prescott writes to him: "Your book (*Political Ethics*) is so full of hints that the reader is but half done when he has read it, for it leads him to a train of thought which he must pursue after perusal." Chancellor Kent said: "Lieber's eminence as a scholar in history, political

economy, ethical philosophy, geography, and the sciences would establish the reputation of any university in the country. His talents, his learning, his great moral worth are recognized by the foremost scholars and jurists." Professor Greenleaf, in speaking generally about his works, observed: "He always plunges into the deepest water and comes out a good swimmer." Judge Thayer, in his excellent memorial oration, said: "Lieber hated a demagogue even more than he hated a tyrant."

Lieber's patriotic attachment to his adopted country became particularly observable when, in 1849, during a brief visit to his native country, he rejected the most tempting offer made to him in person by Frederick William IV., then king of Prussia. Nevertheless his heart beat with enthusiasm for his old fatherland during her war with France in 1870 and 1871. The blood of the young volunteer soldier of 1815 rushed through his veins, and unspeakable was his joy when at last he found the dream of his youth realized, and the aspirations of his heart, for which he had suffered persecution, had become an accomplished fact in the unification of Germany. Thus he writes, on the 18th day of August, 1870: "My letters from Germany show that all Germans, inspired by the noblest sentiments, are ready to sacrifice all, treasure and life, in defense of their fatherland. Even fathers of families will not be turned away. Officers of high rank enter as volunteers and serve as privates. And here I sit and write like an old Philistine. It is too hard." He died suddenly in 1872, while engaged in the preparation of a great work concerning the origin of the constitution of the United States. His influence on American literature is inestimable: our country owes him a lasting debt of gratitude, and to him may be appropriately applied the words of Goethe:

"Wer den Besten seiner Zeit genug gethan,
Der hat gelebt für alle Zeiten."

Returning to Germany we find that, notwithstanding the most stringent measures adopted by the several German governments in the attempt to suppress liberal thought and the efforts made in behalf of German unity, the fire continued to smolder beneath the ashes, and threatened at times to burst out in consuming flames. The so-called German confederation, with its diet at Frankfort, consisted of thirty-eight independent sovereignties; the internal management of these was in the main foreign to its functions; nevertheless, the governments had, in 1819, by the so-called Carlsbad resolutions, delegated to it certain powers for the "prosecution of demagogues" and the rigid control, throughout the confederation, of all universities, they being the seats of the turbulent elements. For this,

among other reasons, the diet was looked upon with undisguised scorn by the more intelligent of the German people, and when, in July, 1830, the revolution broke out in Paris which hurled Charles X. from his throne, an impetus was given to the students, principally of western Germany, to shake off the yoke under which they were smarting. Accordingly, combinations were formed for the purpose of breaking up the diet. On April 3, 1833, a number of students made an attack on the confederate guards at Frankfort, expelled them, and took possession of the guardhouse. They were thrown back, however, by subsequent re-enforcements, and after a spirited street fight a number of them were captured, while the others fled. Among those who were implicated in this sally was Gustavus A. Koerner, now of Belleville, Illinois, then a young student in Jena, whose honest and outspoken devotion to the cause of a united Germany had already subjected him to serious annoyances while a student at Munich in 1830.

Gustavus A. Koerner was born at Frankfort in 1809 and studied at Jena and Munich. In May, 1832, he graduated at Heidelberg as doctor jurist, and in July, 1833, he came to the United States. Here he settled in Belleville, Illinois, and in June, 1835, was admitted to the bar of that state. Illinois was then a frontier state, legal talent was rare, and, richly endowed as young Koerner was by the best universities on the continent, he could not fail to find speedy recognition. In 1842 he was elected to the legislature, and in 1845 became associate judge of the supreme court of the state, which position he held several years. His decisions, found in the Illinois supreme court reports, are admitted by the best jurists in the land to be models of clearness and legal acumen. In 1852 Mr. Koerner was elected lieutenant-governor of the state on the democratic ticket, but a few years later the Kansas-Nebraska bill and the outrages of the border ruffians in Missouri and Kansas prompted him to take his position in the front rank of the movement for the organization of the republican party, where, in conjunction with his friends, George Schneider, Caspar Butz, George Hillgaertner, and others, he wielded a powerful influence among the German-speaking population of the northwest in the cause of free labor. At the outbreak of the rebellion he served as a staff officer, with the rank of colonel, under Fremont and Halleck in the department of the Missouri, and about a year later President Lincoln, being personally acquainted with Mr. Koerner's rare attainments and great moral worth, appointed him United States minister to Spain.

In 1868 he served as elector at large from Illinois on the Grant ticket, and at the organization of the railroad and warehouse commission in Illinois in 1871, Governor Palmer appointed him one of the commissioners,

in which capacity he served the interests of the public faithfully and with great skill for several years. Governor Koerner is an author of high ability. More than fifty years ago he wrote, for a periodical in Heidelberg called *Das Ausland*, a series of essays on America, in which he did much to instruct the German readers about this country. On the other hand, he has published many papers in the English language, intending to familiarize the American reader with the German character and to render the two elements more harmonious. About ten years ago there appeared from his pen a history of the German element in the United States, from 1818 to 1848, a respectable volume of great merit, written in the German language. He lives in Belleville, Illinois, and, after a long life of honest and useful endeavor, now enjoys in full measure

" An honored old age, serene and bright,
And lovely as a summer night."

A man who, in this connection, deserves prominent recognition is Friedrich Muench. Endowed with a gentle and peaceful disposition, he took no open part in the revolutionary movement, but he was a warm friend of Carl Follen, became dissatisfied with the existing order of things in Germany, and left for the United States about the time Governor Koerner came here. He had acquired his collegiate education at the university of Giessen, and was already thirty-four years of age when he emigrated. He at once struck out for the Far West and settled near Herman, Missouri, not as a fortune-seeking adventurer, but to find a permanent home. He established a model farm, introduced from European fields and gardens many rare and precious plants, and with his well-ordered mind and high education exercised on the confines of civilization a refining and humanizing influence over a wide territory. He wrote a number of works in the German language, some of which, on religion and Christianity, etc., were translated into English, and published in Boston more than forty years ago. His book on the state of Missouri, in which he gave a minute and entertaining description of the advantages which his adopted state offered to the European emigrant, was published and circulated widely in Germany about the same time, and did more than anything else to attract the Germans to that region. Of what inestimable value this was to the cause of the union is best shown by the fact that at the outbreak of the war the Germans in Missouri were about the only union-loving people there; in St. Louis, where almost the entire native population were secession sympathizers, were instantly organized four German volunteer regiments, which marched to Camp Jackson, about ten miles distant, captured the

Confederate troops (about ten thousand strong) there under the protection of the governor of the state, and brought them into town as prisoners. This was the end of secession in St. Louis.

General Grant, in speaking of these facts, said that it was one of the best things done in the whole war, for had not St. Louis been rescued by German troops, the contest would have been not over Vicksburg but over St. Louis, and the perils of the situation would have been serious.*

Muench also wrote the life of Carl Follen, a work on American grape culture, and many pamphlets on the topics of the day. His literary pseudonym was "Far West." At all times he maintained fearlessly that to own property in human beings was a crime. With a manly and intrepid heart he remained faithful to these views, though his lot was cast in a slave state, and notwithstanding the fact that his life and property and the safety of his family were often in jeopardy during the civil war, as well as at the time the border ruffians held sway in western Missouri. During the Fremont campaign of 1856, as well as in 1860, he was a prominent German speaker throughout the northern states for the republican cause, while from 1862 to 1866 he held a seat in the legislature of his state. He was a man of firm convictions, upright and sincere. He died in 1876.

The period in German history which more than any other has flooded this country with uncounted numbers of highly educated men in all walks of life was the revolution of 1848. This epoch was the immediate forerunner of the wars that solidified Germany under the *régime* of Prussia. The events of that memorable year served as a powerful reminder to the dynasties of Germany that the long yearned for union had to be brought about, and therefore acted as a powerful impetus to Prussia, the leading German power, to hasten the unification. The men who participated in the movement of 1848 from pure motives of patriotism have woven around their brows wreaths of imperishable laurels. True, as in all similar movements, there were also engaged in this men who prosecuted selfish ends, but they were merely the dark spots on the sun whose effulgence remains undimmed. Following I will endeavor to briefly sketch the lives of a few of those who have been known as revolutionaries in Germany, who came to this country and achieved prominence here in various ways.

First and foremost among them stands Carl Schurz, who was born March 2, 1829, near Cologne. He was studying philosophy and history at Bonn when the revolution broke out, and from there hastened at once to the scene of action at Baden, where the fight was hottest. When the revolt was suppressed and he became a fugitive, he planned and accom-

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plished at the risk of his own life the escape of Professor Gottfried Kinkel, who was confined at the fortification of Spandau for high treason, as an accomplice in the revolution. Kinkel was Schurz's preceptor at college, and by his daring feat, characterized as it was by the most loyal devotion to a friend, Schurz exhibited in an eminent degree the noblest qualities of manhood. He escaped with Kinkel to London, where he supported himself by giving lessons in languages and music. In 1853 he came to the United States, and his career in this country is well known to the public. In 1856 he, like all other prominent Germans in America, took a leading part in the Fremont campaign. In 1860 he was an influential member of the national convention at Chicago which nominated Abraham Lincoln, and the speeches he delivered during the campaign throughout the country, both in English and German, are ranked without stint as among the most eloquent and effective of that memorable epoch. President Lincoln, shortly after his inauguration, appreciating Schurz's great worth, appointed him United States minister to Spain, where he remained until January, 1862, when he returned in order to take part in the war for the union. He rose quickly to the rank of major-general, and served to the end of the war with distinction. In 1865 he was appointed by President Andrew Johnson commissioner to report on the condition of the South, while in 1868 the legislature of Missouri elected him United States senator. In 1872 he stood at the head of the liberal movement which resulted in the nomination of Horace Greeley for president. Four years later he was one of the most prominent advocates of the election of Rutherford B. Hayes, and during the ensuing administration he held the portfolio of Secretary of the Interior. Schurz was always a staunch advocate of civil-service reform, and this served a number of years ago to estrange him from the ruling party; but in whatever path he walked during the presidential campaigns of the last twenty-four years, he has never followed aught but his innermost convictions. For the high eminence on which he now stands he is indebted alone to his transcendent abilities, and not to the arts and wiles of the demagogue. His oratory is of the highest order; he combines philosophical thought and keen logic with an inexhaustible wealth of knowledge, elegance of diction, poetic beauty, and a manly fervor. He also ranks high as an author; his *Life of Henry Clay* is a noble work, and we are assured that others equally meritorious, on American historical topics, may be looked for from his pen.

A man of high literary attainments, whose reputation as an author both here and in Europe is firmly founded, is Frederick Kapp. He was born in 1824, studied jurisprudence between the years 1842 and 1845, at Heidel-

berg and Berlin, and came to America as a revolutionary exile in 1850. He was soon admitted to the bar of New York, and practiced law in New York city until 1870, when he returned to his native country. In 1868 he was appointed by the governor of New York emigration commissioner. During the anti-slavery agitation preceding the war he wrote a history of slavery in the United States, which did much to enlighten the German-speaking population of the United States about the moral wrong of slavery, as well as the economic disadvantages resulting from that peculiar institution. Among his other works which are widely circulated and read with interest by the Germans of both hemispheres are: *History of German Immigration in New York*, *Life of Baron von Steuben*, *Life of General de Kalb*, *Frederick the Great and the United States*, and others. After his return to Germany in 1870, all political exiles having been previously amnestied, he quickly rose to recognition, was elected a member of the German parliament, and turned the experience which he had acquired during his residence in the United States, concerning the political institutions of a free country, to good advantage. For a number of years he was correspondent for the New York *Nation* and other American periodicals. He died at Berlin in 1884.

Among those of the political exiles who in 1848 settled in the West were the two brothers, Franz Andreas Heinrich Schneider and George Schneider. The former, who was educated in the law, secured for himself an enviable reputation as a juridical writer by his work entitled *The Communion of Property among Married People under the Law of France*. The work was translated into the French language, and very favorably commented upon by eminent jurists both in France and Germany.

The brothers at first settled in St. Louis, where they published a German daily entitled *Die Neue Zeit*, and where the elder remained, while the younger, George, started out for Chicago in 1851. Franz soon after changed the journalistic career for the bar. As a public-spirited citizen, he became a leader, and at the outbreak of the civil war exercised great influence in the organization of German troops for the maintenance of the union. For many years he held the position of chief clerk of the consolidated courts at St. Louis. He died in 1867. George Schneider, who, in the revolution of 1848, at the age of twenty-five years, was a commissioner of the provisional republican government of the Palatinate, and upon whom the death penalty had been pronounced, which the legislature of Bavaria removed in 1866, became in 1851 part owner and editor of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, now a German daily of wide circulation and powerful influence in Chicago. This was about the time of the stormy session

of congress which culminated in the adoption of the fugitive slave law, that found in Schneider, on the platform as well as in the columns of his paper, a manly opponent. When, a few years later, the Kansas and Nebraska bill was introduced, Schneider was among the first who, in the interest of free labor, by their strenuous opposition, aroused the indignation of the western people against the perils of opening our territories North and South to the admission of slavery. Little prepared as the western people were to appreciate the free-soil movement, and sympathizing, as they did to a large extent, with the southern cause, a mob gathered in 1855 in front of Schneider's office and threatened to demolish the building, which would have been done had the mob not encountered the well-armed employees behind barricaded doors and windows. Like Schurz, Kapp, and others, George Schneider stood at the cradle of the republican party; he was a member of the national republican convention, in 1856, which nominated Fremont for president, and of the convention of 1860 which nominated Abraham Lincoln. In the spring of 1861 he was appointed, by President Lincoln, United States consul general at Elsinore, where he was particularly charged with the duty of aiding our representatives in enlightening the governments and people of northern Europe as to the objects of our government in its attempt to suppress the rebellion, and to pave the way for the sale of our government securities in Europe. The task accomplished, Schneider returned home, and in 1862 was appointed by President Lincoln collector of internal revenue. In the same year he sold his interest in the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, which under his administration had been a powerful mainstay to the republican party. During the war he was a member of the union defense committee for the state of Illinois. When Schneider's term of office as collector closed, he devoted himself to the banking business, in which he achieved a brilliant success. He stands to-day as president at the head of the National Bank of Illinois, one of the wealthiest banking institutions in the country, and has for several years past occupied the honorable position of president of the Bankers' club at Chicago. In 1877 he was offered by President Hayes the appointment of United States minister to Switzerland, which he declined. In 1880 he was an elector at large on the Garfield ticket. He owes his great success as a politician and financier to the combined qualities of sound discretion and strict integrity. To him honesty is not only the best policy, but a self-evident, cheerful duty with the fulfillment of which no temptation, however glittering, could ever interfere.

Another man who was one of the exiles of the German revolution of 1848 and left a lasting impression on his countrymen in his efforts in favor

of free labor, was Caspar Butz. He came to this country in 1851, at the age of twenty-five years, lived at first in Boston, then in Detroit, and afterwards in Chicago. His services during the Fremont and Lincoln campaigns as a political writer and speaker cannot be easily overestimated. He was likewise a poet of no mean order, some of his poems having secured an abiding place in German literature. In 1858 he was elected to a seat in the legislature of Illinois, and a year later chosen clerk of the superior court at Chicago. In 1871 he became one of the penitentiary commissioners of Illinois. He died in the year 1884, highly esteemed.

A unique and highly gifted man who came to this country as a result of his revolutionary writings is Hermann Raster, the editor-in-chief of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung* at Chicago. From the moment he began to wield his pen as an editor of the *Buffalo Demokrat* in 1851, his heart and intellect were enlisted in the cause of the free-labor party. In 1852 he became editor of the *New Yorker Abend Zeitung*, which, under his leadership, became one of the most efficient republican organs in the East. He came to Chicago in 1867, and was made editor-in-chief of the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, which by his ability has been lifted to an unprecedented prominence among the German dailies in the country. In 1868, as well as in 1873, Raster was a member of the national republican conventions, and in the former it is largely due to his indefatigable efforts as a member of the committee on platforms that the greenback craze, which at that time threatened to swamp the country, was frowned down, and a hard-money plank was adopted. Raster has the reputation of being a man of exceedingly blunt manners, but upright and honorable to a fault. Many years ago he was a regular contributor to *Appleton's Cyclopædia*, and during the war he was the American correspondent for the *National Zeitung* at Berlin, the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in Augsburg, the *Weser Zeitung* in Bremen, and the *Neue Freie Presse* in Vienna. In all his letters he showed a warm devotion to the union, and did much to cultivate that confidence in Germany, by which such a ready market for our government bonds in the German money centres was secured. His style is alike vigorous and lucid, rich with striking similitudes and popular illustrations, and his literary standing is as well founded abroad as at home.

One of the most prolific and best-known writers in this country is Professor Alexander J. Schem, who came to America in 1851, at the age of twenty-five years, having completed his studies at Bonn and Tübingen. He first became professor of ancient and modern languages at the collegiate institute in Mount Holly, and afterwards at Dickinson college, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In 1857 he published, in connection with Professor

Crooks, a Latin-English school dictionary, while two years later he became a regular contributor to the *New American Cyclopædia*, and subsequently to the *Annual American Cyclopædia*, for which, in addition to a great many other articles, he prepared the history of almost all foreign countries, his contributions to the work comprising several volumes. He also wrote a large number of articles for the *Cyclopædia of Theological, Biblical, and Ecclesiastical Literature*. Since 1860 he has lived in New York, engaged wholly in literary pursuits, both in German and English. About the same year there appeared from his pen the *American Ecclesiastical Year Book*, which has had two continuations in the *American Ecclesiastical and Educational Almanac*. From 1860 to 1869 he was one of the editors of the *New York Tribune*, having under his management the entire foreign department, as well as the editorship of the *Tribune Almanac*. He has also prepared for the *National Almanac* and the *American Year Book and National Register* all articles relating to foreign countries. In 1869 he took charge of the preparation and publication of the *German-American Conversations Lexicon*, a handsome work of eleven volumes, which appeared in 1872. In conjunction with President Barnard of Columbia college, New York, he took charge of the publication of Johnson's *Universal Illustrated Cyclopædia*. A universal table based upon Huebner's *Statistische Tabelle*, together with a number of other works of great merit, have since been published by him. He is still living in New York.

The exodus of learned young men from Germany on account of the revolution of 1848 operated as a rich fertilizer, particularly on the field of German journalism in America. A large number of highly gifted young men could be named who devoted their minds and hearts to the literature of the day, and hardly a single case can be pointed out in which any of them lent his pen to advocate the interests of slavery. They were to a man staunch supporters of free labor, and the influence which they wielded on behalf of the republican party, speaking, as they did, through their organs to millions of their countrymen in their native language, instructing them in the history of their adopted country, and enlightening them as to the duty they owe to it as citizens, has been of incalculable benefit to the country at large. Before the arrival of these exiles the German press of America was but an insignificant factor in our politics; these were the men who raised it to a power in the land, and while it has been divided on the general issues of the day since the war and the reconstruction of the union, it was before and during the war almost unanimous in its opposition to those elements which threatened to perpetuate slavery and to destroy the union. Many of these men have long since passed

away, but in gratitude to their memories it is due that brief mention be made here of Bernhard Domschke, editor of the *Milwaukee Herold*, and an officer in the union army during the war of the rebellion; Christian Esselen, editor of the *Atlantis*; Otto Reventlow, the mnemonician, and Emil Rothaker, both of Cincinnati; Dr. Adolph Wiesner, publisher of *Der Geist der Zeit*; Carl Heinzen, the radical of the *Boston Pionier*; Frederick Hassaurek, the orator and journalist of Ohio; George Hillgaertner and Daniel Hertle, of St. Louis, to all of whom, besides many others, the country is greatly indebted for their noble efforts on behalf of human freedom and the union of the states. Others, like Heinrich Boernstein, colonel of one of the four German regiments that captured Camp Jackson, in Missouri, at the outbreak of the war, and now and for many years past the correspondent of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* at Vienna; Gottfried Kellner, editor of the *Philadelphia Demokrat*; Emil Praetorius, editor of the *Westliche Post*; Carl Daenzer, of the *Anzeiger des Westens*, both of St. Louis; Wilhelm Rapp, of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, and formerly of the *Baltimore Wecker*; Eduard Schlaeger, formerly of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*, and now in Berlin, Prussia; Dr. Hans Kudlich and Sigmund Kaufman, both of New York; Conrad Krez, the able German poet of Wisconsin; of these several are still living, the most of whom are journalists.

It will be remembered that all the men above referred to as revolutionaries from 1848 were young enthusiasts, fresh from school, and inspired by ideas for which they were ready to sacrifice their lives. It has never been claimed that any one of them was actuated by selfish motives, and the worst that their opponents have been able to urge against them is that they were misguided youths. The case is different, however, with those who, in the riper years of manhood, acted as leaders in the movement, whose previous career in Germany as well as their revolutionary conduct is, therefore, well known, and whose character in Germany affords to the searcher after truth a study as interesting and instructive as the American career of the younger men. As already intimated, the scenes in the little grand-duchy of Baden were the most exciting, and it was there the revolutionary party held sway for some time after they had succeeded in driving the monarchical government from the country. The principal leaders in the movement were Friedrich Hecker, Lorenz Brentano, and Gustav Struve, all three of whom came to this country after the old system was restored. The events of the Badish revolution have been written up from different standpoints, but no one has treated them so exhaustively as the eminent German historian, Ludwig Häusser, professor of history at Heidelberg, in his work entitled

Denkwürdigkeiten aus der Badischen Revolution, published in 1851. He is a keen observer of men and events, records the facts faithfully, and persuades the reader that the conclusion he draws relating to the character of the leaders is fully justified. A personal acquaintance of many years' standing with the actors in the drama facilitated the work of rendering a true account of these memorable events. It may be added that he is the author of a history of the Reformation, and of a history of the German people from the close of the Thirty Years' War, in 1648, to the close of the Napoleonic wars, in 1815, both works of universally recognized merit.

In the case of Friedrich Hecker, we are advised by some of his best and discreetest friends that the judgment of the historian is admirably well-founded, and in that of Lorenz Brentano the fact is that the men of his own party, who were members of the revolutionary government under him, speak of him substantially in the same spirit in which he is treated by Ludwig Häusser. For a better appreciation of the career of these two men in this country, and in the interest of truth, it may, therefore, not be out of place to quote a few passages from Häusser's works. Concerning Friedrich Hecker, the historian says:

"Before the revolution Friedrich was the spoiled child of the liberal opposition. Since 1842 a member of the Badish chamber of deputies, he represented the youthful, unfermented, and stormy element of the Badish Left. Endowed by nature with brilliant talents as a public speaker, gifted with all external advantages and a charming and lively individuality, skillful as a dialectician and quick in repartee, like the best routined advocate, he was in reality the Percy Hotspur of the Badish revolution, and, with his impetuous and passionate temper and high flights of fancy, a strong support for the party with which he trained, though it was impossible to keep him in discipline. Naturally inclined to be eccentric, peculiar, and odd, without the just measure of a more refined mental training, he was and always remained the gay student, who conducted politics as he would crack a student's joke, without premeditation, fickle-minded, a perfect model of a student's nonchalance. His ideas were in a state of wild fermentation; a clear political system could not be brought out of him. He had read much, but digested little; he lacked the kind of education which permeates a man's entire being, and does not only cling to the external side of things. Original ideas and real political thoughts stood out but little in his public utterances, but striking sentences, similitudes, and reminiscences were skillfully interwoven so as to dazzle his hearers; with a remarkable talent for negation he could hardly be taken for a productive political genius. He would certainly have become as much of a mediocre

revolutionary statesman as he was an excellent lawyer and a skillful speaker. Capricious, sensitive, irritable as he was, endowed with a large dose of vanity, he finally became to his party a real burden; discipline and party tactics were matters which the whimsical and mistrained man could not be brought up to. Still, among all the men of prominence who were raised up by the radicalism of Baden, during the latter days of the revolution, Hecker was, after all, the most tolerable. Personally, he had many good qualities. He was sincere and without knavery, good-natured and harmless toward his friends, and in his personal intercourse an amiable, though an easily irritated, man; susceptible of enthusiastic emotions, and though impelled by self-conceit and an imperious nature, he was not governed by the low motives that controlled the weaklings who followed him. His talents also placed him above those. He had all the qualities of a first-class agitator, knew how to excite the masses and array them with him, and might have been a powerful partisan, though it may be doubted if he was the man who knew how to make a revolution." *

Hecker came to America in 1849, at the age of thirty-eight years, and settled on a farm near Belleville, Illinois, where he remained to the end of his life. The excellent qualities mentioned by the historian in the foregoing extract stood him in good stead in this country. During the exciting canvas of 1856 he threw himself impetuously into the campaign, and delivered stirring speeches for free labor before immense German audiences throughout the country. At the outbreak of the war he organized a regiment of Illinois volunteers, and moved with it into the field as its colonel; but owing to his imperious nature, which involved him in serious quarrels with several line officers of the regiment, he resigned the command in December, 1861. In the summer following he organized another regiment, at the head of which he served with distinction to the end of the war, being seriously wounded at Chancellorsville. In the several presidential campaigns from 1856 onward, he did much valuable and unselfish service for the republican party, both as a speaker and writer, and, though often tendered to him, he never accepted or held an office. He died in March, 1882.

As to Lorenz Brentano, I find on pages 150 and 151 of Ludwig Häusser's history the following, which I translate literally:

"A phenomenon observed in all revolutions is the precipitous decline, the quickly progressing deterioration, of demagoguery. Witness the time of 1789. What fearful disparity between Mirabeau and Danton, between the latter and Robespierre and Marat. Our revolution presents in a

* See Häusser, pp. 115 *et seq.*

smaller measure the same spectacle. With Hecker the revolution began; in Brentano it brought forward a far worse representative, and even he was quickly overtaken when the last restraints were swept away.

With Hecker, Brentano had nothing in common but the scheming radicalism of the advocate. Of the impetuous and exalted character of the youthful tribune, which carried the masses with him, of his genuine fire of enthusiasm, of his bewitching appearance, Brentano possessed nothing; his whole nature was that of a common, ay, even a low, demagogue. Hecker's individuality, his whole exterior, his address, all these recalled the moments when the unchained passions, with demoniac power, control the souls of men and sweep them irresistibly onward. From Brentano, however, one could only hear the demagogue's venomous art of calumnation and sophistry. Himself cold and selfish, incapable of an enthusiastic emotion, without an elevating thought, without ideas and without ideals, Brentano showed in his whole external appearance, his speech and acts, nothing but the glib tongue and the dialectics of the advocate, the untiring zeal of the partisan, the superior cunning of a pettifogger, the brazen face of a demagogue of the worst order. His speech was cold and sober, only warmed up artificially by personal spite and by false and acrimonious denunciations, while his bearing exhibited an unspeakable insolence, sneering and full of personal gall, and when anger and wrath overpowered him it was doubtful whether the whole appearance of the man was more disgusting than hideous. We know well that the rôle of artificial moderation which he played later on bespoke for him a somewhat milder criticism, but the truth is, of all men who in March, 1848, took part in public life in Baden, nobody bears such a terrible personal responsibility as he, and none has deserved the contempt of all parties, at the end even of his own, as did Lorenz Brentano."

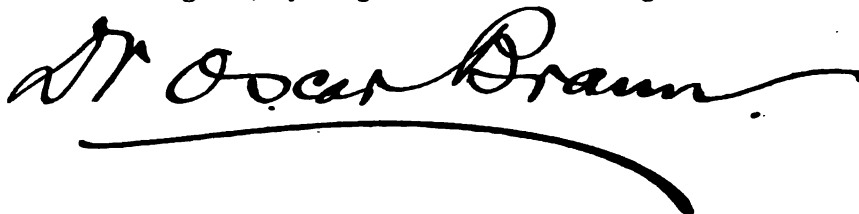
The historian shows among other things that Lorenz Brentano became a rebel against the Badish government for no other reason but because of his disappointed ambition to become a minister in the little duchy, and that his own friends often charged him with being possessed of a *porte-feuille wuth* (a rage for a portfolio). Lorenz Brentano came to this country in 1849, at the age of thirty-seven years. He first settled in Pottsville, Pennsylvania, where he started a German newspaper, in which, however, he was not successful. A little later he went to Kalamazoo, Michigan, where he took an interest in a brewery until about 1860. During these years he remained neutral in the great fight for American free labor, not having, so far as is known, either written or spoken a word in favor of either party until he came to Chicago in the year 1860. In April,

1861, he secured an interest in the Illinois *Staats Zeitung*, and in 1863 bought out George Schneider, and became the editor of the paper. In 1867 he sold his interest to A. C. Hesing, organized a paper in opposition to the *Staats Zeitung* under the name of *Volks Zeitung*, but gave it up as a failure in 1868. From 1865 to 1868 he was a member of the board of education of Chicago, and did much to introduce the German into the public schools. In the spring of 1868 he went to Europe, where he remained until the winter of 1872. In September of the same year he was appointed, by President Grant, United States consul at Dresden, which position he resigned in 1876. In the summer of that year he presented himself to the republican state convention at Springfield, Illinois, as a candidate for secretary of state, but failed to get the nomination. In the fall of 1876 he succeeded, however, in being elected a member of congress from one of the Chicago districts, but when he sought a renomination two years later he failed. In 1879 he obtained, from the judges at Chicago, a recommendation to the governor of Illinois for the appointment of justice of the peace, and the governor accordingly appointed him; but the senate of the state, lieutenant-governor Andrew Shuman, editor of the *Chicago Evening Journal*, presiding, voted not to confirm him, since which time he has withdrawn from politics. He is still living in Chicago.

As to Gustav Struve, a man of fair literary ability and very prolific as an author, it is generally conceded that he was an uncompromising radical republican, and an impractical though well-meaning visionary. He had done much literary work in Germany, and after his arrival in the United States resumed the publication of a German weekly, called *Der Deutsche Zuschauer*, which he had previously published in Mannheim, Baden, but of which he did not make a success. Between the years 1854 and 1856 he published a universal history of the world, in six volumes, which was subsequently continued to the extent of nine volumes, and which has secured quite a circulation. There also issued from his pen several books on phrenology, a science to which he was deeply devoted, and also a work on vegetarianism, in which he firmly believed. At the outbreak of the war he enlisted as a private in a New York regiment, was soon promoted to a captaincy, and served until late in 1862. In 1865 he was appointed United States consul at Sonneberg, but the Saxon duchies refused to give him the *exequatur*. He died in Vienna in 1870.

Notwithstanding some slight disadvantages the influx of men of letters from Germany, resulting from the political disturbance in that country before its unification, has been to this country an incalculable blessing. I reserve for a subsequent paper the material afforded to show how many

able and brilliant soldiers who came to this country under similar circumstances as those above mentioned did noble service on the battle-fields of the union during the war in the United States, and also how immense the flocks of immigrants who were thrown upon our shores as participants in the strife of 1848, and who, by their intelligence and industry, beautified and enriched our fields and rendered most essential aid in the building up of our industries. This article may show to a limited extent how largely the American intellect evinced in letters and politics was augmented by these German exiles. Nor may it be amiss to add in conclusion that earnest study and profound learning were at all times largely represented by the German immigrants of previous periods. We read in the history of Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, that the students of Harvard were surprised at finding among the early German immigrants so many profound Latin scholars, who spoke the Latin as fluently as their own native language. Dr. Kuntze, in the last century, was praised by the American scholars as the founder of Hebrew and oriental philology in America. Father Otterbein was a Protestant divine who came to America about the year 1752, at the age of twenty-six, and died at Baltimore in the year 1813. "Is Father Otterbein dead?" exclaimed Bishop Ashburton upon hearing of his demise. "Great and good man of God! Honor to his church and his country! He was one of the greatest scholars and theologians who ever came to this country or was born here." On the death of John Schwartz, a representative in congress from Pennsylvania, Charles Sumner said: "The brave and pure German stock, which, from that early day when first revealed to history in the sharp and clean-cut style of Tacitus, has preserved its original peculiarities untouched by change, showing that though the individual is mortal the race is immortal. We cannot forget the 'Fatherland' which out of its abundance has given to our republic so many good heads, so many strong arms, with so much of virtue and intelligence, rejoicing in freedom and calling no man master."

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Oscar Braun". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping flourish underneath the name.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

RESULTS OF KEEPING A SECRET

When Zebulon M. Pike was in New Mexico in 1807 he met at Santa Fé a carpenter, Pursley by name, from Bardstown, Kentucky, who was working at his trade there because he could not well get away. He had, in 1802, while out on the plains hunting, met with a series of misfortunes, and found himself, in 1804 or 1805, with a hunting party near the mountains. The hostile Sioux of the plains drove them into the high ground in the rear of Pike's Peak. Near the headwaters of "La Platte river" Pursley found some gold. He carried a little of it in his shot-pouch for months. He was finally sent by his companions to Santa Fé to see if they could trade with the Spaniards, and chose to remain at Santa Fé in preference to returning to the hunting-party.

He told the Spaniards about the gold he had found, and they tried very hard to persuade him to go and show them the place. They even offered to take along a strong force of cavalry. But Pursley refused, and his patriotic reason was that he thought the land was on United States territory. He told Lieutenant Pike that he feared they would not allow him to leave Santa Fé, as they still hoped to learn from him where the gold was to be found.

These facts were published by Lieutenant Pike soon after his return, but no one took the hint, or the risk was too great, and thus more than half a century passed before those same rich fields of gold were found and opened to the world. If Pursley had been somewhat less patriotic, and had guided the Spaniards to the treasures, the whole history and condition of the western part of our continent might have been entirely different from what it now is. That region would doubtless have been a part of Mexico; or Spain might have been in possession of it, owning California, and, with the gold that would have poured into her coffers, have been the leading nation in European affairs to-day. We can easily see how American and European history in the nineteenth century might have been changed if that adventurer from Kentucky had not been a true lover of his native country. All honor to Pursley! If I knew where he was buried I would feel like making a pilgrimage to his grave. He ought to have a monument, simply because he kept that secret so well.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA.

R. V. Cross.

SLAVERY IN CONNECTICUT

The colonial records of Connecticut contain frequent references to existing customs, and preserve many acts of the general assembly concerning slaves. In October, 1690, it was ordered that runaway negroes be returned to their owners, and no negro was to be ferried across a stream without a certificate.

When slaves became old it was customary to give them their freedom, and, that they might not suffer in their old age, the court, in May, 1702, ordered that "every servant shall be maintained by the person to whom said servant belonged." By an act of 1708, turbulent slaves were ordered to be whipped, not exceeding thirty stripes for one offense. To prevent disorder, the law of 1723 provided that no slave or Indian servant was to be abroad after nine o'clock in the evening, without special permission from his master. Any one so found must be "publicly whipped" on his naked body *ten stripes*, unless his master paid twenty shillings for his rescue from the penalty.

In 1730, slaves were whipped for slander, not exceeding forty stripes, and were to be sold to pay charges, unless redeemed by master or mistress. The slave was to be allowed to make his own defense at his trial the same as a white person. Efforts were repeatedly made by the colonists to check the importation of slaves. At a meeting of the "council of safety," in Hartford, January, 1708-9, an answer was given to an inquiry of the lords of trade, relative to the African trade for negroes; in which the council reported that there were but few negroes in this government, and that "they were supplied from the neighboring governments, save that sometimes half a dozen a year may be imported from the West Indies. None have ever been imported by the Royal African Company or separate traders." *

In 1715 it was forbidden by the general court to import "Carolina Indians" as slaves, lest they should be injurious to the colonies. The general assembly of Connecticut passed an act in 1774, as follows: "Whereas the increase of slaves in this colony is injurious to the poor, and inconvenient: Be it enacted by the governor, council, and representatives in the general court assembled, and by authority of the same: That no Indian, negro, or mulatto slaves shall at any time hereafter be brought

* Colonial Records of Connecticut, Vol. XV., p. 557.

or imported into the colony by sea or land, from any place or places whatsoever, to be disposed of, left, or sold within this colony."

If slaves were bought or sold contrary to this act, the violators of the law were to pay the treasurer of the colony one hundred pounds lawful money. Yet slaves were sold, though probably not imported, after this legislative act of 1774. The following bill of sale of a negro slave, now in possession of the Historical Society of Westport, explains itself :

" Know all men by these presents that we, Ebenezer Jesup & Abigail Meeker both of the Town & County of Fairfield & State of Connecticut, and administrators upon the estate of Daniel Meeker, late of said Fairfield, deceased, for the consideration of Fifty Six Pounds, lawful money, received to our full satisfaction of Ebenezer Coley of said Fairfield, have & do by these presents bargain, sell, & convey unto him y^e said Ebenezer Coley, & to his heirs & assigns forever, a certain *Negro Boy* name *Prince*, about ten years of age, with y^e s^d Coley to live, & him to serve in y^e capacity of a slave during y^e whole term of his natural life ; and furthermore we the s^d Ebenezer and Abigail do for ourselves, heirs & executors & administrators, covenant with him y^e s^d Coley, his heirs and assigns, that, until the ensealing of these Presents, we are as well seized of y^e s^d servant, & have as good right to bargain & sell him as the said Meeker in his lifetime had, and will so far forever warrant and defend him to said Coley, his heirs and assigns, against all claims & demands whatsoever. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands & seal this 15th day of February A. D. 1785.

In presence of

David Beers,

Samuel Meeker.

Ebenezer Jesup, [seal]

Abigail Meeker. [seal]"

Local newspapers, seventy-five years ago, furnished some curious advertisements. Here is one taken from the *New York Spectator* for April, 1814 :

" RUNAWAY NEGROES !

Sixty Dollars Reward.

Ranaway from the subscriber, from Flat Lands, King's Co. Long Island, on Monday the 7th ultimo, a Negro Man & his Wife ; named Will & Sue, & three children, all of very yellowish complexion. The man is five feet high, middling thick set, with a scar on his right shin—his wife is about the same height, rather thin, she has longish hair, and has lost two of her front teeth ; it is impossible to describe their clothing, they had

such a quantity—the eldest of the children is a girl about seven years of age; the second is four; and the youngest two years old. Whoever will return them to their masters, or leave them at the City Prison in New York, shall receive the above reward. All masters of vessels and others are forbid harboring or employing the said Runaways, at their peril.


Johannes Remsen,
John Schenck."

Here is another from Greenwich, Connecticut, a year later, dated June 15, 1813:

"Ranaway, from the Subscriber on the ninth inst., a negro man named James, nearly 18 years of age and about 5 feet 10 in. high: took with him at the time a brown cloth coatee & pantaloons a light figured cotton vest and tow cloth frock and trousers. He is marked by a scar obliquely across the ridge of his nose with others on his feet, particularly a large one on his left foot just back of the small toe, occasioned by the cut of an axe, which causes it to be stiffened. All persons are hereby cautioned not to harbor said runaway: and whoever will give information of him so that he can be obtained by the subscriber (to whom he is bound until he is 21 years of age,) shall be liberally rewarded.

Blatt Buffett."

These advertisements bring the slave and his master before us at a comparatively late day, and some of the present generation in Connecticut can remember the old negro servants who spent their early life in slavery.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "James E. Coley". The signature is written in dark ink and features a large, stylized initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline that extends across the width of the signature.

WESTPORT, CONNECTICUT.

THE DEATH OF COLMAN

SEPTEMBER 6, 1609

'Twas Juet spoke—the *Half Moon's* mate ;
And they, who Holland's ship of state
Compass'd with wisdom, listening sate :

Discovery's near-extinguished spark
 Flared up into a blaze,
When Man-na-hat-ta's virgin hills,
 Enriched by Autumn's days,
First fell on our impatient sight,
And soothed us with a strange delight.

Bidden by fevered trade, our keel
 Had plowed unbeaten deeps ;
From many a perfume-laden isle
 To the dark land that sleeps
Forever in its winter robe,
Th' unsocial hermit of the globe.

But we, who sought for China's strand
 By ocean ways untried,
Forgot our mission when we cast
 Our anchor in a tide
That kissed a gem too wondrous fair
For any eastern sea to wear !

Entranced, we saw the golden woods
 Slope gently to the sands ;
The grassy meads, the oaks that dwarfed
 Their kin of other lands ;
And from the shore the balmy wind
Blew sweeter than the spice of Ind.

As he whose eyes, though opened wide,
 Are fixed upon a dream,
So Colman—one who long had held
 Our Hudson's warm esteem—
Gazed on the gorgeous scene, and said,
"Ere even's shades are overspread,

" Proudly our flag on yonder height
 Shall tell of Holland's gain ;
 Proclaiming her to all the earth
 The sovereign of the main."
 And quickly from the *Half Moon's* bow
 We turned the longboat's yielding prow.*

The measured plashing of the oars
 Broke harshly on the ear ;
 And eye asked eye—for lips were mute—
 What Holland hearts should fear :
 For [strangely true] our hearts were soft,
 Save his, who held our flag aloft.

And suddenly our unshaped dread
 Took direful form and sound ;
 For from a near nook's rocky shade,
 Swift as pursuing hound,
 A savage shallop sped, to hold
 From stranger feet that strand of gold.

And rageful cries awoke the peace
 That on the waters slept ;
 And Echo whispered on the hills,
 As though an army crept,
 With flinty axe and brutal blade,
 Through the imperforate forest shade.

" What ! are ye cravens ? " Colman said ;
 For each had shipped his oar.
 He waved the flag : " For Netherland,
 Pull for yon jutting shore ! "
 Then prone he fell within the boat,
 A flinthead arrow through his throat !

* On the 6th of September, 1609, Henry Hudson, commander of the *Half Moon*, then at anchor in the lower New York bay, sent out Colman with four seamen to sound the Narrows. They passed through Kill von Kull to Newark bay, and while returning to the *Half Moon* late in the afternoon were attacked by some Indians in canoes, and Colman was killed by one of their arrows. The Indians, doubtless, shot their arrows at random, as there is no evidence that hostilities were continued, or any attempt made to capture the boat. Night came on, and the frightened sailors lost their light and their way, and were tossed about on the troubled sea until ten o'clock the next morning, when, with the remains of their murdered officer, they were at last received upon the *Half Moon*. Colman was buried upon a point of land near by, later known as Coney Island.—
 EDITOR.

And now full many a stealthy skiff
Shot out into the bay ;
And swiftly, sadly, pulled we back
To where the *Half Moon* lay :
But he was dead—our master wept—
He smiled, brave heart, as though he slept.

Then to the seaward breeze our sail
With woful hearts we threw ;
And anchored near a sandy strip
That looks o'er ocean blue :
And there we kissed and buried him,
While surges sang his funeral hymn.

And many a pitying glance we gave,
And many a prayer we said,
As from that grave we turned, and left
The dark sea with her dead ;
For—God of Waves !—none could repress
One choking thought—the *loneliness* !

Thos Frost-

NEW YORK CITY

WASHINGTON AS A PROMOTER OF INVENTIONS

Dr. Joseph M. Toner of Washington, in his masterly address on the one hundredth anniversary of the signing of the first American patent law, said :

“ If it cannot be claimed that Washington originated the idea of recognizing property in inventions, he was without doubt the chief promoter of the sentiment which brought together the convention of delegates from the several states to consider their future well-being and to form a more perfect union.

By a unanimous desire of the convention, General Washington was called upon to preside over the gathering. Through the careful deliberations of this equal rights and liberty loving conclave of statesmen was evolved our written Constitution, which has welded the United States into a nation. This, our magna charta, may be claimed as one of the most original and beneficent inventions in the art of government ever devised to secure liberty to a people with equal justice to all, regulated by law. It is not certain who introduced into the convention the proposition regarding patents and copyrights, but considering the personnel of the convention it might have originated with either Washington or Franklin, and was certain of an earnest support from both. This was the first assembly of law-makers in the world to reduce such conception to a practical formula, or make it a fundamental principle that inventors and authors have a right in their inventions which should be recognized and protected for a limited time by law.

While it may not be claimed that George Washington is descended from a line of inventors, sages, or heroes, history confirms the fact that he sprung from an intelligent, enterprising, courageous, self-reliant, truth and labor loving, God-fearing stock, who were in their day and generation leading citizens in the community in which they lived. The instances in which Washington gave encouragement to new inventions are numerous, and the fact is beyond doubt that he provided the best machinery for his mills, and, everything considered, for all the industries under his control. He also had a kind word of encouragement for those working, to the end of devising new methods and improved implements in the arts. This spirit, along with his official duty to see proper laws enacted by congress under the authority of the Constitution which he had assisted in draughting, led him in his first annual message to commend measures to foster new

and useful inventions, and doubtless gave him special pleasure to sign the first patent law under the government of the United States, as well as to attach his name to the first patent, issued shortly after under the act.

A consensus of the most careful studies of the life of George Washington from his childhood represents him as mentally and physically precocious; attaining almost his full stature in his nineteenth year, but throughout his youth diffident almost to bashfulness; men of experience marveled at the maturity of his judgment and his knowledge of the details of business and public affairs.

Washington's diary for 1760 notes very briefly the events occurring at Mount Vernon, and especially matters relating to the management of his plantations. These memoranda, brief as they are, show that he was giving close personal attention to the improvement of his estates, which was only interrupted by occasional visits to Williamsburg to attend the meetings of the assembly. The following extract from his diary at this period furnishes good examples not only of his love of agriculture, but in especial manner of his ingenuity and fertility of invention and desire to improve the implements of husbandry: 'Thursday, Mar. 6th, 1760.—Fitted a two-eyed plow instead of a duck-bill plow, and with much difficulty made my chariot wheel-horse plow. Wednesday, Mar. 19th. . . . Peter (my smith) and I, after several efforts to make a plow after a new model, partly of my own contriving, was feign to give it up, at least for the present.'

March 21 Washington records the fact that he had that day grafted forty-one cherry-tree grafts, twelve magnum-bonum plums, and planted four nuts of the Mediterranean pines. 'The cherries and plumb came from Col. Mason's, the nuts from Mr. Green's.' To the close of the month of March the diary shows that he was daily grafting and planting fruit-trees to the number of several hundred. For many years his diaries show that in the months of February and March he was much occupied in setting out and grafting choice fruit-trees. 'Wednesday, Mar. 26th. . . . Spent the greater part of the day in making a new plow of my own invention. Thursday, Mar. 27. . . . Set my plow to work and found she answered very well in the lower pasture, wch I this day began plowing with the large bay mare and Rankin. . . . Agreed to give Mr. Wm. Triplet £18 to build me two houses in the front of my house (plastering them also), and running walls for palisades to them from the great house, and from the great house to the wash-house and kitchen also. Saturday, April 5. . . . Made another plow, the same as my former, except that it has two eyes and the other one. Monday, April 14th. Fine warm day, wind so'ly, and clear till the even'g, when it clouded; no fish were to be caught to-day either.

Mixed my composts in a box with ten apartments, each having a different fertilizer.'

May 1 Washington records that he inspected the grain planted in the ten boxes, each containing a different compost, as a test. These experiments show how close an observer he was, but they are too extended to be given in full here. He concludes, all things considered, that boxes eight and nine promised the most satisfactory results.

At this period nearly all the trades essential to serve the wants of an independent community were represented and carried on at Mount Vernon—such as milling, distilling, tanning, blacksmithing, wagon making, shoe-making, tailoring, spinning, weaving, knitting, carpentering, coopering, harness-making, brick making and laying, stonemasons, etc.

Washington's exactness in charging to each enterprise its just expense is illustrated in his noting the number of days' labor required by his carpenters in building his schooner at Mount Vernon, which we transfer in his own language from his diary: 'Sept. 15, 1765.—To this day my carpenters had in all worked 82 days on my schooner. 22d. This week they worked 22 days upon her. 28th. This week my carpenters worked 22 days upon my schooner—and John Askew 3 days. Oct. 19th. This week carpenters worked 18 days, which make in all 190 days & 10 of John Askew.'

Washington was noted for owning fine horses. He also enjoyed, on proper occasions, extending their use to visiting friends for a dash after a fox and hounds over the Mount Vernon plains. He was a rapid rider in his ordinary business journeys, and his diaries record the fact that on various occasions he rode as much as sixty miles a day.

The intelligent supervision he gave to his plantations between 1759 and 1770 brought them into as fine condition as any land in the Mount Vernon region was susceptible of. He stopped the washes on the hill sides, drained the wet lands by proper ditching, made new clearings, refenced the fields, made roads, erected comfortable houses and outbuildings, with quarters for his people, rested the old fields in fallow-sowed clover, timothy, and other grasses for hay, and pastured and rotated his crops in the most judicious and practical manner.

Washington possessed to an eminent degree those special qualities which are characteristic of the most astute inventors, and had not his time been so fully taken up in the more important affairs of his country, he would in all probability have given much attention to improvements in agriculture and the machinery and implements used in the domestic arts, and which are so essential to the comforts of life. Washington had made for himself the first pump used in the town of Alexandria, and another

placed at Mount Vernon, at a time when but few had been put in competition with "the old oaken bucket," the rope and windlass, or the balance lift so common in wells throughout the South in early days.

In a letter to General Lincoln, dated Mount Vernon, February 8, 1786, Washington uses the following language in relation to a supposed important discovery: 'The discovery of extracting fresh water from salt, by a simple process, and without the aid of fire, will be of amazing importance to the sons of Neptune, if it is not vitiated or rendered nauseous by the operation, and can be made to answer all the other valuable purposes of other fresh water at sea. Every maritime power in the world in this case ought, in my opinion, to offer some acknowledgment to the inventor.' He had faith in the progress of the human race and believed in making earnest efforts to improve not only man's surroundings and conditions, but also his methods of securing a livelihood, and at the same time liberalizing the institutions and governments under which they lived. To him is awarded the credit of the introduction into the United States of the best breeds of that very useful animal, the mule. He also gave much attention to improving the breeds of sheep, hogs, horses, cattle, and dogs, etc.

The expedient adopted by Washington in sowing clover, timothy, and other small seeds broadcast, to insure an even distribution of the seed over the ground, was to mix them with dry sand or ashes, so that greater bulk might be taken in the hand for each cast. The spirit of inquiry and desire for exact knowledge remained an active element in Washington's character to the close of his life, but it is nevertheless wonderful that as late as 1788 he should take the pains to count the actual number of peas and beans there were in a pint measure of six varieties of them, that he might know the quantity of ground to prepare, and the number of hills a bushel of each would plant, as will be noticed from his diaries.

He also counted the number of clover, timothy, and sainfoin seed there was in a pint, that he might estimate the quantity to sow upon an acre. While in Philadelphia, in 1787, attending the convention which drafted the Constitution, Washington 'Visited a machine at Doctor Franklin's (called a mangle) for pressing, in place of Ironing, clothes from the wash—which machine from the facility with which it dispatches business is well calculated for table cloths & such articles as have not pleats & irregular foldings, and would be very useful in all large families.'

It would be easy to multiply examples of General Washington's experiments to promote agriculture and to devise better methods and implements than were then in use in the domestic arts and pursuits; but enough evidence has been adduced to make it apparent that the mind of Wash-

ington was pre-eminently efficient in devising expedients and all essential machinery to accomplish in the shortest time and in the best manner his purposes, whether in the management of a farm, the command of an army, or the administration of the affairs of a nation.

Washington was among the first to call attention to the desirableness, and, he hoped, the practicability of having a continuous water navigation to near the head of the Potomac, and of the western rivers to the head of some branch of the Ohio river on the west, which would leave but a short portage between. His interest in canal navigation was well known, and when James Rumsey was in 1784 experimenting at Shepherdstown, on the Potomac, with a boat to be propelled against a stream by machinery, Washington was invited to witness the performance, so widely was it understood that he was an influential promoter of new inventions. His great and priceless services to America in the clash of arms between the mother country and the colonies are known to every American capable of enjoying civil liberty. It is also known that throughout that memorable struggle it was Washington's personal magnetism and the faith his soldiers had that enabled him to overcome the apparently insurmountable difficulty of keeping his forces in the field against the enemy, in spite of an empty exchequer, a depleted commissary, and a lack of clothing. For a period the extreme hardships growing out of the deficiencies in the necessary supplies put to a supreme test the greatness of Washington as a leader and a patriot, and required a fortitude and an inventive genius of the highest order to keep his soldiers together. However, his virtues and rectitude from the beginning, and his conduct at every stage of the contest, determined the end and crowned the work. Washington was referred to by Lord Byron as the great Cincinnatus of the West, who, like his classic prototype, was called from his favorite pursuit—that of agriculture—to command the armies of his country in defense of its liberty against a formidable enemy.

The parentage, the disciplined mind, the associations and the pursuits of Washington, from his cradle to his grave, were all so admirable as to fully satisfy the most exacting requirements of the highest standard of excellence in character, and each gave assurance that he was by his life and labors pre-eminently deserving of the admiration of mankind, above that of any mortal who has ever lived. Each act of his eventful life but the purer grows as studied free from the passions of his time. . . . The purest patriot of all the ages occupied his splendid talents in keeping his heart in sympathy with the latest improvements in everything which tended to advance the happiness of his race and country."

MINOR TOPICS

EXTRACTS FROM SIR WALTER SCOTT'S JOURNAL

TOM MOORE AND LORD BYRON

November 22, 1825—I saw Moore (for the first time I may say) this season. We had, indeed, met in public twenty years ago. There is a manly frankness and perfect ease and good breeding about him which is delightful. Not the least touch of the poet or the pedant. A little—very little man. Less, I think, than Lewis, and somewhat like him in person ; God knows not in conversation, for Matt, though a clever fellow, was a bore of the first description. Moreover, he looked always like a schoolboy. I remember a picture of him being handed about at Dalkeith House. It was a miniature, I think, by Sanders, who had contrived to muffle Lewis's person in a cloak and place some poignard or dark lanthorn appurtenance in his hand, so as to give the picture the cast of a bravo. "That like Matt Lewis?" said Duke Henry to whom it had passed in turn. "Why, that is like a MAN!" Imagine the effect! Lewis was at his elbow. Now, Moore has none of this insignificance ; to be sure his person is much stouter, and his countenance is decidedly plain, but the expression is so very animated, especially in speaking or singing, that it is far more interesting than the finest features could have rendered it.

I was aware that Byron had often spoken both in private society and in his journal of Moore and myself in the same breath, and with the same sort of regard ; so I was curious to see what there could be in common betwixt us, Moore having lived so much in the gay world, I in the country, and with people of business, and sometimes with politicians ; Moore a scholar, I none ; he a musician and artist, I without knowledge of a note ; he a democrat, I an aristocrat—with many other points of difference ; besides his being an Irishman, I a Scotchman, and both tolerably national. Yet there is a point of resemblance and a strong one. We are both good-humored fellows, who rather seek to enjoy what is going forward than to maintain our dignity as lions ; and we have both seen the world too widely and too well not to condemn in our souls the imaginary consequence of literary people who walk with their noses in the air.

Moore has, I think, been ill treated about Byron's *Memoirs*. He surrendered them to the family (Lord Byron's executors), and thus lost £2,000 which he had raised upon them at a most distressing moment of his life. It is true they offered and pressed the money on him afterward, but they ought to have settled it with the booksellers and not put poor Tom's spirit in arms against his interest. At any rate there must be an authentic life of Byron by somebody. Why should they not

give the benefit of their materials to Tom Moore, whom Byron had made the depository of his own *Memoirs*?

It would be a delightful addition to life if Tom Moore had a cottage within two miles of one. We went to the theatre together, and the house being luckily a good one, received Tom Moore with rapture. I could have hugged them, for it paid back the debt of the kind reception I met with in Ireland.

November 23—On comparing notes with Moore I was confirmed in one or two points which I had always laid down in considering poor Byron. One was that, like Rousseau, he was apt to be very suspicious, and a plain downright steadiness of manner was the true mode to maintain his good opinion. Will Rose told me once, while sitting with Byron, he fixed insensibly his eyes on his feet, one of which it must be remembered was deformed. Looking up suddenly he saw Byron regarding him with a look of concentrated and deep displeasure, which wore off when he observed no consciousness or embarrassment in the countenance of Rose. Murray afterward explained this by telling Rose that Lord Byron was very jealous of having this personal imperfection noticed or alluded to. In another point Moore confirmed my previous opinion that Byron loved mischief-making. Moore had written to him cautioning him against the project of establishing the paper called the *Liberal* in communion with such men as Shelley and Hunt, on whom he said the world had set its mark. Byron showed this to the parties. Shelley wrote a modest and rather affecting expostulation to Moore. These two peculiarities of extreme suspicion and love of mischief are both shades of the malady which certainly tintured some part of the character of this mighty genius—I mean that kind which depends on the imaginative power, perhaps cannot exist to great extent. The wheels of a machine to play rapidly must not fit with the utmost exactness, else the attrition diminishes the impetus.

Another of Byron's peculiarities was the love of mystifying, which indeed may be referred to that of mischief. There was no knowing how much or how little to believe of his narratives. Byron was disposed to think all men of imagination were addicted to mix fiction (or poetry) with their prose. He loved to be thought awful, mysterious, and gloomy, and sometimes hinted at strange causes. I believe the whole to have been the creation and sport of a wild and powerful fancy. In the same manner he *crammed* people, as it is termed, about duels, etc., which never existed or were much exaggerated.

What I liked about Byron, besides his boundless genius, was his generosity of spirit as well as purse, and his utter contempt of all the affectations of literature, from the school magisterial style to the lackadaisical. Byron's example has formed a sort of upper house of poetry.—*The Journal of Sir Walter Scott*. Harper & Brothers.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

RARE LETTER OF GENERAL BENJAMIN TUPPER, 1792

[Contributed by Mr. E. C. Dawes]

[The original of this "memorandum" is among the Putnam MSS. in the library of the college at Marietta, Ohio. It was given by General Benjamin Tupper to General Rufus Putnam when he left Marietta for Philadelphia, early in 1792, to attend a meeting of the directors and agents of the Ohio company. It has historical value in its explanation of the long delay in the surveys in the northwestern territory after the passage of the land ordinance of May 20, 1785. E. C. D.]

SIR.

MARIETTA, Jan. 27, 1792.

I wish you to call up a petition of mine to Congress (perhaps it is at the Board of Treasury) for allowance for the loss of time through some defect while attempting to survey the western territory under the direction of that good & honest, but feeble and timid man the late Tho's Hutchins Esqr. He did not meet us in 1785 at Fort Pitt by near a month after the time he had appointed where we lay at great private expense and when he arrived would not suffer us to proceed on the survey until he had consulted the savages by message whether they would come and protect us in our surveys, which discovered such timidity on our part that he received the answer almost every one expected, viz., not to proceed, which raised their importance so that next year they undertook, and did absolutely insult us, that we could not proceed in the surveys with the least expedition, consequently lost two years with effecting what might have been done in a short time the first year, if the surveyors had had liberty to proceed, consequently might obtained something for the loss of time, and the second year were obliged to return (myself seven hundred miles) without effecting anything and waited orders of the Geographer the third year but received none only to return some monies he had overpaid for our actual service—so that in fact I lost three whole years in waiting on this business, having put my private affairs out of my hands, by which I lost two thousand dollars besides my loss of time; as no service for the public was more fatiguing, I question if any servants of the public have been so neglected for their faithful services.

Sir, your good sense will enable you to suggest many things more than I can write; one thing more I would suggest is, that I trust when the matter is deliberated upon they will not confine the sum granted, to the sum asked for in my petition, but will make other allowances for the loss of time and extra expense. I am liable to a suit for about 400 dollars all expended in the service of the public.

I remain your obedient humble serv't

BENJ. TUPPER.

N. B. Mr. Hutchins constantly assured the surveyors there was not the least doubt of their being paid for their loss of time under such circumstances, which quieted the surveyors.

HONORABLE JUDGE PUTNAM.

NOTES

THE ROYAL CHESTNUT OF MEXICO—While on special duty at San Angel in November, 1847, I made the acquaintance of another American, by the name of Harris, who had resided in Mexico, as he told me, since 1821. He gave me two chestnuts of the most immense growth and dimensions I had ever dreamed of. I am led to mention this incident simply from the interesting tradition connected with the culture of his singular gift, as related to me by the donor, and the monopoly which was attached to its sale. As told to me, the cultivation of this nut is exclusively confined to the lands the title to which is in the name of the church of San Augustine in the city of Mexico. According to tradition, the nut was first introduced during the reign of Charles IV., by whom the right of its exclusive cultivation was conceded under a royal grant to the Jesuits. At the time the Jesuits were subsequently expelled from Mexico they transferred that exclusive right of cultivation, which they had obtained by such royal grant, to the church of San Augustine, which up to the date of the information remained in the full enjoyment of that monopoly. This chestnut culture is secured to that religious body by the most stringent legal and ecclesiastical enactments, which inflict the severest penalties upon all who transgress them; and all persons are prohibited from selling or offering the nuts for sale until they have been boiled, the object being to destroy the germ and thereby prevent their propagation. A Catholic priest in San Angel

assured me that the annual revenue derived by the church of San Augustine from their sale exceeded ten thousand dollars, and that their proper name was (*castaña real*) royal chestnut. The largest size were sold in Mexican currency at a price equivalent in our currency to twelve cents apiece, and the smaller at four cents. Mr. Harris related his experience to me in his attempting once to evade the law governing their sale. In 1833 he took from the city of Mexico to Chihuahua, where he was then residing, seven of the largest growth of those "royal chestnuts," which he had procured from a Mexican woman, who had undoubtedly stolen them, and which had not been boiled. Three of them he gave to a Mr. Thomas G. Boggs in Chihuahua, a brother Yankee, who planted them. When they had grown about three feet high, being accidentally discovered by a Catholic priest, he at once tore them up by the roots, and destroyed them. Boggs disclosed to the priest the facts as to where he had procured the nuts, who, instead of arresting him, had Harris at once taken into custody, arraigned before a court of competent jurisdiction, by which he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty dollars.—*Autobiography of Col. G. T. M. Davis, New York, 1891 (page 217).*

PETERSFIELD

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK—The university which was founded in 1784, and empowered to project schools and colleges in any part

of the state, has now four hundred and ten institutions under its charge. The regents have determined to observe May 1 of each year as University Day in each of these halls of learning, in order to acquaint the pupil and the general public with the history of the university. Secretary Melvil Dewey, in his letter to the presidents and principals of the institutions calling attention to the resolution of the board of regents, says: "It has often been cause of comment outside the state that many of its citizens know so little of one of its oldest and most honorable institutions. We this month received from the World's Fair held in Paris in 1889 the highest award conferred by the international jury, the grand prix, granted in recognition of the great merit of the peculiar system which federates all institutions of higher education into a single university of the state. Prominent French educators tell us that they very well know that the great Napoleon, when, as was his wont, he looked over the world to find the ideal system which he might appropriate for France, recognized it in the university of the state of New York, which had just begun its career, as planned by the transcendent creative genius of Alexander Hamilton; and we find to-day in the great university of France, which is a similar federation of the colleges of the entire republic, the result of Napoleon's wisdom in applying the New York idea.

Many intelligent New-Yorkers would be quite unable to answer clearly the inquiry of a foreigner as to what their university really is. Now that under the revised laws it has entered on a second century with greater powers and possi-

bilities for usefulness, it is doubly desirable that all those who attend the academies and colleges of the state should know something of this university to which they all belong. We propose, therefore, the observance of each May 1 as University Day, leaving to each institution to determine how it will recognize the anniversary. The least that could be done would be for the president or principal to take a few minutes in connection with the opening exercises to remind the students that it is University Day, to explain to them what the university is, and especially to make them understand how much it can do to advance higher education in the empire state if all our educated citizens co-operate in its beneficent work." The state library being an integral part of the university of the state of New York, Mr. Dewey has formulated a plan whereby institutions belonging to the university or their officers or accredited representatives, at a distance from Albany, may draw books from the library. Rules for the guidance of such as desire to avail themselves of the opportunity have been published.

AMERICAN HISTORY.—In his chapter on "American Character" in the ninth volume of his *History of the United States*, Henry Adams, writing of the period about 1817, says: "The scientific interest in American history centred in national character and in the workings of a society destined to become vast, in which individuals were important chiefly as types. Without heroes, the national character of the United States had few charms of imagination even to Americans. Historians and readers

maintained old-world standards. No historian cared to hasten the coming of an epoch when man should study his own history in the same spirit and by the same methods with which he studied the formation of a crystal. Yet history had its scientific as well as its human side, and in American history the scientific interest was greater than the human. Elsewhere the student could study under better conditions the evolution of the individual, but nowhere could he study so well the evolution of a race. The interest of such a subject exceeded that of any other branch of science, for it brought mankind within sight of its own end.

Whether the scientific or the heroic view were taken, in either case the starting-point was the same, and the chief object of interest was to define national character. Whether the figures of history were treated as heroes or as types, they must be taken to represent the people. American types were especially worth study if they were to represent the greatest democratic evolution the world could know. Readers might judge for themselves what share the individual possessed in creating or shaping the nation; but whether it was small or great, the nation could be understood only by studying the individual."

QUERIES

THE TREE THE WOODMAN SPARED—
Can any one inform me of the location where the tree stood made so famous in the immortal song, "Woodman, spare that tree," or has it been preserved until the present time?
ELMER

THE BRAVEST MAN IN ENGLAND—Will some reader of the Magazine kindly inform me who received the bequest of £5,000 left to the "bravest man in England"?

RALPH MORTON

UTICA, NEW YORK.

BULL OF POPE ALEXANDER VI—The Latin - American Department of the World's Columbian Exposition is very anxious to obtain information concerning a copy of a little quarto published in

Rome in 1493, containing the important bull of Pope Alexander VI., by which he divided the New World between Portugal and Spain.

Only two copies of this pamphlet are in existence, so far as can be ascertained. One is in the Royal Library at Munich. The other was sold in London, at auction, by Puttick and Simpson, auctioneers, on the 24th of May, 1854, and was bought by Obadiah Rich for four pounds eight shillings, for some private library in the United States which he declined to name. It has entirely disappeared from the knowledge of bibliophiles, and no trace of it can be found. Any person having knowledge of the whereabouts of this historical treasure will be kind enough to notify the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

REPLIES

REV. JOSEPH HANMER [xxv. 420]—The statement that Rev. Joseph Hanmer was chaplain to the British forces in New Brunswick was founded on the following entry in the papers of the Ludlow family of New York city: "Easter Monday, being the 5th of April, 1697, Mr. Gabriel Ludlow was married to Mrs. Sarah Hanmer, one of the daughters of the Rev. Joseph Hanmer, doctor of divinity, deceased, and chaplain to his majesty's forces in the province of New Brunswick in America, by the Rev. Mr. Symon Smith, chaplain of the said forces, between the hours of 10 and 11 of the clock in the morning."

This entry is very ancient and was evidently made in good faith. It is, however, probably an error. Sarah Hanmer was the daughter of *Doctor* Joseph Hanmer. (See petition to Governor Slaughter in 1691, vol. 37, f. 33, N. Y. Col. MSS. by Sarah Hanmer and others, reciting that petitioners were orphans of *Doctor* Hanmer, deceased.) (See also order on petition N. Y. Council Min., vol. 6, p. 13.)

Sarah Hanmer, daughter of this *Doctor* Hanmer, married Gabriel Ludlow on April 5, 1697. (See New York marriage licenses.) There is some doubt as to whether *Doctor* Hanmer was a doctor of divinity, as the petition omits the prefix "reverend," but still ancient tradition has it that he was, and until proof to the contrary it is presumptive evidence.

HISTORICUS

RAPHAEL'S PAINTING [xxv. 339]—In 1753 the elector of Saxony, Augustus

III., bought the celebrated "Madonna di San Sisto" from the monks of the convent of St. Sixtus at Placenta for about eight thousand pounds for the Dresden gallery, the sellers reserving the right to have a copy of the picture remain in the place of the original. When it was carried to the throne-room of the king's palace, the bearers hesitated about putting it in the best light, as the most favorable place was exactly where the throne stood. The king perceiving this hastily drew aside the throne-chair, exclaiming, "Make room for the immortal Raphael!"

This masterpiece was painted in 1518, with Pope Sixtus and St. Barbara on either side of the Madonna, and the two cherubs, called "Raphael's afterthoughts," below.

MARY LANSING

BURLINGTON, NEW JERSEY.

THE SLEEPING SENTINEL [xxv. 405]—In the May number of this magazine is given among Mr. Chittenden's "Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration" an interesting version of the incident which gave birth to Janvier's *Sleeping Sentinel*, the most pathetic poem of the late war. William Scott, a mere boy of the Third Vermont Regiment, who had volunteered to do picket duty for a sick comrade, was found asleep on post; he was arrested, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to an ignominious death. While sitting blindfolded upon his rude coffin, awaiting the fatal volley, President Lincoln, in a coach drawn by four horses, reached the place of execu-

tion. Scott was pardoned, and joy prevailed among the host assembled to witness his shame, death, and burial.

In April, 1862, following, this same Scott was one of the small band of brave men of the Third and Fourth Vermont Regiments who volunteered to cross Warwick creek in Virginia and attack the confederate position near Lee's Mills. While the small Union force was engaged with a strongly posted brigade of the enemy, which had been driven from its first line of earthworks, the confederates opened the flood-gates at the mills just above, causing so much of a rise in the creek that the promised reinforcements near at hand could not be crossed over to their assistance, and the four companies of gallant Vermonters were left to their fate. After the lapse of an hour, finding themselves without ammunition and in infinite danger of annihilation or capture, the heroic Vermonters beat a retreat, only to find themselves cut off by the raging flood of water between them and the Union force on the opposite bank. The confederates, elated with their success, advanced upon the fugitives, pouring into their thinned numbers volley after volley of remorseless leaden bullets as they plunged into the seething waters to seek safety.

There were many acts of heroism on this terrible retreat, but none more brilliant than those performed by Julian Scott, at that time a drummer-boy in the Third Vermont Regiment, who saved the lives of eleven comrades by rescuing them from watery graves. Despite the murderous fire, he repeatedly plunged into the stream and brought helpless comrades to the shore. Among those

thus rescued by him was William Scott, whose life had been spared by the "Nation's President" a few months before. While struggling in the foaming flood he had received a mortal wound, and became utterly helpless. But even this did not deter Julian Scott, who was also grievously wounded, from rushing to his assistance and bearing his inanimate form to a place of comparative safety, to the side of his comrades, where, however, he immediately yielded up his brave spirit, his last words being, "God bless our President!"

Julian Scott, who so greatly distinguished himself on this occasion and who received a medal of honor from congress for his bravery, is the famous battle painter now residing in Plainfield, New Jersey.

J. MADISON DRAKE

THE FIRST WHITE FEMALE CHILD BORN IN NEW YORK [xxv. 421]—The *New York Evening Post* of August 20, 1888, contained the following paragraph: "The descendants of Lion Gardiner have been numerous and many of them eminent citizens. Two of his children were born in Saybrook, and his daughter Elizabeth, September 14, 1641, on Gardiner's island. She is said to have been the first English child born within the present bounds of the state of New York. Their mother was a Dutch lady of respectability in Holland. The daughter just mentioned married a Conkling, who was an ancestor of many old Long Islanders of that name, one of whom was United States senator Roscoe Conkling, etc., etc." This accounts for the confusion of names indicated by Minto.

LEX

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At the stated meeting for May, held on the evening of the 5th instant, the Hon. John A. King presiding, the Rev. B. F. De Costa, D.D., read the paper of the evening, entitled "The Genesis of English Society in New York," to a large and appreciative audience. The doctor described the influence of the English element among the Dutch from the settlement to the surrender in 1664, particularly in regard to society, commerce, religious freedom, and the poor laws.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting April 21, Vice-president Gen. Alexander C. McClurg in the chair. Interesting reports from the secretary and the librarian were presented, showing many generous gifts of bound volumes and pamphlets and relics. Gen. A. L. Chetlain was then introduced, and read a paper entitled "Personal Recollections of Gen. U. S. Grant, 1861-3." It consisted in giving an absorbingly interesting account of General Grant's first visit from Galena to Springfield at the outbreak of the late civil war, and of his efforts to secure a proper recognition from the authorities, as well as glimpses of his subsequent career up to 1863. On motion, the warm thanks of the society were tendered to General Chetlain for his valuable historic paper, and he was requested to deposit a copy of the same among the archives of the society.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY at its April meeting elected the following officers for ensuing year: Hon. J. L. Angle, president; Gilman H. Perkins, vice-president; Jane Marsh Parker, corresponding secretary; Hon. William F. Peck, recording secretary; Charles H. Wiltsie, treasurer; Howard L. Osgood, librarian. The paper of the evening was read by Professor Fairchild, entitled "The Geology of the Genesee Region."

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY at its annual meeting in the early part of the present year elected the following officers: President, Hon. C. W. Hutchinson; first vice-president, Henry Hurlburt; second vice-president, George D. Dimon; third vice-president, Hon. D. E. Wager; secretary, Rees G. Williams; corresponding secretary, Gen. C. W. Darling; librarian, Dr. M. M. Bagg; treasurer, Warren C. Rowley; counselors, Rev. D. W. Bigelow, W. Stuart Walcott; executive committee, Alexander Seward, Daniel Batchelor, George C. Sawyer, B. G. Beach, N. Curtis White. The annual address was delivered by Prof. B. S. Terry; his subject being, "The Making of a Constitution," in which he presented in half an hour what could only be obtained after weeks of study and scientific comparison of men and events. It was a most interesting discourse, and received with marked favor by an appreciative audience.

BOOK NOTICES

APPENDICULÆ HISTORICÆ; OR, SHREDS OF HISTORY HUNG ON A HORN. By FRED W. LUCAS. Royal 4to, pp. 216. Printed for the author, and sold by Henry Stevens and Son. London, England. 1891.

The explanation of the above title lies in the fact that a curious old powder-horn is in possession of the author, upon which is engraved a map embracing the greater part of the site of the modern state of New York and a small portion of what is now Canada. The map is not dated, but appears to have been made during the old French war, prior to 1760. Taking this map as his text, the author has endeavored to show how England and France came into collision on this soil, where and how they fought, and with what results. The horn is fourteen inches long, and considerable ingenuity is exhibited in the condensation of the map upon it. The opening chapter of the volume is entitled, "Discovery and Exploration in America to the end of the Sixteenth Century," and while it contains nothing of importance that is new to scholars, it is very concisely and cleverly written. The text is followed by instructive notes and references, and the work is uniquely illustrated with several interesting maps and plates, notably "The Siege of Quebec," made for the Right Honorable William Pitt, Esq. "The Mouth of the Hudson River" from Sandy Hook to the city, in colors, and topographical maps of the Hudson river, and vicinity to Albany, of the country from Albany to Oswego, and a "Particular Survey of the Isles of Montreal." The author describes the diplomatic contest between the English and the French for the alliance of the Indians, especially the famous Five Nations, and the Delawares and Shawanoes. These warriors were very shrewd, and quite unwilling to join any but the winning side in the contest. All sorts of promises and bribes and falsehoods and flattery were resorted to on both sides. Mr. Lucas describes Niagara, Ticonderoga, Quebec, and Montreal, and the Treaty of Paris in 1763. His sketch of Montcalm is summed up in these few words: "He was a man of noble character, scholarly, pious, and honorable, a soldier from his youth up, happily married and the father of ten children, with an intense affection for his family and love of the peaceful duties of a country life, and the domestic repose of his chateau of Candiach. Appointed to command in Canada, he left all that he cared for with reluctance, but, like a true soldier, without hesitation, to encounter the dangers and hardships of a cam-

paign in the backwoods. The Chevalier de Lévis was his second in command, and Bougainville, afterward renowned as a navigator, was one of his aids." The book is handsomely printed in large clear type on choice paper, with broad margins, exceedingly pleasing to the eye.

POLITICAL SCIENCE AND COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW. By JOHN W. BURGESS, Ph.D., LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 327, 404. Ginn & Company, Boston, U. S. A., and London. 1890.

The work before us is an important contribution to political science, important because treated comparatively and after the historical method now much employed in scientific discussion. It begins with definitions, or with what corresponds to definitions, analysis and application of certain leading concepts to certain definite political entities. The author regards the leading nations first as distributed in certain territories which possess natural barriers or boundaries, and next in reference to their origin and linguistic affinities, qualities which impel individuals toward national unity. These do not always coincide with actual divisions, but they possess great potentiality. There is a short excursus upon "national political character," which does not profess to be adequate, but it justifies the conclusion that the modern state is in the main the creation of Teutonic political genius. The author's conclusions of practical politics will meet an unqualified assent in some quarters. He says that "a state is not only following a sound public policy, but one which is ethnically obligatory upon it when it protects its nationality against the deleterious influences of foreign immigration." Yet it is obvious that this statement has slight reference to a state which has a very diversified origin, and the author himself modifies it at the point only where immigration tends to subdue the dominating elements of national life.

The book (II.) on the state is comprehensive of the idea, the origin, the forms, and the ends of such political aspirations, and leads naturally to the greater theme, the constitutions of the leading political *imperia* of the world, Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France. Book III. on the formation of these constitutions contains some novelties, particularly in regard to the constitution of Great Britain, which may not meet with universal assent. But the reasons assigned for them are so philosophic that they will command attention. The formation of the constitution of the German empire is given with great precision,

and with a wealth of learning unusual in English accounts. The author's wide knowledge of German authorities is made obvious even in the account of the French constitution by citations of German authorities. No country is so rich in constitutional law as the United States, and the author's conciseness while treating the formation of the federal Constitution is not a demerit. With part two, the comparative and philosophic feature of this work begins. This is, of course, the most valuable part of the treatise, for it is only by comparison that constitutional law may be reduced to a science. It then has a certain likeness to the *jus gentium* in that the fundamentals of constitutional law are laid bare, and we discover how far all civilized nations have guaranteed the rights of their citizens and their own relations to them. The chapters on sovereignty of the various states treated of, as might be expected in a scholar of German training, are independent of the views which Austin, the great English jurist, made so peculiarly his own, and seem rather to relate to organization than to the seat of governmental power.

Another valuable portion of the work are the chapters on individual liberty. After all, the great test of good government is the amount of individual liberty consistent with the well-being of the government itself. The amount of real learning necessary to treat so vast a subject comparatively is far more than that usually allotted to a single jurist, but the author has shown himself to be a profound scholar of unusual attainment, and his work is one of great value to the statesman and the student of institutions. In the writings of Lieber and now in those of Professor Burgess, Columbia college has found and will for some time find its title to fame as a university of high standing. Few books of any country have treated the great departments of government, the executive, legislative, and judicial, by the comparative method, and perhaps none so thoroughly as in the present work. We are sorry the author has prefixed no table of cases to his great work, and also sorry that the authorities cited by him are not fully indexed. The texts of the various constitutions of the governments described are printed *in extenso* at the end of the first volume, which enables a ready cross-reference.

On the whole, no more ambitious contribution to the literature of a great subject has yet issued from this country, and we feel certain that it will receive commendation from eminent scholars both here and abroad.

MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. Vols. XV. and XVI. 8vo, pp. 751, 746. Published by the society. Lansing, Michigan. 1889, 1890.

The continuations of this admirable series of publications give evidence of the same care and ability in the selection and presentation of choice material for permanent preservation, which has characterized their predecessors. In the fifteenth volume the official reports and correspondence are given of the British officers in command on the Canadian frontier and in Michigan during two years of the memorable war of 1812; while the sixteenth volume brings the story down to the final evacuation, by the British, of the soil of Michigan. Many of these papers have been copied from the file in the Dominion archives at Ottawa, Canada. Even for the general reader such letters and reports have great interest, as showing the inner causes which tended to the final result, and for the historical student they are valuable beyond expression. We have here the story also from a new point of view of General Hull's surrender of Detroit. The importance of the island of Mackinac as a strategic point is demonstrated in the most vivid manner, while the methods of the British in dealing with and cajoling the Indians into their support are forcibly illustrated.

THE OLD NAVY AND THE NEW. By REAR-ADMIRAL DANIEL AMMEN, U. S. N. With an appendix of personal letters from General Grant. 8vo, pp. 553. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1891.

These personal reminiscences of events of naval life, during a long period of prominent service, are exceedingly interesting and instructive to the reader of to-day. The author was born in 1820, and became a midshipman in 1836. His childhood home was on the Ohio river, alongside that of General Grant, who was two years younger than himself. The two boys were constant playmates, in the habit of fishing, swimming, and riding together. The experiences and observations of the young midshipman on the coast of Labrador, in the Wilkes exploring expedition in the Mediterranean, in an East India squadron, and on coast-survey duty are narrated with much force in these pages. In October, 1843, he joined the store-ship *Lexington*, at the New York navy yard, in the capacity of acting master, with the duties of watch-officer and navigator, and sailed to Port Mahon, a haven of rest in the Mediterranean, known to seamen for centuries, stopping at Gibraltar on his homeward voyage, where he obtained a view from the top of the famous rock. His next cruise of importance was to China and Japan on the sloop of war *Vincennes*, the object of the expedition being to induce, if possible, the governments to enter into commercial relations with the United States. In describing Canton the admiral says: "I saw a man with great, round

spectacles sitting in the market ; before him were the two heads and four legs and outer pinions of a pair of ducks, and in a bamboo basket a pair of cats. . . . As shopkeepers the Chinese surpass all others. At the time of my visit they charged persons like myself all they could get—that is to say, two or three times the ordinary price."

In the spring of 1848 Ammen was ordered to the surveying-steamer *Bibb*, engaged in sounding the Nantucket shoals and adjacent waters. In 1849 he was attached to a commission to select a naval station on the Pacific coast ; he was on the steam frigate *Merrimac* in 1859, and in 1861, at the outbreak of the civil war, he was the executive officer of the North Atlantic blockading squadron.

One of the most thrilling chapters of the work relates to the attempted mutiny, when he was dispatched in 1864 to the Pacific in command of two hundred seamen, as passengers on board of a California steamer. Two days out from New York he vigorously suppressed a well-organized effort to seize the vessel, killing the two leaders instantly. The admiral became familiar with nearly all the waters and countries of the world in his varied services. In 1872 he was a member of the commission appointed by the President to examine into the Nicaragua canal question, which reported favorably. No action, however, was taken for some years, as it was a question beset with many difficulties. The book is brightened with anecdotes, and graphic descriptions of people and places, and the letters of General Grant in the appendix add greatly to its permanent value.

THE AMERICAN RAILWAY. Its Construction, Development, Management, and Appliances. With an introduction by THOMAS M. COOLEY. More than 200 illustrations. Royal 8vo, pp. 456. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons.

This handsomely printed work consists of a series of papers from writers of well-known ability, prepared at the request of the editor, and published originally in *Scribner's Magazine*. The extraordinary public interest in them has been constant and increasing, and the demand so urgent that they have now been collected into this volume with expansions and additions for permanent use and convenient reference. Each particular topic is treated in every case by an expert, as, for instance, "Statistical Railway Studies," by Fletcher W. Hewes ; "The Railway in its Business Relations," by Professor Arthur T. Hadley ; "The Prevention of Railway Strikes,"

by Charles Francis Adams ; "The Railway Mail Service," by ex-Postmaster Thomas L. James ; "The Freight Car Service," by Theodore Voorhees, and "Railway Management," by General E. P. Alexander. The book has inspired an elaborate article in another part of this magazine, touching chiefly the evolution of the modern railroad. The illustrations are very helpful to the student, particularly the numerous maps near the end of the work, showing in colors the situation of the railroad traffic of the United States. Mr. Hewes says, in relation to the capital invested : "It is folly for the human mind to attempt to grasp the immensity of the financial interest expressed in the statement that the combined capital invested in the railways of the United States is \$9,369,398,954. No more can it comprehend that this vast aggregate has been the growth of about fifty years in a single interest, in a single country."

HISTORY OF THE SECOND ARMY CORPS, In the Army of the Potomac. By FRANCIS A. WALKER. Brevet Brigadier-General, U. S. Volunteers. With portraits and maps. Second edition. 8vo, pp. 737. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

The Second Army Corps was one of the five original corps organized by President Lincoln in March, 1862, and maintained its existence unbroken until the conclusion of peace in May, 1865. With its history was interwoven nearly all the principal events of the civil war in the East. It captured forty-four Confederate flags before it lost a color. Its whole record was one of valor. The first edition of this volume was given an extended review in these pages in April, 1887, soon after it was issued. The author served as chief-of-staff in the notable organization, and his terse, forcible, and flowing style of narration, together with his familiarity with its history, rendered his work particularly acceptable. In this second edition some corrections have been made, and some previous statements affecting the character of individual officers modified. We predicted in our former review that General Walker's opinions in some instances would be controverted, but that his words would command respectful attention, even among the dissenters, and where his adverse criticisms fell with greatest severity. He has listened, we find, with respectful deference to his critics, and wherever he has been convinced of an error has aimed, in his revision, to do ample justice. The story never flags in interest, and the book is destined to take a permanent place in military literature.

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The Mutual Life Insurance Co. of New York,

RICHARD A. McCURDY, PRESIDENT,

Statement for the year ending December 31st, 1890.

Assets,		\$147,154,961 20
Reserve on Policies at 4%,		\$136,668,368 00
Liabilities other than Reserve,		505,359 82
Surplus,		9,981,233 38
Receipts from all sources,		34,978,778 69
Payments to Policy-Holders,		16,973,200 05
Risks Assumed,	49,188 policies,	160,985,985 58
Risks in force,	206,055 policies,	638,226,865 24

THE ASSETS ARE INVESTED AS FOLLOWS:

Real Estate and Bond & Mortgage Loans,	\$76,529,231 72
United States Bonds and other Securities,	51,311,631 54
Loans on Collateral Securities,	8,624,400 00
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest,	3,556,441 59
Interest accrued, Premiums deferred, etc.,	7,133,256 35
	\$147,154,961 20

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

The business for 1890 shows INCREASE over that of 1889, as follows:

In Assets,	\$10,753,633 18
In Reserve on Policies and Surplus,	10,554,091 94
In Receipts,	3,859,759 07
In Payments to Policy-holders,	1,772,591 67
In Risks Assumed,	4,611 policies, 9,383,502 21
In Risks in force,	23,745 policies, 72,276,931 32

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Payments to Policy-Holders.	Receipts.	Assets.
1884...	\$34,681,420...	\$351,789,285...	\$13,923,062 19...	\$19,095,318 41...	\$103,876,178 51
1885...	46,507,139...	368,981,441...	14,402,049 90...	20,214,954 28...	108,908,967 51
1886...	56,832,719...	393,809,203...	13,129,103 74...	21,137,176 67...	114,181,963 24
1887...	69,457,468...	427,628,933...	14,128,423 60...	23,119,922 46...	118,806,851 88
1888...	103,214,261...	482,125,184...	14,727,550 22...	26,215,932 52...	126,082,153 56
1889...	151,602,483...	565,949,934...	15,200,608 38...	31,119,019 62...	136,401,328 02
1890...	160,985,986...	638,226,865...	16,973,200 05...	34,978,778 69...	147,154,961 20

New York, January 28th, 1891.

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